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THE IMPERIAL PERIOD.

A HISTORY OF ROMAN LITERATURE

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TRANSLATED, WITH THE AUTHOR'S SANCTION,

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IV.

THE THIRD PERIOD.

THE IMPERIAL EPOCH.

266. Just as the Augustan age occupies a double position in history, being the close of the Republic and the beginning of the Imperial epoch, so also in literature the greater half of it belongs to the golden age, though its latter part extends to the silver age. In the latter the original national power still continued to be of influence though weakened and obscured by the new state of political life owing to which the monarchy after Augustus rapidly became a complete despotism. This gradually extinguished all independent intellectual life—a result which was quite evident as soon as under the Antonines the feverish excitement of the age relaxed for a number of years, and new productions were attempted. But this complete exhaustion produced only the semblance of life and imitations. At the close of the second century Commodus renewed the former despotism and both nation and empire were now struck down with successive strokes. In this time, the internal dissolution was yet a while hidden and impeded by the energy of provincial life; but in literature only jurisprudence and learning would thrive. Literature survived for some time even the outward downfall of the Roman Empire (a. 476) and did not end until the sixth century. Thus the Imperial epoch is divided into three parts, the literary importance of which is successively on the wane: the first century of the Christian era, the second century or the age of Adrian and the Antonines, and finally the third part embracing the third to the sixth century.

A. The silver age of Roman literature.

The first century, A. D. 14—117.

267. The first century embraces the reigns of Tiberius (A. D. 14—37), Caligula (37—41), Claudius (41—54), Nero (54—68), Vespasian (69—79), Titus (79—81), Domitian (81—96), Nerva (96—98), and Trajan (98—117). It may be subdivided into three separate portions, the age of the Julian (14—68) and of the Flavian Dynasty (69—96), and the time of Nerva and Trajan (96—117). The character of this century was fixed by its commencement. The monarchy which under Augustus had still appeared in a mild form, gradually became under the succeeding emperors of his house mere despotism, wily and brutal, obtuse and mad, but always equally aggressive against independence of any kind, and which tolerated only slaves and tools beside itself, leaving men of higher character their choice between death and hypocrisy.[1]) Vespasian and Titus came too late and were too soon followed by the tyrant Domitian to cause any real improvement; the age of Nerva and Trajan could only just develop the consciousness of the losses and forfeits of the fatal past. With regard to literature, it should be specially mentioned that all the emperors of this period did not appreciate or esteem it; all the more suspiciously did they watch all signs of literary life, and some even felt jealous of the literary success of others. Hence literature suffered all the more under the oppression of despotism.[2])

The influence exercised by this despotism upon the minds was partly negative, partly positive. First of all, it created around it the quiet of a churchyard, killing all independent

1) The smaller the genuine enjoyment offered by life and the greater its pain, the more easy became the resolution (in agreement with the doctrines of the Stoics) to depart from it voluntarily. Such was under Tiberius the course of action adopted by his friend Cocceius Nerva, by Sextius Severus, Albucius Silus, (Apicius), Silius Italicus, Corellius Rufus (Plin. Ep. I 12), Titius Aristo (ib. I 22, 8), and others.

2) Plin. Ep. III 5, 5: sub Nerone, cum omne studiorum genus paulo liberius et erectius periculosum servitus fecisset. W. A. Schmidt, History of the liberty of thought and belief in the first century of the Imperial epoch, Berlin 1847.

thought, or obliging it to be silent and hypocritical[1]); servility only was allowed to speak; all others submitted to what was inevitable, nay even endeavoured to suit themselves to it as much as possible[2]). The positive influence of this suppression of independent thought showed itself on one hand in an earnestness and concentration benefiting domestic life and producing such characters as Arria and Fannia, but on the other hand also in morbidity and caprice. As it was impossible to display true character when all endeavoured to create the impression of being different from what they really were, the consequence was hypocrisy and affectation. Forced carefully to hide nature, people fell into artificial and unnatural ways. Always watched by spies, or at least thinking themselves to be watched, they always felt as if they were on a stage; they calculated what impression their conduct would produce on their contemporaries and posterity[3]); they adapted themselves to certain parts and studied theatrical attitudes, they declaimed instead of speaking. The greater the effort of an individual not to sink in this difficult time, the greater were they in their own estimation; a certain vanity attached to all characters of this age[4]), which was fed by the public declamations which had no other purpose but that of exhibiting personal accomplishments and fostering mutual admiration[5]). The

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1) It was dangerous to be a man of character; Plin. Ep. V 14, 6: tandem homines non ad pericula, ut prius, verum ad honores virtute perveniunt. VIII 14, 7: cum suspecta virtus, inertia in pretio.

2) Lucan. III 146 sq.: cuius (i. e. libertatis) servaveris umbram si quidquid iubeare velis.

3) Plin. Ep. III 16, 6: ista facienti, ista dicenti gloria et aeternitas ante oculos erant. I 3, 1: mihi, nisi praemium aeternitatis ante oculos, pingue illud altumque otium placeat. ib. 14, 1: (nostro) studio et labore et reverentia posterorum. Comp. V 8, 1. Tac. A. XIV 49 extr.: Thrasea sueta firmitudine animi et ne gloria intercideret.

4) Pliny who was himself a very vain character complains of the self-importance and arrogance of adolescentuli nostri, ep. VIII 23, 3.

5) Quintil. X 1, 18: et vitiosa pluribus placent et a corrogatis laudantur etiam quae non placent. Cf. Pers. I, 83 sqq. Eloquence was also influenced by this: Quintil. IV 3, 2: quod natum ab ostentatione declamatoria iam in forum venit, postquam agere causas non ad utilitatem litigatorum, sed ad patronorum iactationem repertum est; see above 37, 3. Many instances of these mutual laudations occur in Pliny's Correspondence, and also in Martial and Statius.

uncertainty of existence and possession, the continual apprehension, in which this period moved and breathed, caused a restless versatility, morbid irritability and hurry, which was afraid of always beginning too late, and eagerly put every moment to the best possible use now in sensual pleasure, now in passionate longings and strife for immortality[1]).

The general character of this age appears also in its style[2]). Simple and natural composition was considered insipid[3]); the style was to be brilliant, piquant, and interesting. Hence it was dressed up with much tinsel of sentences[4]), rhetorical figures[5]), and poetical expressions[6]). But the same end was aimed at in different ways: the one dallying (as Seneca does) with brief, cut-up sentences[7]), the other with antique roughness or (like Persius) with artificial obscurity[8]); now effect was sought after by epigrammatic points (e. g. by Seneca, Curtius, Tacitus, Pliny the younger), now by glaring

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1) With the fashionable sentimentality the sympathy also with inanimate nature increases, a feature greatly developed in Pliny the younger (see on him, n. 7), but also found in Quintilian and others.

2) Even the letters of the Inscriptions of this epoch betray an affected gracefulness and effeminate weakness; see Ritschl, Rh. Mus. XXIV p. 7.

3) Quintil. II 5, 11. VIII prooem. 24 sqq., e. g. 26: nos quibus sordet omne quod natura dictavit. See below 308, 1 and 6.

4) Quintil. VII 1, 44. XII 10, 46. 48.

5) Quintil. VIII prooem. 24: nihil iam proprium placet etc. IX 3, 1: paene iam quidquid loquimur figura est.

6) Tac. dial. 20: exigitur iam ab oratore etiam poeticus color. Quintil. VIII prooem. 25: a corruptissimo quoque poetarum figuras ac translationes mutuamur. Plin. Ep. VII 9, 8: saepe in orationes quoque non historica modo, sed prope poetica descriptionem necessitas (?) incidit. Fronto ad Caes. III 16 (p. 54 N.): plerumque ad orationem faciendam versus, ad versificandum oratio magis adiuvat.

7) Quintil. IX 4, 66: mediis . . cura sit . . ne, quod nunc maxime vitium est, brevium contextu resultent ac sonum reddant paene puerilium crepitaculorum.

8) Quintil. VIII prooem. 25: tum demum ingeniosi scilicet si ad intellegendos nos opus sit ingenio. 31: quidam etiam cum optima sunt reperta quaerunt aliquid quod sit magis antiquum, remotum, inopinatum. XI 3, 10 sq. So also Plin. Ep. IX 26, 4: sunt maxime mirabilia quae maxime insperata, maxime periculosa. Tac. dial. 23: isti qui Lucilium pro Horatio et Lucretium pro Vergilio legunt, . . quos more prisco apud iudicem fabulantes non auditores sequuntur etc.

colours (e. g. by Juvenal); some cultivated outward polish, even at the cost of the contents [1]) (e. g. Valerius Flaccus and Statius); others again endeavoured to give the impression of profound thought. Manner supplanted style, and bombastic pathos succeeded to the place of quiet power. It is true that under Vespasian some became aware of having sunk into utter unnaturalness and intentionally endeavoured to regain the simplicity of thought and the rotundity of phrase peculiar to the Ciceronian age. Men of this kind were Julius Secundus, Vipstanus Messala, Curiatius Maternus, and especially Quintilian. But this is so little in harmony with the general tendency of the time, as to produce no further effect and to be unattainable even to these men in its full extent. Tacitus abandoned this method after a single attempt, and Pliny the younger succeeded in combining rotundity of phrase with glittering antitheses. Most writers thought the style of their age to be a step in advance and looked down upon the Pre-Augustan writers as wanting in form [2]). The victory of the modern over the antique element was accomplished in literature; only in circles which had no literary importance did the antique element exist for some time longer and occasionally it protested against modern artifice [3]); technical

1) Quintil. IX 4, 142: duram potius atque asperam compositionem malim esse quam effeminatam et enervem, qualis apud multos, et cotidie magis, lascivissimis syntonorum modis saltat. V 12, 18: nos habitum orationis virilem . . tenera quadam elocutionis cute operimus et dum laevia sint ac nitida, quantum valeant nihil interesse arbitramur. II 5, 22: recentis huius lasciviae flosculi, . . praedulce illud genus. X 1, 43: recens haec lascivia deliciaeque et omnia ad voluptatem multitudinis imperitae composita. Sen. Epist. 114, 15. Pers. I 63 sqq.

2) Martial VIII 56, 1: temporibus nostris aetas . . cedit avorum. Tac. dial. 20: volgus quoque . . adsuevit iam exigere laetitiam et pulchritudinem orationis nec perfert in iudiciis tristem et impexam antiquitatem.

3) Cf. especially Persius I 127 sqq. III 77 sqq. V 189 sqq. VI 37 sqq. Martial. XI 90. Plin. Ep. VI 21, 1: sum ex iis qui mirantur antiquos, non tamen, ut quidam, temporum nostrorum ingenia despicio. In the succeeding centuries the latter view became prevalent, so that writers actually apologized for speaking of their contemporaries and not always walking in the atmosphere of the schools, or as it were in the clouds. Cf. J. Burckhardt, on Constantine p. 285 sq.

writers, such as Celsus and Columella, and the Jurists succeeded in keeping free of it. But on the whole, literature lost the sympathy of the nation at large; most emperors even intentionally widened the chasm between the educated and the great multitude, so that the latter were quiet, if not well-pleased, spectators of the maltreatment and spoliation of the higher classes. In spite of this, the monarchy was the basis naturally assumed even by the authors, and the very boldest of them were opposed only to its extravagant power — men of an anxious temper speak of the time of the Republic not without quiet fear [1]), though the number of those who degraded their talent to humble servility was proportionately small, e. g. Velleius and Valerius Maximus under Tiberius, and Martial under Domitian. Yet as it was, even Vespasian understood how to gain literary men for the Court by granting them positions; public contests in Greek and Roman eloquence and poetry were more than once repeated since the time of Caligula [2]), contributing both to the increase of production and of artifice. A certain intellectual and literary culture was widely spread through the numerous professors and schools [3]); even among ladies [4]), yet it frequently was but a taste imbibed by dilettanti without accuracy [5]). The provinces, especially Spain and Gaul, furnished literature with its chief talents: Spain the two Senecas (father and son), Acilius Lucanus and Annaeus Lucanus, Columella, Pomponius Mela, Quintilian, Mar-

1) See e. g. Quintil. II 16, 5. The new eloquence is characterized by modus et temperamentum (Tac. dial. 41 extr.). It is also due to the fact that the majority of the great families had become extinct since the time of Nero, and the new generation had no ancestral interests in the Republican past.

2) Orelli inscr. 1185: poeta latinus coronatus in munere patriae suae (Beneventum). 2603: coronatus inter poetas latinos certamine sacro Iovis Capitolini. Mommsen I. R. N. 5252. Friedländer History of Roman manners. II p. 309. 393 sq. See below 314, 4.

3) Tac. dial. 19: pervolgatis iam omnibus (philosophy, rhetoric etc.), cum vix in corona quisquam adsistat quin elementis studiorum . . certe imbutus sit.

4) Friedländer, Hist. of Roman manners I p. 289—293.

5) Tac. dial. 32: quod (the manysided culture of the ancient orators) adeo neglegitur ab horum temporum disertis ut etc. Friedländer l. l. p. 290 sq. n. 4.

tial, Herennius Senecio, and others [1]); Gaul the orators and rhetoricians Votienus Montanus, Domitius Afer, Julius Florus and Africanus, Quirinalis, Ursulus, Rufus, M. Aper, and others [2]). In a later period Africa began to exercise a predominant influence on literature [3]).

Rhetoric and declamation governed the whole century in prose as well as in poetry; but even the place of rhetoric was taken up by pedantic school-learning and *bavardage* [4]). Formal perfection was widely spread, and the metrical laws created by the Augustan age were carefully observed. But native tact for form was on the wane. All poetical styles were mixed up, poetry was mixed with prose, synonyms lost their distinct use, the dictionary was disgraced with the births of arbitrary fancy; some particles were even quite given up [5]) in consequence of the relaxed form of construction, and some were used in a sense very different from their original purport [6]). This imparted a peculiar colouring to the so-called silver Latinity.

1. The age of the Julian Dynasty, A. D. 14—68.

268. At the beginning of this time both ruler and literature continued in the track of the Augustan age. But the more openly despotism developed itself and the greater the influence was which the Emperors themselves exercised on literature, the more decisive was its transformation. This age

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1) Kortüm, Historical Investigations (Leipzig 1863) p. 209—252: on the homogeneous and dissimilar elements of the Spanish-Roman school of poetry in the second half of the first century. J. J. Kölly, A Survey of the principal studies and places of study in the West in the Imperial epoch, Lucerne 1869. 4.

2) Gallia causidicos docuit facunda Britannos, Juv. XV 111. cf. VII 147 sqq. 213 sq. Quintil. X 3, 13: Iulius Florus, in eloquentia Galliarum . . princeps. Fronto p. 160 N.: gallicanus quidam declamator.

3) Juv. VII 148 sq.: nutricula causidicorum Africa.

4) Petron. Sat. 1: rerum tumore et sententiarum vanissimo strepitu hoc tantum proficiunt ut cum in forum venerint putent se in alium orbem terrarum delatos. On later periods see J. Burckhardt, on Constantine p. 316—322.

5) F. Haase's pref. to his ed. of Seneca, T. III p. XIII—XV.

6) Such are the conjunctions quin immo, nempe enim, ergo igitur etc.; also the use of interim and many other peculiarities. Cf. E. Opitz, specimen lexilogiae argenteae latinitatis, Naumburg 1852. 4.

is, therefore, divided into two parts, the reign of Tiberius (A. D. 14—37) and those of his successors (37—68).

1. C. A. Knabe, de fontibus historiae imperatorum Iuliorum, Halle 1864.

a. The reign of Tiberius.

269. In the twenty-three years taken up by this reign, rhetoric slowly sank from the height it had attained in the Augustan age; some of its representatives, e. g. Votienus Montanus, Mam. Scaurus, Romanius Hispo, were active in the Senate and also in the Law-Courts. Among the historians Cremutius Cordus paid dearly for his candour; Velleius and Valerius Maximus were flatterers. The polyhistor Celsus, the jurist Masurius Sabinus, and the grammarians Julius Modestus, Pomponius Marcellus, Remmius Palaemon were exempt from the conflicting questions of the age owing to their subjects. Least of all did poetry prosper in this stifling dull period. Manilius to a certain extent belonged to it; but besides him, Phaedrus, the writer of fables, is the sole poet it can boast, and even he suffered persecutions, as also did Pomponius Secundus, who subsequently attempted the composition of tragedies.

1. Suet. Tib. 42: Asellio Sabino sestertia ducenta donavit pro dialogo in quo boleti et ficedulae et ostreae et turdi certamen induxerat. A. Kiessling, in Fleckeisen's Jahrb. 103, p. 646, identifies him with Sabinus Asilius, venustissimus inter rhetoras scurra, in Sen. suas. 2, 12, and Asilius in Suet. Calig. 8. Cf. W. Teuffel in Pauly's Encycl. I 2, p. 1858, l. 4 sqq.

2. Tac. A. III 49: fine anni (21 A. D.) Lutorium Priscum eq. rom. post celebre carmen quo Germanici suprema defleverat pecunia donatum a Caesare corripuit delator, obiectans aegro Druso composuisse quod, si extinctus esset, maiore praemio volgaretur. He was executed, though not owing to Tiberius. Cf. Dio LVII 20.

3. Tac. A. IV 31: C. Cominium eq. rom. probrosi in se carminis convictum Caesar precibus fratris . . concessit. VI 39: (Sextius) Paconianus in carcere ob carmina illic in principem factitata strangulatus est. Dio LVII 22: *Αἴλιον Σατορνῖνον ὡς καὶ ἐπή τινα ἐς αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐπιτήδεια ἀποῤῥίψαντα . . ἀπὸ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου κατεκρήμνισεν.* Suet. Tib. 61: obiectum est poetae (Mam. Scaurus, see below 271, 2) quod in tragoedia (entitled Atreus, Dio LVIII 24) Agamemnonem probris lacessisset (versibus qui in Tiberium flecterentur, Tac. A. VI 29),

obiectum et historico (Cremutius Cordus, see below 272, 1) quod Brutum Cassiumque ultimos Romanorum dixisset: animadversum statim in auctores scriptaque abolita, quamvis probarentur ante aliquot annos, etiam Augusto audiente, recitata. Specimens of the libels on Tiberius are given by Suet. Tib. 59.

3. On Iulius Montanus (tolerabilis poeta et amicitia Tiberii notus et frigore) see above 247, 13.

4. On the poetry of Remmius Palaemon see below 277, 3; on Gaetulicus below 286, 1.

5. On the prohibition of the oscum ludicrum, see above 10, 2.

6. Phaedrus was persecuted by Sejanus (Phaedr. III 40 sqq.), see below 279, 1. On Pomponius Secundus see below 279, 7.

270. Among the members of the Imperial dynasty **Tiberius** himself (712—790 v. c.) possessed accurate rhetorical training which he exhibited both orally and in writing, even as prince, at least so far as his close malicious temper allowed it. He also wrote Memoirs full of daring untruth, and verses in Greek and Latin. The unfortunate **Germanicus** (a. 739—772 V. c.) was also highly cultivated and composed several works in verse, above all a poetical version of Aratus' didactic poem on astronomy which has come down to us together with Scholia.

1. Besides the historical works of Höck (I 3 p. 1—194), Merivale (vol. V), C. Peter (III 1 p. 137—230), E. v. Wietersheim (Hist. of the migration of tribes I p. 110 sqq.) and others, see for Tiberius W. Teuffel's article in Pauly's Encycl. VI 2 p. 1931—1943. Wigand, on the Emperor Tiberius, Berlin 1860. 4, G. R. Sievers, Tiberius and Tacitus, Hamb. 1850 sq. 4. = Studies on the History of the Roman Emperors (Berlin 1870) p. 1—105. V. Duruy, de Tiberio imperatore, Paris 1853. F. F. Baur, de Tacitea Tiberii imagine, Tüb. 1856. 4. J. J. Bernouilli, on the character of the Emperor Tiberius, Basle 1859. A. Stahr, Tiberius, Berlin 1863. E. Pasch, on the criticism of the history of the Emperor Tiberius, Altenburg 1866. L. Freytag, Tib. and Tacitus, Berlin 1870. 471 pp. Beulé, Tibère et l'héritage d'Auguste, Paris 1868. A. Schröder, de eorum scriptorum qui de Tib. . . tradiderunt fide et auctoritate, Königsberg 1868. J. Duchesne, de Taciti ad enarrandum Tiberii Caes. principatum parum historicis artibus, Paris 1870. 107 pp. Thèse.

2. Suet. Tib. 70: artes liberales utriusque generis (Greek as well as Latin) studiosissime coluit. in oratione latina secutus est Corvinum Messalam (above 218, 9 sq.) sed adfectatione et morositate nimia obscurabat stilum, ut aliquanto ex tempore quam a cura praestantior haberetur. Tac. A. XIII 3: Tiberius artem quoque callebat qua verba ex-

penderet, tum validus sensibus aut consulto ambiguus. IV, 31: compositus alias et velut eluctantium verborum, solutius promptiusque eloquebatur quotiens subveniret. He attended the lectures of the rhetorican Theodorus of Gadara, Sen. suas. 3, 7. Suet. Tib. 57. Quintil. III 1, 17. Puristic tendencies. Suet. Tib. 71. Dio LVII 15. 17, His preference for archaic expressions, Suet. Aug. 86. gramm. 22. Funeral speeches by him, Suet. Tib. 6. Aug. 100. Tac. A. IV 12. Sen. con. ad Marc. 15, 3. Dio LVII 11 and others. Accusations and defences Suet. Tib. 8 Meyer orat. rom². p. 553—556. Documents composed by him are alleged by Tac. A. III 6. 53 sq. IV 40. Suet. Tib. 67. ib. 61: commentario quem de vita sua summatim breviterque composuit (like Augustus, see above 217, 4) ausus est scribere etc. Domit. 20: praeter commentarios et acta Tiberii Caesaris nihil lectitabat.

3. Suet. Tib. 70: composuit et carmen lyricum, cuius est titulus Conquestio de morte L. Caesaris. fecit et graeca poemata imitatus Euphorionem et Rhianum et Parthenium, quibus poetis admodum delectatus etc. maxime tamen curavit notitiam historiae fabularis, usque ad ineptias atque derisum. nam et grammaticos, quod genus hominum praecipue appetebat, eiusmodi fere quaestionibus experiebatur, quae mater Hecubae etc. According to Suidas (v. *Καῖσαρ Τιβέριος*) *ἔγραψεν ἐπιγράμματα καὶ τέχνην ῥητορικήν*. The latter may be an error.

4. On Germanicus, the nephew and adopted son of Tiberius, see A. Haakh in Pauly's Enc. III. p. 838—848 and G. F. Hertzberg in Ersch and Gruber's Encyclop. I 61 (1855) p. 172—209. Peterek, Germanicus, a biographical essay, Trzemesno 1842. 3. A. Zingerle, de Germanico Caesare Drusi filio, Trident 1867 (Progr.) p. 3—31.

5. Suet. Calig. 3 of Germanicus: ingenium in utroque (cf. n. 2) eloquentiae doctrinaeque genere praecellens. . . oravit causas etiam triumphalis, atque inter cetera studiorum monimenta reliquit et comoedias graecas. Plin. n. h. VIII 42, 155: fecit et divus Augustus equo tumulum, de quo Germanici Caesaris carmen est. Tac. A. II 83: veteres inter scriptores haberetur. Ovid. Fast. I 19 sqq.: docti . . principis, quae sit culti facundia sensimus oris civica pro trepidis cum tulit arma reis. 25: vates rege vatis habenas. ex Pont. II 5, 53 sqq. IV 8, 67 (non potes officium vatis contemnere vates) sqq. 70: gloria Pieridum summa futurus eras. 73: modo bella geris, numeris modo verba coerces. 77: tibi nec docti desunt nec principis artes. Greek and Latin epigrams? Anal. II p. 159 (146 Jac.) 285 (nr. 2. 3.) Anthol. lat. 708 R. = Anthol. Pal. IX 387 (*Ἀδριανοῦ Καίσαρος, οἱ δὲ Γερμανικοῦ*). 709 = Anth. Pal. VII 542 (*Φλάκκου*).

6. Under the title Claudii Caesaris Arati Phaenomena (or Aratus Germanici ad Augustum) and in mss., the earliest of which (see Breysig's ed. p. XIII—XXVI cf. also R. Dahms in Fleckeisen's Jahrb. 99 p. 269—275) are the Basle ms. saec. VIII (A in Breysig) and Paris. 7886 (= Puteaneus) saec. IX (P) we possess a Latin version of the astronomical poem of Aratus of Soli, in well-made hexameters, the *Φαινόμενα*

in 725 lines, with three large fragments on the influence of constellations on weather (διοσημεῖα or prognostica) in more than 200 lines. Compared with the fragments of Cicero's similar attempt (above 176, 2) and Avienus' translation, the present version is remarkable for originality, knowledge and relative poetical talent. Cf. J. Frey, de Germ. Ar. interpr. p. XXIV: Germanicus prooemium de suo praemisit, fabulas nonnullas Arato plane intactas addidit. quae apud Aratum non recte disposita intellexit in meliorem ordinem redegit, plura quę falsa ab Arato prodita esse ex posterioris aetatis astrologorum libris cognoverat correxit. The writer treats legends critically: see Phaen. 31. 166. 264. The comparison of the text with Aratus and Avienus, and the use of the work as a text-book of astronomy, has caused many interpolations: see A. Breysig's praef. p. V sqq.

7. Germanicus, the son of Drusus, is considered the author of this version by Jerome, Lactantius (inst. V 5), and others; Firmic. Math. III praef. (cf. VIII 5) calls him Julius Caesar. That it was rather the composition of Domitian, was assumed by Rutgersius on the strength of v. 2 sqq.: carminis at nobis, genitor, tu maximus auctor, te veneror, tibi sacra fero doctique laboris primitias (cf. 16: pax tua tuque adsis nato), while v. 558 sqq. (which Breysig p. XI sq. assigns to the Prognost.) are in favour of composition subsequent to the death of Augustus. But genitor used of an adoptive father (in this case Tiberius) is not unusual (Merkel ad Ibin p. 379); Ti. Caesaris Aug. filius (Divi Aug. nep., Divi Iuli pronepos) Germanicus is also called in official language (see Orelli-Henzen 5380), and this work may have been the first he finished, especially in comparison with the Prognostica which were written at a later period (Phaen. 444 sq.) The assumption of the authorship of Domitian is at variance with the silence observed by all his flatterers concerning a performance of this kind, as well as with the fact that Domitian did not assume the title of Germanicus until he attained to the Imperial dignity, A. D. 84; see Frontin. Strat. II 11, 7: imperator Caesar Domitianus Augustus Germanicus eo bello quo victis hostibus cognomen Germanici meruit, cum in finibus Chattorum castella poneret etc. Cf. Martial. II 2: Creta dedit magnum, maius dedit Africa nomen; nobilius domito tribuit Germania Rheno, et puer hoc dignus nomine, Caesar, eras; . . quae datur ex Chattis laurea tota tua est; though this might mean that Domitian had borne that name et puer, which cannot, however, be proved from other sources. A. Imhof, Domitian p. 131—135.

8. Editions of the Aratea of Germanicus. Ed. princeps Bonon. 1474. 4. Venet. 1488 and (Ald.) 1499. fol. Ed. Hugo Grotius, Lugd. B. 1600. 4. Cum comm. varr. ed. J. C. Schwartz (Coburg 1715). In Buhle's edition of Aratus (Lips. 1801) and especially in J. C. Orelli's edition of Phaedrus (1831) p. 137—210. Cum scholiis ed. A. Breysig, Berol. 1867.

9. J. C. Schaubach, de Arati interpretibus rom. (Meiningen 1817. 4.) p. 6. sqq. J. Frey, Rhein. Mus. XIII. p. 409—427 and Epistola critica

de Germanico Arati interprete, Culm 1861. 4. M. Haupt, Hermes III. p. 153—155.

10. Besides the poem itself we also possess Scholia on it written in different periods. The earlier ones (in the Paris and Basle mss.) were in existence as early as the fourth century (Lactantius) and probably then in connection with Germanicus' poem. They are originally a version of a Greek work, according to the earlier assumption, the καταστερισμοί of Ps. Eratosthenes, but according to J. Frey (Rh. Mus. XXV p. 263—272) rather of a Greek commentator on Aratus. These Scholia are enlarged and corrupted, chiefly for school-purposes, with additions from Pliny, Hyginus, Suetonius, Censorinus, Martianus (perhaps also Isidore?), in the cod. Strozzianus saec. XIV and even worse in the Urbinas (Vatic. 1388) saec. XV. A third text which pays special attention to legends and is chiefly represented in the Sangermanensis (G) of saec. IX, differs so much from the earlier text as to convey the impression of an original work. A. Breysig, Philologus XIII. p. 660—668 and Praef. p. XXVI sqq. Editions of these Scholia together with Germanicus (see n. 8), e. g. in Breysig's edition p. 54—235. Also in Eyssenhardt's Martianus Capella (Lips. 1866) p. 377 sqq.

11. Schaubach, Observat. in scholia ad Germanici Caes. Phaenomena, 4 parts, Meiningen 1821—1834. 4. Suringar, de mythographo astronomico qui vulgo dicitur scholiastes Germanici, Lugd. B. 1842. 4. A. Breysig, in the scholiastes Germanici, Philologus XIII p. 657—669, and Emendations in the Schol. on Germ., Posen 1865. 24. p. 4.

271. Among the orators of this age the most important and who also edited their own speeches and rhetorical writings were the honest Votienus Montanus of Narbo, who was, however, immoderate as a speaker; the talented, but lazy and dissolute Mamercus Scaurus; Asinius Gallus. (a. 714—786 v. c.), the author of a comparison of his father Pollio and Cicero; the knight P. Vitellius who accused Piso of being the murderer of Germanicus; Domitius Afer (c. 740—812 v. c.) of Nemausum, who held high dignities under Tiberius, Caligula, and Nero, and pleaded in the Law-Courts, but was less respectable as man and survived his oratorical reputation.

1. Hieronym. on Eus. chron. a. Abr. 2043 = Tib. 14 = 780 = 27 A. D.: Votienus Montanus Narbonensis orator in Balearibus insulis moritur, illuc a Tiberio relegatus. cf. Tac. A. IV 42: habita per illos dies (a. 778 v. c.) de Votieno Montano, celebris ingenii viro, cognitio. . . postulato Votieno ob contumelias in Caesarem dictas which may, however, be supposed to have been in accordance with truth. etc. Votienus maiestatis poenis adfectus est. Sen. controv. IX. praef. 1: Montanus Votienus adeo numquam ostentationis declamavit causa ut ne

exercitatis quidem declamaverit. 28, 17: habet hoc Montanus vitium: sententias suas repetendo corrumpit; . . et propter hoc et propter alia . . solebat Scaurus Montanum inter oratores Ovidium vocare (above 246, 6). 28, 15: Montanus Votienus, homo rarissimi, etiamsi non emendatissimi ingeni, vitium suum, quod in orationibus non evitat, in scholasticis quoque evitare non potuit. . . memini illum pro Galla Numisia apud centumviros tirocinium ponere. . . (16:) ex iis quaedam in orationem contulit et alia plura quam dixerat adiecit. 29, 17: Montanus Votienus Marcellum Marcium amicum suum, cuius frequenter mentionem in scriptis suis facit tanquam hominis diserti, aiebat dixisse etc. VII 20 (p. 217, 18 sqq. Bu.): Vinicius (above 263, 10) erat non aequus ipsi Montano. accusaverat illum apud Caesarem, a colonia Narbonensi rogatus. at Montanus adeo toto animo scholasticus erat ut eodem die quo accusatus est a Vinicio disceptarit in Vinici (here a gap). Seneca, frequently gives specimens of the declamations of Montanus from his seventh book.

2. Mam. Aemilius Scaurus, insignis nobilitate (the great-grandson of the princeps senatus, above 131, 10) et orandis causis, vita probrosus (Tac. A. VI 29 cf. III 66), a. 787 = 34 A. D. driven by Tiberius to suicide, see above 269, 3 and 272, 4. W. Teuffel in Pauly's Enc. I 1. p. 374 f., Nr. 6.) On him Seneca states controv. X. praef. 2—4: non novi quemquam cuius ingenio populus rom. pertinacius ignoverit. dicebat neglegenter; saepe causam in ipsis subselliis, saepe dum amicitur discebat. . . nihil erat illo venustius, nihil paratius. genus dicendi antiquum, verborum quoque non volgarium gravitas, ipse voltus habitusque corporis mire ad auctoritatem oratoriam aptatus. (3.) sed . . ignavus Scaurus. . . pleraeque actiones malae, in omnibus tamen aliquod magni ingeni vestigium extabat. . . orationes septem edidit, quae deinde senatusconsulto combustae sunt (see above 269, 3). bene cum illis ignis egerat; sed extant libelli qui cum fama eius pugnant, multo quidem solutiores ipsis actionibus. (4.) declamantem audivimus, et novissime quidem M. Lepido. I 2, 22: Scaurus non tantum disertissimus homo sed venustissimus. Tac. A. III 31: Mam. Scaurus, qui . . oratorum ea aetate uberrimus erat. Specimens of his pertinent witticisms are given by Sen. contr. I 2, 22. II 9, 39. IX 28, 17; cf. X 31, 19.

3. C. Asinius Gallus, the son of Asinius Pollio (above 218, 1 sqq.), Cons. 746, driven by Tiberius to suicide, a. 786; see W. Teuffel in Pauly's Enc. I 2. p. 1865 sq. Nr. 9. Plin. Epist. VII 4, 3: libri Asini Galli de comparatione patris et Ciceronis. ib. §. 6: libros Galli . . quibus ille parenti ausus de Cicerone dare est palmamque decusque. Claudius wrote against this work; see below 281, 2. Quintil. XII 1, 22: Asinio utrique, qui vitia orationis eius (Cicero) etiam inimice pluribus locis insequuntur. Gellius XVII 1, 1: nonnulli tam prodigiosi tamque vecordes extiterunt, in quibus sunt Gallus Asinius et Largius Licinus, cuius liber etiam fertur infando titulo 'Ciceromastix', ut scribere ausi sint M. Ciceronem parum integre atque improprie atque inconsi-

derate locutum. An epigram by Gallus on the grammarian Marcellus (below 277, 2) is quoted by Sueton. gramm. 22.

4. P. Vitellius, the brother of the Emperor, Germanici comes, Cn. Pisonem inimicum et interfectorem eius accusavit condemnavitque (Suet. Vitell. 2), a. 772 = 19 A. D. He died 784 = 31; see W. Teuffel in Pauly's Enc. VI 2. p. 2682, Nr. 4. Plin. n. h. XI 187: extat oratio Vitelli qua Gn. Pisonem eius sceleris (veneficii) coarguit hoc usus argumento etc.

5. Hieronym. a. Abr. 2062 = Claud. 6 = 46 A. D. Domitius Afer Nemausensis clarus orator habetur, qui postea Nerone regnante ex cibi redundantia in cœna moritur. Cons. suff. under Caligula a. 792 = 39 A. D.; cur. aquarum 802—812 (Frontin. aq. 102: Cn. Domitius Afer). A. 779 he accused Claudia Pulchra, Tac. A. IV 52: recens praetura, modicus dignationis et quoquo facinore properus clarescere. . . Afer primoribus oratorum additus, divulgato ingenio. . . mox capessendis accusationibus aut reos tutando prosperiore eloquentiae quam morum fama fuit, nisi quod aetas extrema multum etiam eloquentiae dempsit. IV 66: nullo mirante quod diu egens et parto nuper praemio male usus plura ad flagitia accingeretur. XIV 19: sequuntur (a. 812 = 59) virorum illustrium mortes, Domitii Afri et M. Servilii (below 286, 2), qui summis honoribus et multa eloquentia viguerant, ille orando causas, Servilius diu foro, mox tradendis rebus rom. celebris et elegantia vitae, quam clariorem effecit (than Afer), ut par ingenio ita morum diversus (better than Afer). See also Plin. Ep. VIII 18, 5 sqq. Quintil. X 1, 118: eorum quos viderim Domitius Afer et Iulius Africanus longe praestantissimi. arte ille et toto genere dicendi praeferendus et quem in numero veterum habere non timeas. XII 11, 3: vidi ego longe omnium quos mihi cognoscere contigit summum oratorem, Domitium Afrum, valde senem cotidie aliquid ex ea quam meruerat auctoritate perdentem, cum agente illo, quem principem fuisse quondam fori non erat dubium, alii . . riderent, alii erubescerent. cf. also XII 10, 11 (above 37, 2). Tac. dial. 13. 15. Dio LIX 19. Plin. Ep. II 14, 10: narrabat ille (Quintilian): adsectabar Domitium Afrum; cum apud centumviros diceret graviter et lente, hoc enim illi actionis genus erat etc. Especially famous were his (published) speeches pro Voluseno Catulo (Quintil. X 1, 24), pro Domitilla (ib. VIII 5, 16. IX 2, 20. 3, 66. 4, 31), pro Laelia (ib. IX 4, 31). Meyer, orat. fragm. p. 565—570. Other writings Quintil. V 7, 7: sufficiebant alioqui libri duo a Domitio Afro in hanc rem (de testibus) compositi, quem adolescentulus senem colui. VI 3, 42: mire fuit in hoc genere (witty descriptions) venustus Afer Domitius, cuius orationibus complures huiusmodi narrationes insertae reperiuntur; sed dictorum quoque ab eodem urbane sunt editi libri. Cf. ib. 27 and 32.

6. Bruttedius Niger, aedilis a 775 = 22 A. D., Tac. A. III 66 (Bruttedium artibus honestis copiosum et, si rectum iter pergeret ad clarissima quaeque iturum festinatio exstimulabat). He was on friendly terms with Sejanus, Juv. X 83. In rhetoric he was the pupil of Apol-

Iodorus, Sen. contr. II 9, 36. Specimens of his declamations are given ib 35 and probably also suas. 6, 20 sq. the relation on Cicero's death and the public exhibition of his head.

7. Sex. Pompeius, the friend of Germanicus (Ovid. ex Pont. IV 5, 25 sq. cf. Tac. A. III 11) Consul in the same year as Augustus died (767 = 14 A. D.), a patron of Ovid's (ex Pont. IV 1, 21 sqq. 5, 37 sqq. 15, 3 sq. 37), who addressed to him his Epistles ex Pont. IV 1. 4. 5. 15., and of Valerius Maximus (below 274, 1). Ovid mentions his facundum os (ex Pont. IV 4, 37), Val. Max. II 6, 8 (facundissimo sermone, qui ore eius quasi e beato quodam eloquentiae fonte emanabat). IV 7. ext. 2 (clarissimi ac disertissimi viri).

8. Tac. A. III 24: M. (Iunii) Silani potentia, qui per insignem nobilitatem et eloquentiam praecellebat. Cos. 772 = 19 A. D., driven to suicide (Suet. Calig. 23) by Caligula, who had married his daughter Junia Claudilla (ib. 12. Tac. A. VI 20).

9. Tac. A. VI 48: poenae in Laelium Balbum decernuntur (a. 790 = 37). . . Balbus truci eloquentia habebatur, promptus adversum insontes. Cf. ib. 47. Quintil. X 1, 24: nobis pueris insignes pro Voluseno Catulo (see n. 5) Decimi Laelii orationes ferebantur.

10. Tac. A. VI 47: (Vibius) Marsus quoque vetustis honoribus et inlustris studiis (of eloquence) erat. A. Haakh in Pauly's Enc. VI 2 p. 2571, Nr. 23.

11. On Valerius Messalinus see above 262, 6; on Romanius Hispo, Vinicius, and others, above 263, 10.

272. The expiration of the Republic and foundation of the Monarchy had, still under Augustus, been related by A. Cremutius Cordus with much candour, which now furnished the pretence of persecuting him. In the reign of Tiberius, the same subject was in the rhetorical manner of the period treated by Aufidius Bassus, a man of philosophical culture, who described the Civil Wars and the expeditions against the Germans, and whose work was subsequently continued by Pliny the Elder. Seneca the Elder wrote his historical work in this reign. Tuscus was both rhetorician and historian.

1. Tac. A. IV 34: Cremutius Cordus postulatur (a 778 = 25 A. D.) . . quod editis annalibus laudatoque M. Bruto (cf. Plut. Brut. 44) C. Cassium Romanorum ultimum dixisset (see above 269, 3). His pleading ib. 34 sq. Egressus dein senatu vitam abstinentia finivit. libros per aediles cremandos censuere patres; set manserunt, occultati et editi, ib. 35. Sen. cons. ad. Marc. 1, 2 (A. Cremutii Cordi, parentis tui) 22, 6 sqq. Dio LVII 24. The real cause of the attack upon

him should be found in some expressions of his with which he had offended Sejanus, Sen. ad Marc. 22, 4 sq. — Dio 1. l.: ὕστερον δὲ ἐξεδόθη αὐθις (τὰ συγγράμματα αὐτοῦ), ἄλλοι τε γὰρ καὶ μάλιστα ἡ θυγάτηρ αὐτοῦ Μαρκία συνέχρυψεν αὐτά. Sen. ad. Marc. 1, 3 sq. Sueton. Calig. 16. (above 262, 10). Quotations from it concerning the death of Cicero, are made by Seneca suas. 7, 19. 23. From Quint. XI 104 it may be inferred that the strongest passages were omitted in a new edition: habet amatores, nec immerito, Cremuti libertas, quamquam circumcisis quae dixisset emacuerit; cf. Philologus VI. p. 139. 753 sq. C. Rathlef, de A. Cremutio Cordo, Dorpat 1860. 78 pp. C. v. P(aucker), Domitian and Cremutius Cordus, Mitau 1861 (Report of a Session of the Curland Society of Lit.)

2. Sen. Epist. 30, 1: Bassum Aufidium, virum optimum, vidi quassum, aetati obluctantem. ib. 3: Bassus tamen noster alacer animo est. hoc philosophia praestat etc. ib. 5. 10. 14: dicebat ille, Epicuri praeceptis obsequens etc. Quintil. X 1, 108: quam (i. e. auctoritas historiae) paulum aetate praecedens eum (i. e. Servilius, below 285, 2) Bassus Aufidius egregie, utique in libris belli germanici, praestitit, genere ipso probabilis in omnibus, sed in quibusdam suis ipse viribus minor. Specimens of his historical style, concerning the death of Cicero, in rather affected terms, are given by Sen. suas. 6, 18 and 23. Cf. Plin. n. h. VI 9, 27: universae (Armeniae) magnitudinem Aufidius . . prodidit. praef. 20: diximus . . temporum nostrorum historiam, orsi a fine Aufidii Bassi. As Pliny's work treated, at the very least, of the latter part of the reign of Nero (see below 307, 5), Aufidius probably ended with the reign of Claudius. It is doubtful whether the libri belli germanici were an independent work or part of another. Mommsen, Cassiodor. p. 558 sq. Tac. dial. 23: (antiquarians) quibus eloquentia Aufidi Bassi aut Servilii Noniani ex comparatione Sisennae aut Varronis sordet. W. Teuffel in Pauly's Enc. I 2. p. 2129 sq. Nr. 11.

3. On Seneca see above 264, 3.

4. Sen. suas. 2, 22: historicum quoque vobis fatuum dabo. Tuscus ille qui Scaurum Mamercum (above 271, 2) in quo Scaurum familia extincta est maiestatis reum fecerat, homo quam improbi animi tam infelicis ingenii, cum hanc suasoriam declamaret dixit etc. By Tac. A. VI 29 the accusers of Scaurus (a. 787 = 34) are called Servilius and Cornelius; and one of them would appear to have had the cognomen of Tuscus.

5. Aemilius Sura de annis populi rom. (see above 154, 6, c and d): Assyrii principes etc. is an old gloss which has crept into the text of Velleius (I 6, 6) as a parallel illustration. The work seems to have been an abridgment on Universal History, perhaps in the manner of Velleius' work, and arranged according to the five great Monarchies (the Assyrian, Median, Persian, Macedonian, and Roman), the fifth of which the anni pop. rom. seem to have formed. The date of compo-

sition is not known. Th. Mommsen, Rhein. Mus. XVI p. 282—284. Reifferscheid's Sueton. p. XVI sq. See above 157, 3.

6. On Annius Fetialis see above 254, 8.

273. Chiefly the history of the Monarchy is treated in the abridgment of Roman History in two books by M. Velleius Paterculus, A. D. 30. This writer had been in military service under Tiberius whom he then learned to admire; but he soars to such pathos of loyalty and pomp of style that he praises anything connected with his general in a most extravagant manner and rails on all that was opposed to him. He does not appreciate the interior connexion of things and his interest centres upon the persons only. His diction is pompous and affected, but wanting in variety and ease. The construction of his sentences is frequently awkward. The lexical part generally agrees with the classical usage, but the whole mode of treatment in which the subject-matter is chiefly used as the vehicle of individual reflection, is quite in harmony with the spirit of the first century. The work has come down to us in only one ms., and the first book is mutilated.

1. Of his personal affairs as well as those of his family, Velleius frequently informs us with vain loquacity. II 101, 2 sq.: quod spectaculum (a. 754 v. c.) . . sub initia stipendiorum meorum tribuno militum mihi visere contigit. quem militiae gradum ante sub patre tuo, M. Vinici, et P. Silio auspicatus in Thracia Macedoniaque, mox Achaia Asiaque et omnibus ad orientem visis provinciis et ore atque utroque maris pontici latere, haud iniucunda tot rerum, locorum . . recordatione perfruor. 104, 3: hoc tempus (a. 757) me . . castrorum Ti. Caesaris militem fecit. quippe protinus ab adoptione (June 757) missus cum eo praefectus equitum in Germaniam, successor offici patris mei, caelestissimorum eius operum per annos continuos VIII praefectus aut legatus spectator et . . adiutor fui. 111, 3 sq.: habuit in hoc quoque bello (pannonico, a. 759) mediocritas nostra speciosi ministeri locum. finita equestri militia designatus quaestor, necdum senator, aequatus senatoribus et iam designatis tribunis plebei partem exercitus ab urbe traditi ab Augusto perduxi ad filium eius (Tiberius). in quaestura (a. 760) deinde, remissa sorte provinciae, legatus eiusdem ad eundem missus sum. 113, 3: hiemis (760 to 761) initio regressus Sisciam legatos, inter quos ipsi fuimus, partitis praefecit hibernis. 114, 2: erat . . lectica eius (i. e. Tiberius) publicata, cuius usum cum alii tum ego sensi. 121, 3: triumphus (of Tiberius, January 765), quem mihi fratrique meo (cf. II 115, 1) inter praecipuos praecipuisque donis adornatos viros comitari contigit. 124, 4: quo tempore (a. 767) mihi fratrique meo, candidatis Caesaris, proxime a nobilissimis ac sacerdotalibus viris destinari prae-

toribus contigit, consecutis ut neque post nos quemquam divus Augustus (merely because he died) neque ante nos Caesar commendaret Tiberius. His complete names are given by Priscian VI 11, 63 (p. 248, 4 H.): M. Velleius Paterculus. In the Schol. Lucan. IX 178 (and schol. ant. on VIII 663) only Paterculus. That he never advanced beyond the praetorship may be inferred from his silence. The latest fact mentioned in his work is the death of Livia (II 130, 5), a. 782 = 29 A. D., and the consulship of M. Vinicius a. 783 = 30. In his leisure subsequent to the praetorship the author seems to have acquired the varied knowledge, also of Greek literature, which he displays, after he had originally made a merely military career; see II 52, 4: ut militari et verbo ex consuetudine utar.

2. The historical work of Velleius bears the heading: Vellei Paterculi historiae romanae ad M. Vinicium consulem libri duo. It is not, however, strictly confined to Roman history. In imitation of the habit of the Annalists, the writer begins with the first settlements of Greeks in Italy, passes in rapid survey over the East and Greece, and brings in his first book the Roman history down to the fall of Carthage. His intention being originally only to give a short abridgment (I 16, 1. II 41, 1. 55, 1. 86, 1. 99, 4. 108, 2. 124, 1 cf. 29, 2. 52, 3. 86, 1), the work, in conformity with the habit of the Annalists (cf. above 252, 11) becomes more extensive the more it approaches the historian's own time, though it bears a subjective and rhetorical colouring even in its summary part and is frequently interrupted by the writer's reflections. He is fond of interspersing anecdotes and individual traits, in fact his whole manner is personal and consequently arbitrary and partial in many places (Sauppe p. 144 sq. 155—160). There are, however, numerous instances of excellent observations. Much space is devoted to the delineation of the acting characters, the point in which our writer excels, though he sometimes appears capricious concerning the characters of the Republican period, but frequently also exceedingly happy. On the other hand, the characters of Caesar, Augustus and Tiberius are enveloped in a cloud of incense (Sauppe p. 161—168), especially the latter being praised (after II 94) in quite an ecstatic manner with a downright extravagant use of superlatives. It is true, Velleius had seen Tiberius in his best years and wrote his work before his last and worst years; it is, moreover, his habit to exaggerate and lay on strong colours (Kritz p. XLVIII sq.). But it is fortunate he did not carry out his intention of writing a special work on Tiberius and his time (see II 48, 5. 96, 2. 99, 3. 103, 4. 119, 1). That Germanicus was a good general, and Agrippina a member of the imperial house, is put to their credit; the disgraceful treatment of them by Tiberius Velleius knows how to disguise with general phrases.

3. Concerning his sources Velleius mentions Cato's Origines (I 7, 3) and the Annals of Hortensius (II 16, 3). In general Velleius may be supposed to have followed the current historical works, e. g. the abridgment of Atticus, also Cornelius Nepos and Pompeius Trogus in all

foreign history and biographical details. He seems not to have quite trusted Livy as a disguised Republican, as he disagrees with him more frequently than otherwise. The studies of Velleius are not very deep; a large collection of his historical blunders is given by Sauppe p. 147—155. He places the foundation of Rome (I 8, 4) in a. 753 (Ol. 6, 3), following Varro; but then again follows the aera Catoniana (751); the year of the consulship of Vinicius (781) being e. g. fixed according to it (II 49, 2. 65, 2. cf. I 14, 6. II 103, 3. Kritz p. XLI sqq.). The division of the subject-matter into two books according to the destruction of Carthage (I 14, 1, cf. II 131, 1) is not at all bad, but in pursuance of the views of Velleius it appears inconsistent to date the downfall of the Empire from the decay of Republican feeling. In this as well as in other points (Sauppe p. 161 sq. 169 sq.), he simply adopts the general practice. But by the addition of personal sympathies and antipathies the historical criticism of Velleius is rendered dissonant and dissimilar.

4. The peculiar style of Velleius is explained by Kritz p. XLVI—LXXV partly from the general taste of his period, which was fond of affectation and artifice, partly from the character of the author, he being a mere dilettante, partly from his 'festinatio', which often led him into the careless style of conversational language. Especially his peculiar sentences in which he inserts endless parenthetic and relative sentences between two poor particles of a short period (e. g. II 18, 1—3. 28, 2. 41, 1 sq. 75, 3. Kritz p. LXI—LXIV), the frequent repetition of one and the same idea, and of the same words within a brief interval (Sauppe p. 175—178. Kritz p. LV sqq. LXVI sqq.), the pompousness of his diction, betray the writer's want of practice and polish. To the general influence of the age we should attribute his vain dallying with glittering sentences, pointed contrasts, and affected phrases, his coquettish energy of language and its meretricious colouring. Hence may be explained his fondness of poetical expressions and pretentious combinations of words (Sauppe p. 178 sq.). This studied artifice of Velleius reminds his reader greatly of Sallust.

5. The only ms. of Velleius we know is the one found by Beatus Rhenanus a. 1515 in the ancient abbey of Murbach (in Alsace), which was, however, mutilated both at the end and at the beginning (where the preface and the events from the capture of the Sabine women down to the time of Perseus are wanting) and contained many corrupt passages. After B. Rhenanus had published his edition from it (Basle 1520 fol.), with as much or as little faithfulness as was usual in his age, the ms. was again lost. Only a copy made of it by Bonif. Amerbach was recently discovered at Basle, which does not, however, equal the first edition in accuracy. See the prefaces of Orelli (p. VII sqq.) and Kritz (c. 3, p. LXXVI—CXXV). J. Fröhlich and J. C. M. Laurent, on the value of Amerbach's copy of V., Leipzig 1840. D. A. Fechter, on Amerbach's copy of V. P. and the relation of the Murbach ms. and editio princeps, Basle 1844. Laurent, Serapeum 1847, Nr. 12, and in the Congratulatory program of the Hamburg town-library (Hamb. 1856. 4.) p. 17—34.

6. Editions (besides ed. princ., see n. 5) by J. Lipsius (Lugd. B. 1591. Antverp. 1607), J. Gruter (Frankf. 1607), N. Heinsius (Amstelod. 1678 and elsewhere), P. Burmann. (Lugd. B. 1719. 1744. 2 vols.), D. Ruhnken (Lugd. B. 1779, 2 vols., reprinted by C. H. Frotscher, Lips. 1830—1829; the notae separately Hannover 1815), J. C. H. Krause (Lips. 1800; ed. minor 1803), J. C. Orelli (Lips. 1835), J. Th. Kreyssig (recogn., Meissen 1836), and especially Fr. Kritz (rec., annot. et indd. instruxit, Lips. 1840). See his Prolegomena c. 4 (p. CXXV sqq.).

Texts by F. H. Bothe (Zürich 1837), Fr. Kritz (Lips. 1847), Fr. Haase (Lips. Teubner 1851 and 1863) and others.

7. Treatises on V. P. by H. Dodwell, annales Velleiani, Oxon. 1698. C. Morgenstern, comm. critica de fide historica V. P., imprimis de adulatione ei obiecta, Danzig, 1798. H. Sauppe, Swiss. Museum for History, I (Frauenfeld 1837) p. 133—180. L. Speckert, de la sincérité de V. P., Toulouse 1848. Alf. Pernices, de V. fide historica, Lips. 1862. 50 pp. 4. J. Stanger, de V. fide, Munich. 1863. 38 pp. 8 C. Windheuser, de V. fide in iis locis qui ad Tiberii mores spectant, Neuss 1867. 14 pp. 4.

8. Critical contributions by C. Halm (Emend. Vell., München 1836. 4.), Laurent (loci Vell., Altona 1836), J. Jeep (emend. V., Wolfenbüttel 1839. 4), M. Haupt (Trans. of the Saxon Society of Lit. 1849, p. 190—200), B. Martin (Contributions etc., Prenzlau 1862, 4), and in the Quaestiones Velleianae of N. Alsters (Münster 1866), G. A. Koch (Lips. 1866. 4.) and E. Wilhelm (Jena 1866), F. Giese (Münster 1868).

M. Hertz, on the so-called excerpta Velleii ex historia gallica, in Haupt's Journal of German Antiquities X 2 (Berlin 1855) Nr. 10. See ibid. p. 587.

274. An equal amount of servility, but not of talent, appears in Valerius Maximus, the author of a collection of anecdotes for rhetorical purposes, factorum et dictorum memorabilium libri novem — a work addressed to Tiberius. It is a compilation from few, but good sources, unfortunately in an uncritical manner and without taste and discrimination. Dull as the author is, he delights in reflection. The diction is declamatory, the style overloaded, but the lexical part not yet considerably invaded by neologisms. A tenth book is not extant and was perhaps never finished. Besides the original work we also possess two abridgments: one made from a very good ms. by Julius Paris, and a very poor one by Januarius Nepotianus. A short appendix de praenominibus is likewise derived from good sources, but has no further connexion with Valerius Maximus.

1. The personal circumstances of Val. Max. appear to have been modest; see IV 4, 11: his adquiescere solaciis debemus qui parvulos

census nostros nunquam querelis vacuos esse sinimus, . . quid ergo modicam fortunam . . diurnis conviciis laceramus? He was connected with Sex. Pompeius, Cons. 767 = 14 A. D. (see above 271, 7), who subsequently (perhaps a. 780, Kempf Prolegg. p. 5 sq.) governed Asia as proconsul. Val. Max. II 6, 8: quo tempore Asiam cum Sex. Pompeio petens Iulidem oppidum intravi. IV 7. ext. 2: clarissimi ac disertissimi viri promtissimam erga me benivolentiam expertus. . . Pompeium meum, . . a quo omnium commodorum incrementa ultro oblata cepi, per quem tutior adversus casus steti, qui studia nostro ductu et auspiciis suis lucidiora et alacriora reddidit. Itaque pavi invidiam quorundam optimi amici iactura. VI 1, prooem.: tu . . sanctissimum Iuliae genialem torum adsidua statione celebras. This shows that Livia († 782 = 29 A. D.) was then still alive. But the declamation against Sejanus appears to have been added (at the end of IX 11) immediately after his downfall (a. 785 = 32). The author would thus seem to have been engaged in his work with certain interruptions, but during some time. But when the ninth book was written, the preceding books had not yet been published, as Sejanus never occurs in them. The statement of Matthew of Westminster (above 253,3) is no doubt wrong and cannot, therefore, be derived from Suetonius: anno divinae incarnationis XIX (= 772 v. C.) Valerius historiographus Romanorum dicta descripsit et facta. Cf. Elschner p. 12 sqq. Rühl, on the circulation of Justinus p. 30 sqq. Similarly Radulfus de Diceto (c. 1210): Valerius Maximus urbis Romae ceterarumque gentium facta simul ac dicta memoratu digna scripsit a. incarnati verbi XVIII. Rühl l. l. p. 32.

2. The number of books amounted to ten, according to Julius Paris (see n. 9) who either erroneously counts in the treatise de nominibus (a. 11) or (as Halm thinks) followed a mistaken heading. We, at all events, possess only nine; but as at the end of the ninth we do not find the otherwise inevitable moral expectorations of the author, it appears credible that he did not complete his work or that we do not possess the conclusion. It is less probable that a whole book is lost. The design and purpose of the composition appear from praef. in.: urbis Romae exterarumque gentium facta simul ac dicta memoratu digna, quae apud alios latius diffusa sunt quam ut breviter cognosci possint, ab inlustribus electa auctoribus digerere constitui, ut documenta sumere volentibus longae inquisitionis labor absit. The work would thus appear to be a collection of examples for the use of rhetoricians and their schools. This accounts for the arrangement according to certain terms (e. g. de religione, auspiciis, somniis, institutis antiquis, repulsis, testamentis, damnatis aut absolutis), and chiefly moral ones (de fortitudine, moderatione, humanitate, pudicitia, felicitate, luxuria etc.). Each chapter is again divided into instances taken from Roman and from foreign history, those of the first class being very numerous on account of the sources of Valerius and for reasons of national vanity. The traits of the Republican period are not weakened, but the enemies of Monarchy are constantly treated as traitors (cf. Tac. A. IV

34, above 251, 3), Tiberius and the whole Imperial family are throughout, even without any special occasion and without the excuse applicable to Velleius (above 273, 2), belauded in the coarsest manner and in direct opposition to truth.

3. The inlustres auctores (praef.) employed by Valerius are chiefly Livy (especially the first three decads), though he is mentioned only once (I 8, ext. 19: serpentis a. T. Livio curiose pariter ac facunde relatae); see Kempf p. 15—18. U. Köhler, qua rat. Liv. annal. 1860, p. 11—23. Fr. Zschech, de Cicerone et Livio Valerii Maximi fontibus, Berlin 1865, p. 35 sqq. 23—50); then Cicero (Kempf p. 13—15. Zschech p. 15—23), who is likewise mentioned only once (VIII 13, ext. 1.: quemadmodum Cicero refert libro quem de senectute scripsit) also Sallust (Kempf p. 17) and probably in the foreign instances Pompeius Trogus (Kempf p. 21). It cannot be proved and is in itself improbable that Val. employed other sources, e. g. Varro (on account of III 2, 24: see Zschech p. 43, and against him Kettner, Varr. de vita pop. rom. p. 12—16) or even Greeks (e. g. Diodorus and Dionysius Hal.): see Kempf p. 21—25; but he has occasionally interspersed events he had himself witnessed (Kempf p. 12). Much may also be derived from similar collections of the time of Val., e. g. from Pompeius Rufus' collectorum libro, a work once mentioned by our author (IV 4 in.) and nowhere else by any other writer. He generally copies his sources, especially in quoting sayings; his changes tend to increase the rhetorical effect of an anecdote, especially by exaggerating and embellishing it. In other parts he sometimes cuts down, sometimes adds his reflections. His thoughtless use of his sources appears from the numerous bad mistakes (especially confusions) and errors which may be traced in his work; see Kempf prolegg. p. 26—33. Cf. Elschner p. 32 sqq.

4. In point of style, Val. Max. shares with his period the conviction that simplicity and naturalness are trivial and vulgar. Everything is with him artificial, pompous, and far-fetched in thought as well as in diction, in his choice and arrangement of words, and owing to all this his style frequently becomes obscure, and even oftener absurd and tasteless. Confusion of epithets, distortion of verbs, metaphors and similar ornaments abound with him. With all this, his manner shows great monotony, as he always repeats one and the same favourite expression over and over again. Kempf p. 34—33. Gelbcke p. 8—23.

5. Plutarch does not appear to have used Val. Max., though he mentions him Marcell. 30 and Brut 53; see H. Peter, on the sources of Plut. p. 75 sq. 136 note. But his work was used by Pliny (n. h. VII), Frontinus Strat., Gellius XII 7, 8), also Lactantius and others (e. g. Claud. Mamert. grat. act. 5, 3. 16, 2). Even the abridgments did not injure his popularity (n. 9 sq.), and he was not rarely read in the Middle Ages (Kempf p. 43—49). This is borne out by the numerous mss. in which the work has come down to us (Kempf p. 71—96). Next to the one employed by Julius Paris (C. Halm, Emend. Val. p. 4—18), the most important is the Bern ms. saec. IX (cf. Halm's edition, p. IV

—XXI). The other mss. are of later origin and rarely furnish better readings, though they are in some places more complete than the Bern ms. and, therefore, not derived from it.

6. Editions of Val. Max. simultaneously published a. 1471 at Strassburg and Mayence (fol.), subsequently chiefly Aldus Manutius (Ven. 1534), St. Pighius (Antverp. 1567; with many arbitrary changes; cum notis J. Lipsii, Antv. 1585 and often), J. Vorst (cum notis, Berl. 1672), A. Torrenius (cum comm. I. Perizonii et variorum, Lugd. B. 1726, 4). J. Kapp (Lips. 1782), C. B. Hase, (Paris 1823. 2 vols.), and especially by C. Kempf (rec. et emend., Berlin 1854. 792 pp.) and C. Halm (rec., Lips. Teubner 1865).

7. Critical contributions by Calmberg (novae ed. V. M. specimen, Hamburg 1844. 4), Halm (Münchner Gel. Anz. 1854. I. No. 29—31 and Emendationes Val., München 1854. 4), J. Vahlen (Rhein. Mus. XI p. 586—594), H. J. Heller (Philologus XXVII p. 343 — 348. XXVIII p. 361 —364), C. Förtsch (Em. Val., I. Naumburg 1855. 4. II. 1864. 4.), C. Elschner (Quaest. Val., Berlin 1864), C. Fr. Gelbcke (Quaest. Val., Berlin 1865, p. 23—36), C. Kempf (novae quaest. Val., Berlin 1866. 37 pp. 4.).

8. On Val. Max. see J. Perizonius, Animadversiones historicae (ed. Harles, Altenburg 1771), H. E. Dirksen (on the collection of historical examples by V. M., Transactions of the Academy at Berlin, 1847 p. 99 sqq. = Posthumous Essays I p. 109—132), and especially Kempf's Prolegomena.

9. The abridgment (epitoma) of Julius Paris was made about the close of the fourth or the commencement of the fifth century (cf. n. 11), also for schools. The preface states: Iulius Paris Licinio Cyriaco suo salutem. Exemplorum conquisitionem cum scirem esse non minus disputantibus quam declamantibus necessariam, decem Valerii Maximi libros dictorum et factorum memorabilium ad unum volumen epitomae coegi. This epitomator reduced the collection of Val. to its real contents with occasional rectifications from the sources (Kempf p. 51 sq.) and the use of a ms. superior and (I 1, ext. 4—I 4 ext. 1) fuller than those extant. It has been preserved in a Vatican ms. saec. X, first edited by A. Mai, scriptorum vett. nova coll. III 3 (1828) p. 1 sqq. Corrections of Mai's text are given by du Rieu, Schedae Vaticanae (Lugd. B. 1860) p. 164—200. See Halm's edition (1865). The Vat. (and Bern ms. of Val.) bear the subscription: feliciter emendavi descriptum Rabennae Rustitius Helpidius Domnulus V. C. (see him below).

10. The abridgment of Januarius Nepotianus. Preface: Ianuarius Nepotianus Victori suo salutem. Impensius quam ceteri adolescentes litteris studes, quo tantum proficis ut exigas scripta veterum coerceri. . . igitur de Valerio Maximo mecum sentis opera eius utilia esse, si sint brevia. digna euim cognitione componit, sed colligenda producit, dum se ostentat sententiis, locis iactat, fundit excessibus. . . recidam

itaque . . eius redundantia et pleraque transgrediar, nonnulla praetermissa conectam. . . et cum integra fere in occulto sint praeter nos duo profecto nemo epitomata cognoscat. The extant abridgment extends in 21 chapters as far as Val. Max. III 2, 7 and is rather loose and meagre, omitting many examples and adding others from other sources. Its principal value is in filling up the gap in the first book of Val. Max. It exists in the Vatican ms. 1321, saec. XIV, in a very bad text, and was first published by A. Mai, scriptorum vett. nova coll. III 3 p. 93 sqq. (see du Rieu, Schedae Vatic. 1860, p. 201—215) and Celle 1831. 4.; now in C. Halm's edition of Val. Max. p. 488—513. See Kempf p. 67—69, where the editor comes to the conclusion p. 69: epitomatoris sermo corruptus et interdum fere barbarus dicendique genus rude atque incultum sextum septimumve saeculum prodere videtur. Other mediaeval abridgments of Val. Max. are preserved in some libraries; see Kempf p. 69—71.

11. At the end of the ninth book of Val. Max. the Bern ms. gives the usual subscription: Valerii Maximi . . liber nonus explc. and then (by a later hand and from Iulius Paris): lib. X de praenomine. In later mss. this book is preceded by a prooemium: decimus atque ultimus huius operis liber . . aetati nostrae perditus est. verum Iulius Paris, abbreviator Valerii, post novem libros explicitos hunc decimum sub nfra scripto compendio complexus est. . . verba quidem Iulii Paridis haec sunt: Liber decimus de praenominibus et similibus. A more accurate designation of the contents is given in the ms. of Julius Paris (Val.): incipit liber decimus de praenominibus, de nominibus, de cognominibus, de agnominibus, de appellationibus, de verbis. Yet even the Vatican ms. contains only the chapter de praenominibus (Kempf p. 740—750, Halm p. 484—487), which appears to be derived from good sources, especially Varro; see Th. Mommsen, Rh. Mus. XV p. 181, n. 24. But if it actually contained originally a chapter de agnominibus at the beginning, the whole composition cannot have been made before the commencement of the fourth century of the Christian era. At the end the Vatican and Bern mss. bear the subscription: C. Titi Probi finit epitoma historiarum diversarum exemplorumque romanorum; which is followed by that of Rusticius Helpidius (n. 9). The relation of this C. Titius Probus to Julius Paris is obscure. He had, perhaps, composed a similar abridgment, which was subsequently combined with that of Julius Paris, so that of the latter only the prooemium (n. 9) should be assumed to remain, while the grammatical (and antiquarian) work on nomen (including the nomina propria) and verbum (Kempf), perhaps owing to the similarity of the pedagogic purpose, though after the time of the ms. from which the mss. of Val. Max. are derived, was joined to the work of Val. Max., considered as the tenth book of it and epitomized as such by Julius Paris. The author must certainly have lived before Julius Paris, while of C. Titius Probus his very name renders it improbable that he belonged to a much later time than the first century of the Christian era. Cf. Th. Bergk, Rh. Mus. IV p. 120

sqq. Kempf, p. 53—67, and in the Progr. of the Berlin College 'Graues Kloster', 1854. 4. (De incerti auctoris fragmento quod inscribitur de praenominibus.)

275. A. Cornelius Celsus, a man interested in many pursuits and possessed of a talent for facile composition, followed the example of Cato in writing not only on eloquence and jurisprudence, but also on farming, medicine, and military art, to which he joined practical philosophy in the sense of the Sextii, in an encyclopaedia, of which only the eight books treating of medicine have come down to us, being VI—XIII of the complete work, the only work of this kind in the good age of Roman Literature. It contains an account of the whole medicine of the time, especially after Hippocrates and Asclepiades, with sound judgment and in simple, pure diction. Especially the parts dealing with surgery are valuable; next to them also those on therapia. Celsus was alive as late as the reign of Nero, and then wrote a treatise on a political question of the period.

1. His praenomen is known from the headings of the extant work. On his age see Columella I 1, 14: non minorem tamen laudem (than the writers of the past, such as Virgil and Julius Hyginus) meruerunt nostrorum temporum viri, Cornelius Celsus et Iulius Atticus. III 17, 4: mox Iulius Atticus et Cornelius Celsus, aetatis nostrae celeberrimi auctores, patrem atque filium Sasernam secuti etc. IV 8, 1: Celsus et Atticus, quos in re rustica maxime nostra aetas probavit. Cf. ib. III 1, 8. IV 1, 1. As Columella was a contemporary of Seneca (see below 288, 1), Celsus cannot have written much before Tiberius, but not even later, as Julius Graecinus, who was executed under Caligula, had already used his work (Plin. n. h. XIV 2, 33: Graecinus, qui alioqui Cornelium Celsum transcripsit). Cf. n. 4. Quintil. III 1, 21: scripsit de eadem materia (rhetoric) . . nonnihil pater Gallio (above 263, 7), accuratius vero priores [Gallione] Celsus et Laenas (above 263, 11) et aetatis nostrae Verginius Plinius, Tutilius. In this passage Gallione which is not correct in point of fact, appears to be a gloss, as the relation to Gallio had already been expressed by the comparative accuratius. Fr. Ritter in Jahns Jahrb. 28, p. 54—58.

2. Quintil. XII 11, 24: quid plura (of the possibility of embracing all branches useful to an orator) cum etiam Cornelius Celsus, mediocri vir ingenio, non solum de his omnibus conscripserit artibus, sed amplius rei militaris et rusticae et medicinae praecepta reliquerit, dignus vel ipso proposito ut eum scisse omnia illa credamus? In other passages also Quintilian often expresses his disagreement from this predecessor of his, e. g. II 15, 22. 32. III 6, 13 sq. VIII 3, 47. IX 1, 18: Cornelius

tamen Celsus adicit (to the σχήματα διανοίας and λέξεως) figuras colorum, nimia profecto novitatis cupiditate ductus. nam quis ignorasse eruditum alioqui virum credat etc. Even when he agrees with him, he does so with reserve, e. g. VII 1, 10: non plane dissentio a Celso, qui sine dubio Ciceronem secutus instat tamen huic parti vehementius. Cf. X 1, 124 (below n. 3). It may be that Quintilian was vexed that a subject to which he had devoted an entire life was merely cursorily treated by Celsus, and besides an encyclopedia might easily be open to technical objections. At all events, Celsus' rhetorical manual was obscured by that of Quintilian. It is mentioned only by Fortunat. III 2 (p. 121, 10 H.)

3. Quintil. X 1, 124: scripsit non parum multa (on philosophy) Cornelius Celsus, Sextios (above 261, 5 sqq.) secutus, non sine cultu ac nitore. Augustin. de haeres. prol.: opiniones omnium philosophorum qui sectas varias condiderunt usque ad tempora sua . . sex non parvis voluminibus quidam Celsus absolvit; nec redarguit aliquem, sed tantum quid sentirent aperuit, ea brevitate sermonis ut tantum adhiberet eloquii quantum aperiendae indicandaeque (sententiae) sufficeret.

4. Veget. r. milit. I 8 (p. 12, 12 sqq. Lang): haec necessitas compulit evolutis auctoribus ea me . . fidelissime dicere quae Cato ille Censorius de disciplina militari scripsit, quae Cornelius Celsus, quae Frontinus perstringenda duxerunt. Lydus de magistr. I 47: μάρτυρες Κέλσος etc. Cf. ib. III 33: καὶ συγγραφὴν περὶ τούτου (on the recent war with the Parthians) μονήρη Κέλσος ὁ ῥωμαῖος τακτικός, ἀπολέλοιπε. 34: ὥστε ἁρμόδιον, φησὶν ὁ Κέλσος, ἀδοκήτως αὐτοῖς ἐπελθεῖν. . . ὅθεν ἀφόρητος αὐτοῖς ὁ Κουρβολὼν ἐπὶ τοῦ Νέρωνος ἐφάνη. This tactical pamphlet appears, therefore, to have been written at a later period than his encyclopedia, see above n. 1.

5. Columella I 1, 14 (cf. n. 1): Cornelius (Celsus) totum corpus disciplinae (of husbandry) quinque libris complexus est. IX 2, 1: de quibus (bee-hives) neque diligentius quidquam praecipi potest quam ab Hygino (above 257, 3) . . nec elegantius quam Celso. . . Celsus utriusque memorati (Hyginus and Virgil) adhibuit modum. II 2, 15: Cornelium Celsum, non solum agricolationis sed universae naturae prudentem virum. As such he may have proved himself, like Sextius, also in the philosophical parts of his work (see n. 3). The parts treating of agriculture are quoted e. g. by Pliny (n. h. X 53, 150) who also mentions him in his ind. auct. on b. 7, 8, 10, 11, 14, 17, 18, 19, 20 sqq., 29 sq., 31, sometimes as Cornelius Celsus, sometimes merely as Celsus.

6. Of the eight books de medicina the first, after a short history of medical science among the Greeks, treats first of diaetetics and prophylactics; the second of semiotics and general pathology and therapy; book III and IV of special illnesses; V of remedies with a great number of prescriptions; VI of surgical illnesses, VII of surgical therapy, VIII of the illnesses of bones. The numerous mss. all show the same gaps (especially IV 27), and are therefore of common origin. The earliest and best are Vat. VIII saec. X and Med. I saec. XII, also Paris. 7028, saec.

XI; the others are of saec. XV and XVI. For the editions see L. Choulant, bibliography of ancient medicine p. 167—180. Ed. princeps Florentiae 1478 fol. Aldina Venet. 1528. 4. Cum not. ed. J. Caesarius, Hagenau 1528. An arbitrary text by Ant. v. d. Linden, Lugd. Bat. 1657 Cum not. varr. ed. Th. J. ab Almeloveen, Amsterd. 1687. 1713. Ed. C. Ch. Krause, Lips. 1766. Ex rec. L. Targae, Patav. 1769. 4. and especially Veron. 1810. 4. (with a lexicon Cels.). Ed. F. Ritter et H. Albers, Cologne 1835. Ed. S. de Renzi, Naples 1851. Ad fidem opt. libr. denuo rec. Daremberg, Lips. 1859 (Bibl. Teubner.).

7. He refers to preceding books V 28, 16: sicut in pecoribus proposui. The five books de agricultura (n. 6) were, therefore, premised to those on medicina, and in fact many mss. hear the heading: Cornelii Celsi artium lib. VI. item medicinae I. He had dealt more summarily, with military art; see n. 4; but philosophy was in 6 volumina (n. 3) and rhetoric also (n. 2) must have been treated extensively as we may infer from Quintilian. It seems to have embraced 7 books; see Schol. Iuv. VI 245: Celso, oratori illius temporis (not correct), qui septem libros institutionum scriptos reliquit. The latter statement is possibly right, though Juvenal did not mean this Celsus (who was not then the first authority on rhetoric), but his contemporary, the jurist Iuventius Celsus. The imitation of Cato (above 110, 1—3) is plainly visible in the selection of the branches treated. Their connexion in Celsus appears also from the similarity of the judgments on their style, which shows in the books on medical science the same 'cultus ac nitor', the same elegance as in the philosophical and agricultural parts. Celsus was saved from the absurd diction of his period by his sound common sense, and also by the fulness of the material he had to grapple with, perhaps also by the style of his sources. Schol. Plaut. Bacch. 69: Celsus libros suos cestos vocavit.

8. O. Jahn, Trans. of the Saxon Society of Lit., 1850, p. 273—282. H. Paldamus, de Cornelio Celso (Greifswald 1842. 4.) and on it also Fr. Ritter in Jahn's Jahrb. 38, p. 52—66. C. Kissel, on Celsus, an historical monography; I. Life and Works of C., Giessen 1844. 179 pp.

276. Among the Jurists of this time a prominent position was held by Capito's pupil Masurius Sabinus, from whom the school of the Sabinians takes its name; the author especially of libri III iuris civilis, which subsequently became the subject of numerous commentaries and thus influenced the Digest. But M. Cocceius Nerva, Cons. 775, was a pupil of Labeo, and himself the teacher of Proculus, from whom the Proculians obtained their name. In literary fertility and significance Proculus surpassed his master.

1. Pompon. de orig. iur. Dig. I 2, 2, 48: Ateio Capitoni (above 260, 3 sq.) Masurius Sabinus, Labeoni Nerva, qui adhuc eas dissen-

siones auxerunt. . . Masurius Sabinus in equestri ordine fuit et publice primus respondit, posteaquam hoc coepit beneficium dari; a Tiberio Caesare hoc tamen illi concessum erat. (50.) ergo Sabino concessum est a Tiberio Caesare ut populo responderet; qui in equestri ordine iam grandis natu et fere annorum quinquaginta (?) receptus est; huic nec amplae facultates fuerunt, sed plurimum a suis auditoribus sustentatus est. He was alive as late as Nero; see Gai. II 218: ut Sabinus existimaverit ne quidem ex SC. Neroniano posse convalescere. That he was born at Verona, was the conjecture of Borghesi (Bull. d. inst. arch. 1836, p. 144) founded on an inscr. discovered there: C. Masurius C. f. Sabinus (O. Jahn on Persius p. 195). Gellius IV 1, 21 and 2, 15 (Masurii Sabini ex libro iuris civilis secundo, cf. XI 18, 12 sqq. 20 sqq.). V 13, 5 (M. S. in libro i. c. tertio). Pers. V 90 (Masuri rubrica). Arrian. Epict. IV 3 (*Μασουρίου νόμοι*). His design seems to have been the same as that of Q. Mucius (above 141, 2). This manual was commented on by Pomponius in at least 36, by Ulpian in at lest 52, by Paulus in at least 17 books, three commentaries which form the substance of the Sabinian third (on civil law) of the Digest. Notes on Sabinus were also written by Fufidius and Aristo. Other works of Masurius Sabinus: commentarii de indigenis (Gell IV, 9, 8 sq.), memorialium libri, at least 11 (Gell. V, 6, 13 sq. cf. IV 20, 11. VII 7, 8. Macrob. III 6, 11. Dig. L 16, 144 and others), fasti in at least two books (Macrob. I 4, 7. 15. 10, 8), libri responsorum in at least two books (Dig. XIV 2, 4 pr. u. 1. Fragm. Vat. 75), libri ad edictum praetoris urbani in at least five (Dig. XXXVIII 1, 18), libri ad Vitellium (ib. XXXII 45. XXXIII 7, 8 pr. 12, 27. XXXIII 9, 3 pr.), also an assessorium (ib. XLVII 10, 5, 8: Sabinus in assessorio cf. II 12, 12: Puteolanus libro primo assessorium). Quotations from anonymous works of M. Sab. also in Pliny (probably from the memorialia) n. h. VII 5, 40. X 7, 20. XV 29, 126. 30, 135. XVI 18, 75. 44, 236. XXVIII 9. Gellius III 16, 23. V 19, 11 sqq. X 15, 17 sq. P. N. Arntzen, de Mas. Sabino. Utrecht 1768 = Oelrichs Thesaur. nov. III 2. p. 1 sqq. Zimmern, History of Roman private law I 1. p. 312 —315. Rudorff, Hist. of Roman law I p. 168 sq. 237.

2. Pompon. l. l. (n. 1) 48: hic etiam Nerva (grandfather to the later Emperor) Caesari (i. e. Tiberius) familiarissimus fuit. Tac. A. IV 58: profectio (of Tiberius to Campania) arto comitatu fuit: unus senator consulatu functus (A. 786 = 33 A. D.) Cocceius Nerva, continuus principis, omnis divini humanique iuris sciens . . moriendi consilium cepit etc. Dio LVIII 21. He is quoted, though without mention of any special works, in Dig. XLIII 8, 2, 28 cf. VII 5, 3. XVI 3, 32. Zimmern l. l. p. 315 sq.

3. Dig. XXVIII 5, 69: Proculus: Cartilio assentio et . . puto. Cf. Ulp. ib. XIII 6, 5, 13: Cartilius ait.

277. The principal grammarians of this period are Julius Modestus who, like his master Hyginus, embraced the real as

well as linguistic side of grammar, the severe M. Pomponius Marcellus, and the talented, but vain and dissolute Q. Remmius Palaemon of Vicenza, the author of a famous and widely used grammar (Ars). The grammarian Nisus taught and wrote in this period or soon afterwards.

1. Suet. gramm. 20: huius (i. e. Hyginus, above 257) libertus fuit Iulius Modestus, in studiis atque doctrina vestigia patroni secutus. Martial. X 21, 1: scribere te quae vix intellegat ipse Modestus. Gellius III 9, 1: Gavius Bassus (above 207, 6) in commentariis suis, item Iulius Modestus in secundo quaestionum confusarum historiam de equo Seiano tradunt. Macrob. I 4, 7 (cf. 10, 9. 16, 28): Iulius Modestus de feriis. He wrote a commentary on Horace, see above 235, 3. Grammatical treatises (or commentaries) may be inferred from the quotations in Quintilian I 6, 36. Charis. p. 73. 75. 101. 103. 125. 204. Diom. p. 365. K. Bunte in his edition of Hyginus' fab. p. 6—9. Ribbeck, prolegg. Verg. p. 121—123.

2. Suet. gramm. 22: M. Pomponius Marcellus, sermonis latini exactor molestissimus, in advocatione quadam — nam interdum et causas agebat — soloecismum etc. hic idem, cum ex oratione Tiberium reprehendisset, . . tu (inquit) Caesar civitatem dare potes hominibus, verbis non potes. pugilem olim fuisse Asinius Gallus hoc in eum epigrammate ostendit etc.

3. Q. Remmius (not Fannius, see W. Christ, Rhein. Mus. XX. p. 69 sq.) Palaemon Vicetinus mulieris verna primo . . textrinum, deinde, erilem filium dum comitatur in scholam, litteras didicit. postea manumissus docuit Romae ac principem locum inter grammaticos tenuit, quamquam infamis omnibus vitiis palamque et Tiberio et mox Claudio praedicantibus, nemini minus institutionem . . invenum committendam. sed capiebat homines cum memoria rerum tum facilitate sermonis; nec non etiam poemata faciebat ex tempore. scripsit vero variis nec volgaribus metris. arrogantia fuit tanta ut M. Varronem porcum appellaret etc. luxuriae ita indulsit ut etc. sed maxime flagrabat libidinibus in mulieres etc. Plin. n. h. XIV 4, 49: Remmio Palaemoni, alias grammatica arte celebri, in hisce XX annis mercato rus etc. ib. 50: vanitate, quae nota mire in illo fuit. 51: inviso alias (to Seneca). Juv. VII 215 sqq. (docti Palaemonis). Hieronym. chron. ad. a. Abr. 5064 = Claud. 8 (48 A. D.): Palaemon Vicetinus insignis grammaticus Romae habetur, and: M. Antonius Liberalis, latinus rhetor, gravissimas inimicitias cum Palaemone exercet. Vita Persii: studuit Flaccus . . Romae apud grammaticum Remmium Palaemonem. Schol. Juv. VI 452 (Palaemonis Artem): grammatici, magistri Quintiliani oratoris. Quintil. I 4, 20: ut . . aetate nostra Palaemon. Gellius does not mention him, but Charisius quotes him repeatedly (p. 187. 225 sq. 231 sq. 238 K.) and has taken from him his own chapters on conjunctions, prepositions, interjections (and adverbs): Keil, gramm. lat. I p. XLIX. The Excerpts from Charisius may also

be supposed to rest on Palaemon to the extent of at least one half (W. Christ, Philol. XVIII p. 136 sq.). His instances are derived from Terence, Virgil, Horace, and Cicero, and always introduced by velut (A. Schottmüller, de Plin. libr. gramm. p. 8 sqq.). Against Schottmüller who (l. l. p. 26—32) would remove that Palaemon whom Charisius used to the fourth century, see Christ l. l. p. 125—127. Besides Charisius also Diomede (p. 403. 415 K.), Consentius (p. 375 K.), Phocas and others have availed themselves of Palaemon. His name is wrongly prefixed (Keil gramm. V p. 528 sq.) to a trivial Ars, first published by Jovianus Pontanus, also in Keil's Gramm. lat. V. p. 533—547, in Putsche p. 1366 sqq. The assignation to him of other works, e. g. the versified treatise de ponderibus et mensuris, the differentiae sermonum (see Roth's edition of Suetonius p. 306—320, cf. p. XCV—C), de potestate literarum, has no safe foundation. Reifferscheid's Suetonius p. 274—296, and p. 450—452. Brambach, on Latin Orthogr. p. 29 sq.

4. Donat. (= Sueton.) vita Vergil. 42 = 60: Nisus grammaticus audisse se a senioribus (the contemporaries' of Varius) aiebat Varium duorum librorum (of Virgil's Aeneid) ordinem commutasse etc. Cf. Ribbeck, prolegg. verg. p. 90 sq. Velius Longus also quotes him repeatedly (p. 2235. 2236. 2237 P.), and also Charis. I p. 28, 9 K. (Nisus eleganter . . ait), Priscian X 11, (p. 503, 16 Htz.) Nisus et Papirianus et Probus . . dicunt, Arnob. ad. g. I 59 (Caesellios, Verrios, Scauros et Nisos) and Cassiod. p. 2287 P. Comp. Macrob. S. I 12, 30: Nisus in commentariis factorum dicit etc. Gräfenhan, Hist. of classical philology IV p. 83 sqq.

5. Greek grammarians under Tiberius were at Rome e. g. Philoxenus of Alexandria, Apollonides (Diog. La. IX 109). Also Attalus Stoicus was a Greek, qui solum vertit a Seiano circumscriptus, magnae vir eloquentiae, ex his philosophis . . longe et subtilissimus et facundissimus (Sen. suas. 2, 12), the teacher of the philosopher Seneca (W. Teuffel in Pauly's Encycl. I 2 p. 2055 sq. nr. 10).

278. In this period wrote also the botanists Caepio and Antonius Castor, also the gourmand Apicius, under whose name we possess a work on cookery, which is, however, of the third century of the Christian era. Also Julius Atticus and Julius Graecinus who wrote on the culture of vine, belong to the time of Tiberius.

1. Plinius n. h. XXI §. 18: Caepio Tiberi Caesaris principatu negavit etc. He probably was a Servilius.

2. Plinius n. h. XXV 5 speaking of plants: nobis certe, exceptis admodum paucis, contigit reliquas contemplari scientia Antoni Castoris cui summa auctoritas erat in ea arte (botany) nostro aevo, visendo hortulo eius, in quo plurimas alebat, centesimum aetatis annum excedens,

nullum corporis malum expertus ac ne aetate quidem memoria aut vigore concussis. He also wrote on botany, and Pliny mentions him as his source in b. 20—27; cf. XX 174 (Castor taliter demonstrabat). He was, perhaps, the freedman of some Antonia or of Mark Antony.

3. On Asellius Sabinus see above 269, 1; on Petronius Musa above 258, 10.

4. The glutton M. Apicius under Tiberius (Tac. A. IV 1 Dio LVII 19. Athen. I p. 7 A., cf. W. Teuffel in Pauly's Encycl. I 1 p. 1241. nr. 2) wrote also on his culinary experience. Sen. cons. ad Helv. 10, 8. Apicius nostra memoria vixit, qui . . scientiam popinae professus disciplina sua saeculum infecit. Schol. Juv. IV 23: Apicius auctor praecipiendarum cenarum, qui scripsit de iuscellis. Isidor. orig. XX 1, 1: coquinae apparatum Apicius quidam primus composuit. But the quotations of Pliny (n. h. VIII 209. IX 66. X 133. XIX 137. 143) concerning some culinary ideas of Apicius, do not agree with the extant work de re coquinaria under the name of Caelius Apicius (which probably was Caelii Apicius, Apicius being the title of the work, like Ciceronis Laelius). This work contains a collection of kitchen-receipts in ten books, each of which has a Greek heading, the numerous Greek words and phrases also proving that the work was derived from a Greek work (*Ὀψαρτυτικά*). The mention made of Varianus pullus (VI 9) seems to prove that the work was written after Heliogabulus (= Varius), but various periods may have furnished contributions to this collection Schuch has added new receipts from a Paris ms. saec. VII. Editions e. g. by Hummelberg (Turic. 1542. 4.), M. Lister (Londin. 1705), Almeloveen (Amstelod. 1709), J. M. Bernhold (Baireuth 1787) and C. Th. Schuch (auxit, emend. explanavit etc., Heidelberg 1867. 202 pp.). F. H. Dierbach, Flora Apiciana, Heidelberg 1831. E. Meyer, History of Botany II (Königsberg 1855) p. 236—249.

5. Columella I 1, 14: nec minorem laudem meruerunt nostrorum temporum viri, Cornelius Celsus et Iulius Atticus. quippe Cornelius etc. (above 275, 5); hic (Atticus) de una specie culturae pertinentis ad vites singularem librum edidit. cuius velut discipulus duo volumina similium praeceptorum de vineis Iulius Graecinus, composita facetius et eruditius, posteritati tradenda curavit. Quotations from Atticus are given by Columella III 3, 11. 11, 9 sq. 16, 3. 17, 4 (above 275, 1). 18, 1 sq. IV 1, 1. 6. 2, 2. 8, 1 (above 275, 1) 10, 1 (Celsus et Atticus). 13, 1. 28, 2 (Celsus quoque et Atticus consentiunt). 29, 1. 4. 30, 1 sq. 33, 4. He is mentioned by Pliny in his ind. auct. on book XIV, XV, XVII.

6. Iulius Graecinus, see n. 5. He is quoted by Columella III 2, 31. 3, 4. 7. 9. 11. 12, 1. IV 3, 1. 6 (Graecinus eo libro quem de vineis scripsit). 28, 2 and by Pliny XIV 33 (Graecinus, qui alioqui Cornelium Celsum transscripsit). XVI 241, also in the ind. auct. on book XIV to XVII. He may have been the son of that Graecinus to whom Ovid addressed Amor. II 10 and ex Pont I 6 (above 242, 2) and no doubt the same as Iulius Graecinus who was the father of Iulius Agricola and was exce-

cuted under Caligula, perhaps A. D. 39; see Tac. Agr. 4 (senatorii ordinis, studio eloquentiae sapientiaeque notus etc.). Sen. de benef. II 21, 5 (vir egregius, quem C. Caesar occidit ob hoc unum quod melior vir erat quam esse quemquam tyranno expedit). Epist. 29, 6 (vir egregius).

279. Partly under Tiberius and partly under his successor the freedman Phaedrus from Pieria published his books of Aesopean fables in well-made iambic senarii. To his fables he also added anecdotes of contemporary history. The various persecutions which he suffered contributed to raise his idea of his worth. His style is fluent and frequently garrulous in the later books; his tone cheerful, and sometimes rude; his diction correct, though not without traces of the influence of his age. The work has not, however, come down to us in its complete form. A contemporary of Phaedrus is the tragic writer Pomponius Secundus, whose works seem to have been published after the death of Tiberius.

1. Title: Phaedri, Augusti liberti, fabularum aesopiarum libri. His patron appears to have been Augustus (divus Aug., Phaedr. III 10, 39), as Tiberius is called Caesar Tiberius II 5, 7. The circumstances of his life are known to us only from his poems. III prol. 1: Phaedri libellos. 17: ego, quem pierio mater enixa est iugo . . (20:) quamvis in ipsa paene natus sim schola. (54:) ego, litteratae qui sum propior Graeciae. He was at an early time brought to Italy and there became acquainted with Roman literature. III epil. 33 sq.: ego quondam legi quam puer sententiam „palam mutire plebeio piaculumst“ (Ennius trag. 376 V.) etc. He suffered persecution. III prol. 34 sqq.: servitus obnoxia, quia quae volebat non audebat dicere, adfectus proprios in fabellas transtulit, calumniamque fictis elusit iocis. ego porro illius (i. e. Aesop) semita feci viam et cogitavi plura quam reliquerat, in calamitatem deligens quaedam meam. quod si accusator alius Seiano foret, . . dignum faterer esse me tantis malis. Some passages of the first two books, if not the anecdote of Tiberius (II 6, 7 sqq.), at all events I 1, 15 (qui fictis causis innocentes opprimunt) and 2, 30 sq. (vos quoque, o cives, . . hoc sustinete, maius ne veniat malum) and others would seem to have been charged against him as malicious allusions to contemporary events. It is not known what the mala were. He frequently mentions envy and jealousy: II epil. III prol. 23 sqq. and 9, 4. IV prol. 15 sqq. 21, 1 sqq. cf. III epil. 29 sqq. difficulter continetur spiritus integritatis qui sincerae conscius a noxiorum premitur insolentiis. He was poor; III prol. 21 (quamvis . . curamque habendi penitus corde eraserim) cf. epil., in which Eutychus is pretty openly asked for some recompense. The poet's conviction of his own value appears II epil. III 1 and 12. IV epil.

2. For his relation to Aesop see I prol. 1 sq. (Aesopus auctor

quam materiam repperit hanc ego polivi versibus senariis). IV. prol. 11 sqq. (fabulis, quas aesopias, non Aesopi, nomino, quia paucas ille ostendit, ego plures fero etc.). IV 21. V prol. Though the accounts of Simonides (IV 22. 25), Socrates (III 9), Menander (V 1) may be derived from some later Attic collection, this cannot apply to the fable on Cn. Pompeius (App. 8), on the time of Augustus (III 10 and V 7) and Tiberius (II 6, 7 sqq.). The first two books seem to have been published conjointly (under Tiberius), as the first has no separate epilogue and as the fate (prol. 38 sqq.) and reception of his first fables (III 10, 59 sq. cf. IV 7, 1 sqq.) are mentioned in the second part. After the death of Tiberius (cf. III prol. 33 sqq. and dulcis libertas III 7, 1) he published the third book with prologue and epilogue, dedicated to Eutychus and intended to finish his collection (cf. epil. and IV prol.). There followed, however, a fourth book, addressed to Particulo who is in the prologue mentioned as an author (17 sq.; mihi parta laus est, quod tu, quod similes tui vestras in chartas verba transfertis mea) and in the epilogue called vir sanctissimus; and when the poet had already grown old (V 10) a fifth book succeeded, in which (10, 10) Philetes is addressed. The epilogue of the Appendix (n. 4) might belong to the first or fifth book.

3. Martial III 20, 5: an aemulatur improbi iocos Phaedri? This epithet may denote the various improper and rude expressions (e. g. I 20. 31. III 3. IV 15) and vulgarisms (especially IV 18) which occur in this collection. Some abstract turns of expression, e. g. ingemuit corvi deceptus stupor (I 13, 12) remind us of the manner of Valerius Maximus. He personifies Religio IV 11, 4. The brevity he had originally studied to attain (II prol. 12. cf. III epil. 8. IV epil.) is considerably enlarged upon in the third book (cf. III 10, 60). In choosing senarii the poet was probably influenced by the example of Publilius Syrus (L. Müller p. VIII). In admitting spondees in the second and fourth foot Phaedrus agrees with him and with the poets before Catullus. In all other respects his verse is polished in careful observation of metrical laws; see L. Müller's praef. p. VIII—XII. P. Langen, Rh. Mus. XIII p. 197—208. That he could manage higher style, appears from IV 7, 6 sqq. App. 6. Seneca (see above 27, 2) does not know Phaedrus, and though Quintilian (I 9, 2) speaks of versified Aesopian fables, he does not mention his name. After Martial, Phaedrus is not mentioned again before Avienus (Epist ad Theodos.: Phaedrus etiam partem aliquam quinque in libellos resolvit).

4. The fragmentary state of the extant collection appears from the unequal number of fables in each book (I: 31, III: 19, Appendix: 31, but II only 8, and V only 10), from the absence of a fable in which arbores loquuntur (I prol. 6), from the gap IV 13 sq. and especially from the existence of the appendix. The latter contains the fables which Nic. Perotti in the middle of the 15th century published from a ms. more complete than the cod. Pithoeanus (saec. X) and Remensis (saec. X, burnt 1774) which are our principal sources in the rest of

the fables; see Orelli's edition p. 5—17. It should, however, be added that Perotti interpolated these fables, according to his own confession: non sunt hi mei quos putas versiculi, sed Aesopi sunt (cf. nr. 809 sq. 814. 817 R.), Avieni et Phaedri. quos collegi, . . saepe versiculos interponens meos. The Appendix was last of all printed in Riese's anthol. lat. II 799—830, cf. ib. p. XXXI sq. In some pieces the chartula Danielis saec. XII in the Vatican library (cf. du Rieu, Schedae Vatic. 1860, p. 137—39) is of importance. The prosaic paraphrases by Romulus and the Anonymus first published by Nilant likewise presuppose the existence of a fuller collection of Phaedrus. The mediaeval collections of fables started from Romulus.

5. Ed. princeps by P. Pithoeus, Autun 1596. Editions by N. Rigaltius (1617. 4.). in the mythologia aesopica of J. Nevelet (Francof. 1610), by P. Burmann (Amstelod. 1698. Hag. 1718; cum novo comm. Lugd. B. 1727. 4.), Bentley (with Terence), J. G. S. Schwabe (cum comm. perp. Halle 1779—1781, 3 vols., and Brunsvig. 1806. 2 vols.), N. Titze (Prague 1813), J. Berger de Xivrey (Paris, Didot, 1830), J. C. Orelli (Turic. 1831; supplementum ib. 1832), C. G. Dressler (recogn., Bautzen 1838 and Lips. Teubner 1850), Fr. Eyssenhardt (recogn., Berlin 1867), L. Müller (recogn. et praef. est, Lips. Teubner, 1868).

6. On Phaedrus see F. Jacobs, supplement to Sulzer VI. p. 34 sqq L. Preller in Ersch and Gruber's Encycl. III, 21. p. 363 sqq. Glasewald, spec. disp. de Ph. fabulis, Greifswald 1828. 4. Collmann, index Phaedrianus, Marburg 1841. 4. Kunkel, on some difficult passages in Phaedrus, Bensheim 1861. 4.

7. Tac. A. V 8: relatum (A. 784 = 31 A. D.) inde de . . Pom ponio Secundo. . . huic obicetabatur Aelii Galli (the son of Sejanus amicitia. . . Pomponius, multa morum elegantia et ingenio inlustri, . . Tiberio superstes fuit (after an imprisonment of several years in his brother's house, during which time he occupied himself with literary pursuits). XI 13: Claudius (a. 800 = 47) . . theatralem populi lasciviam severis edictis increpuit, quod in Publium Pomponium consularem (cons. suff. 776 V. C.?) — is carmina scenae dabat — . . proba iecerat. XII 28: apud posteros . . carminum gloria praecellit. Cf. dial. 13. Plin. n h. VII 19, 80: in Pomponio consulari poeta, and XIII 12, 83: apud Pomponium Secundum, vatem civemque clarissimum, vidi. Plin. Ep. VII 17, 11: Pomponius Secundus (hic scriptor tragoediarum) . . dicere solebat. Quintil. X 1, 98: eorum (writers of tragedies) quos viderim longe princeps Pomponius Secundus, quem senes quidem parum tragicum putabant, eruditione ac nitore praestare confitebantur. VIII 3, 31: memini iuvenis admodum inter Pomponium ac Senecam etiam praefationibus esse tractatum an 'gradus eliminat' in tragoedia dici oportuisset. There are also traces of other reflections on language; Charis. I p. 137, 23 sq. K.: Pomponius Secundus poeta, ut refert (in his life of Pomp. Sec.) Plinius (preferred omneis to omnes). He may have treated of these matters in his letters; ib. p. 125, 23 K.: cetariis Pomponius

Secundus ad Thraseam. Other intentional peculiarities of his style are mentioned by Diomed I p. 371 K. and Priscian X p. 538 H. (Pomponius Secundus ad Thraseam: sancierat ius). Terentian. Maur. 2135 sq.: in tragicis iunxere choris hunc (a dactylic tetrameter) saepe diserti Annaeus Seneca et Pomponius ante Secundus. As one of his titles, only Aeneas is known (Charis. I p. 132 K.: P. S. in Aenea), which would appear to have been a praetexta (see Acro above 17, 4). Armorum iudicium (Lactant. on Stat. Theb. X 841) is probably by Pacuvius or L. Attius or also by Pomponius Bononiensis (above 135, 4 sq.), and perhaps also Atreus (ap. Non. p. 144, 24); see B. Schmidt, Rh. Mus. XVI p. 588—597. M. Hertz de Scaevo, Breslau 1869. 4, p. 4, note 3. See also Ribbeck, Trag. lat. p. 197 sq. (p. 231 sq. 386 ed. II). Welcker, Rh. Mus. Suppl. II 3 p. 1440—1442. Haakh in Pauly's Encycl. VI 1 p. 1879, nr. 34.

b. The reigns of Caligula, Claudius, and Nero A. D. 37—68.

280. While in the reign of Tiberius the novelty of undisguised despotism and the strange manner of the ruler caused in most minds a peculiar depression, we notice under his successors of the Julian dynasty an unwholesome vivacity, nay sometimes sprightliness. A number of the most stirring scenes were enacted before the eyes of the period: rulers and their minions were seen to rise, madly to exhaust the resources of their positions, and fall down precipitately. The most rapid changes and the maddest conduct became usual, and were witnessed with the intense curiosity created by an interesting performance, and this feeling would scarcely disappear in case the spectator himself was personally concerned in the exhibition. Reason was not conspicuons anywhere; all changes were wrought by intrigue, malice, wickedness or brutal force; the consequence was that all gave themselves up to a kind of nihilistic resignation which tasted the time to the dregs, was prepared for everything and anything for to-morrow and, at the best, sought comfort in future hopes. The chief character of this age is Seneca; but even Persius, Lucanus, and Petronius represent only the different effects of the same causes. Men of deeper character, e. g. Paetus Thrasea and Helvidius Priscus, clung to Stoicism and sought in the self-consciousness of this system some compensation of the cheerless condition of their time. The character of

the period is most faithfully expressed in the reflecting part of literature, the philosophical writings of Seneca. The age was not very favourable to impartial historical composition, though Claudius evinced personal interest in history, whence we find in his reign both historians with rhetorical tendencies, e. g. Servilius Nonianus and Curtius Rufus, and such sober investigators as Cornelius Bocchus, Columella, Asconius, and Pomponius Mela. Nero favoured poetry which also offered opportunities of satisfying one's thirst after applause in the public recitations and held out a hope of immortality. Hence the most different kinds of poetry were cultivated, tragedy by Seneca and Curiatius Maternus, historical epics by Lucan, idyl by Calpurnius Siculus, didactic poetry by the author of Aetna, Satire by Persius, lyric poetry by Bassus, and scholastic poetry by Homerus Latinus. Only comedy would not prosper owing to the Mimus and Pantomimus, but Petronius wrote a very ironical novel describing manners and customs. Scholastic rhetoric was studied with much zeal, but the prevailing uniformity and the absence of wholesome food gradually deprived it of its power. Jurisprudence was steadily continued, and grammar was excellently represented by Valerius Probus.

1. To this period belongs the Mimus Laureolus of a certain Catullus. Tertullian. adv. Valentin. 14: nullum Catulli Laureolum fuerit exercitata. Juv. XIII 111: mimum agit ille, urbani qualem fugitivus scurra Catulli. Sueton. Calig. 57: in Laureolo mimo . . cruore scena abundavit. Joseph. Antiq. XIX 1, 13 (p. 104, 13 sq. Bk.): *μῖμος εἰσάγεται* (shortly before Caligula's assassination) *καθ' ὃν σταυροῦται λῃστῶν ἡγεμών*. Martial. de spect. 7. Juv. VIII 187 with the Schol. The same Catullus wrote a Mimus entitled Phasma (Iuv. VIII 186 and Schol.). Others see above 8, 1.

2. Suidas I p. 626 Bernh.: *Εὔοδος Ῥόδιος ἐποποιός, γεγονὼς ἐπὶ Νέρωνος, ὃ θαυμαζόμενος εἰς ῥωμαϊκὴν ποίησιν. τούτου τὰ βιβλία οὐ φαίνεται.*

3. H. Lehmann, Claudius and Nero and their time. I. Claudius and his time, Gotha 1858. 368 and 66 pp.

281. Of the Emperors of this period, Caligula (a. 765 — 794) was the only one who did not publish works of his own. Claudius (a. 744—807) wrote much, both before and after his accession to the throne, especially on history, and attempted to reform the Latin alphabet. But the unlimited

weakness of his mind and character allowed none of his literary compositions to come down to posterity. We possess in inscriptions some specimens of his doings. Nero (a. 790—821 = 37—68 A. D.) was less educated for eloquence, but composed with much zeal verses in epic (Troica), elegiac and melic metres, the public recitation of which formed one of the more innocent sides of his madness. His mother Agrippina, the wife of Claudius, wrote Memoirs, no doubt as a means of promoting the purposes of her ambition.

1. Sueton. Calig. 53: ex disciplinis liberalibus minimum eruditioni, eloquentiae plurimum attendit, quantumvis facundus et promptus, utique si perorandum in aliquem esset. irato et verba et sententiae suppetebant. . . lenius comptiusque scribendi genus adeo contemnens ut Senecam tum maxime placentem commissiones meras componere et arenam esse sine calce diceret. solebat etiam prosperis oratorum actionibus rescribere et magnorum in senatu reorum accusationes defensionesque meditari ac, prout stilus cesserat, vel onerare sententia quemque vel sublevare, equestri quoque ordine ad audiendum invitato per edicta. 34: cogitavit etiam de Homeri carminibus abolendis. . . sed et Vergilii ac Titi Livi scripta et imagines paulum afuit quin ex omnibus bibliothecis amoveret, quorum alterum ut nullius ingenii minimaeque (C. Peter: nimiaeque) doctrinae, alterum ut verbosum in historia neglegentemque carpebat. de iuris quoque consultis, quasi scientiae eorum omnem usum aboliturus, saepe iactavit se mehercule effecturum ne quid respondere possint praeter eum.

2. Suet. Claud. 33: aleam studiosissime lusit, de cuius arte librum quoque emisit. Suet. Claud. 40: principi neque infacundo neque indocto, immo etiam pertinaciter liberalibus studiis dedito. 41: historiam in adulescentia, hortante T. Livio, Sulpicio vero Flavo etiam adiuvante, scribere adgressus est. et cum primum frequenti auditorio commisisset aegre perlegit, refrigeratus saepe a semet ipso. . . in principatu quoque et scripsit plurimum et assidue recitavit per lectorem. initium autem sumpsit historiae post caedem Caesaris dictatoris, sed et transiit ad inferiora tempora coepitque a pace civili etc. (above p. 386, n. 2). prioris materiae duo volumina, posterioris XLI reliquit. composuit et De vita sua VIII volumina, magis inepte quam ineleganter; item Ciceronis defensionem adversus Asini Galli libros (above 271, 3) satis eruditam. 42: nec minore cura graeca studia secutus est, amorem praestantiamque linguae occasione omni professus. .. denique et graecas scripsit historias, *Τυρρηνικῶν* XX, *Καρχηδονιακῶν* VIII. Cf. Sen. Apocol. 5: Claudius gaudet esse illic philologos homines, sperat futurum aliquem historiis suis locum. The lex agrorum ex commentario Claudi Caesaris is mentioned in the liber coloniarum, Writings of the Roman Gromatics, I p. 211, 13 L., instead of which Mommsen (ib. II p. 160, n. 16) reads C. Iuli Caesaris.

3. Suet. Claud. 41: novas etiam commentus est literas tres ac numero veterum quasi maxime necessarias addidit; de quarum ratione cum privatus adhuc volumen edidisset mox princeps (but not till the close of 800 = 47 A. D. as Censor, Tac. A. XI 13) non difficulter optinuit ut in usu quoque promiscuo essent. extat talis scriptura in plerisque libris ac diurnis titulisque operum. Tac. A. XI 13: novas literarum formas addidit volgavitque. 14: Claudius tres literas adiecit, quae usui imperitante eo, post obliteratae, aspiciuntur etiam nunc in aere publico per fora ac templa fixo. These are the three letters ⅃ for consonant u, Ↄ (antisigma) to denote bs and ps, and ⊦ to denote a sound between i and u (Y). He also reintroduced AI instend of the diphthong AE, according to Greek habit. This increase of the Latin alphabet, which was in itself of doubtful necessity or utility (only of the first innovation Quintilian says I 7, 26: nec inutiliter Claudius . . illam . . literam adiecerat, and Priscian. I 4, 20. p. 15 H.: quod quamvis illi recte visum est, tamen consuetudo antiqua superavit), would not have had much chance, even if it had been started by a prince generally respected; it also seems that Claudius merely recommended it. Even in his life-time it was almost never used in the distant parts of the Empire and on coins, near the Capital only moderately. The antisigma can be produced on only one inscription and even there without absolute certainty. On the whole subject see Fr. Bücheler, de Ti. Claudio Caesare grammatico, Elberfeld 1856. 54 pp., where the inscriptions are collected. Cf. Rhein. Mus. XIII p. 155—157.

4. We possess of Claudius, on two iron tablets, which belong together, and which were dug up at Lyons a. 1524, part of a speech he delivered a. 801 = 48 A. D. in the Senate in favour of the admission of the Gallic nobility to Roman offices, and from which Tacitus A. XI 24 gives an extract. This curious relic is printed in many editions of the Annals of Tacitus, e. g. in those of J. Lipsius, Nipperdey, Orelli-Baiter (I p. 341—343), and also frequently by itself. E. g. by C. Zell, Freiburg 1833. 4 = Opusc. acad. lat. (1857) p. 96—156. 245 sq. A. Boissieu, Inscriptions antiques de Lyon, Lyon 1846. A. Comarmond, Description . . des tables de Claude, Lyon 1847. 4. J. B. Monfalcon, Monographie de la table de Claude, Paris 1853. fol.

5. On April 29, 1869, an edict of Claudius concerning the citizenship of the Anaunians, of 15 March 46 A. D., was discovered in the Tyrol. F. Kenner, on an edict of the Emperor Cl., Vienna 1869. Mommsen, Hermes IV p. 99—131, where he says p. 107: "the beginning of the Edict with its confused relative sentences and the awkward relegation of the principal subject to a secondary sentence, and above all with its unheard-of anacoluthias, is highly characteristic of the crowned pedant. . . We see here distinctly that strangest of Roman rulers, in whose mind the germs of naïve honesty, humour, feeling of justice and honour, nay even sagacity and energy, were strangely confused; but unfortunately neither his head nor heart was consistent, so that

all those qualities, distorted and caricatured as it were in a concave mirror, resulted in a portrait of frightful comicality."

6. Tac. A. IV 53: id ego . . repperi in commentariis Agrippinae filiae, quae Neronis principis mater vitam suam et casus suorum posteris memoravit. Plin. n. h. VII 8, 46: Neronem . . pedibus genitum scribit parens eius Agrippina, and in the ind. auct. of b. VII: Agrippina Claudi. She lived 16—59 A. D., see A. Preuner in Pauly's Enc. II. p. 613—616. A. Stahr, Agrippina, Nero's mother, Berlin 1867. As the historians never appeal to these Memoirs for a single fact of Nero's reign, they seem to have been written and published before her son's accession to the throne. Cf. Lehmann, Claudius p. 5 sq.

7. Suet. Nero 52: liberales disciplinas omnes fere puer attigit. sed a philosophia eum mater avertit, monens imperaturo contrariam esse, a cognitione veterum oratorum Seneca praeceptor, quo diutius in admiratione sui detineret. (But Tac. A. XIV 55 lets Nero say to Seneca: quod meditatae orationi statim occurram, id primum tui muneris habeo, qui me . . subita expedire docuisti) itaque ad poeticam pronus carmina libenter ac sine labore composuit. . . venere in manus meas pugillares libellique cum quibusdam notissimis versibus ipsius chirographo scriptis ut facile appareret non tralatos aut dictante aliquo exceptos, sed plane quasi a cogitante atque generante exaratos; ita multa et deleta et inducta et superscripta inerant. ib. 10: declamavit saepius publice. recitavit et carmina, non modo domi sed et in theatro, tanta universorum laetitia (at the beginning of his reign) ut ob recitationem supplicatio decreta sit eaque pars carminum aureis literis Iovi Capitolino dicata. Tac. A. XIII 3: contractis quibus aliqua pangendi facultas necdum insignis erat. hi cenati considere simul et adlatos vel ibidem repertos versus conectere atque ipsius verba quoquo modo prolata supplere. quod species ipsa carminum docet, non impetu et instinctu nec ore pleno fluens. Nero . . aliquando carminibus pangendis inesse sibi elementa doctrinae ostendebat. XIV 16: carminum quoque studium adfectavit.

8. Dio LXII 29: *ἐν πανδήμῳ τινὶ θέᾳ* (on the quinquennalia of a. 818 V. C.) . . *ἀνέγνω Τρωϊκά τινα ἑαυτοῦ ποιήματα*, Dio LXII 29. Cf. Juv. VIII 321. Schol. Pers. I 121 Anth. lat. 725, 38 sqq. R. Quotations from this epic poem by Serv. Georg. III 36. Aen. V 370. To the same may have belonged the three hexameters quoted by Schol. Lucan III 261 (de hoc ait Nero in primo libro: Quinque ete.) and also the polished, but utterly unmeaning hexameters in Persius I 93—95. 99—102, on which the Schol.: dicit hos versus Neronis (p. 269 J.), and: hi versus Neronis sunt (p. 271, 1 sq. J.), cf. O. Jahn's prolegg. to Pers. p. LXXVIII—LXXXI. W. Teuffel, Translation of Persius (Stuttg. 1857) p. 44 sq. But in these Troica was probably the *Ἅλωσις Ἰλίου* recited by Nero on the occasion of the conflagration of Rome (A. D. 64). Dio LXII 18: *τὴν σκευὴν τὴν κιθαρῳδικὴν λαβὼν ᾖσεν Ἅλωσιν . . Ἰλίου*. Suet. Ner. 38: halosin Ilii in illo suo scenico habitu decantavit, cf. Tac. A. XV

39. Dio LXII 29: *παρεσκευάζετο δὲ ὡς καὶ τὰς τῶν Ῥωμαίων πράξεις ἁπάσας συγγράψων ἐν ἔπεσιν καὶ περί γε τοῦ πλήθους τῶν βιβλίων, πρὶν καὶ ὁτιοῦν αὐτῶν συνθεῖναι, ἐσκέψατο.*

9. Of a different kind were those poems of Nero's which were intended for recitation to the cithara. Dio LXI 20: *ἐκιθαρῴδησέ τε Ἄττιν τινὰ ἢ Βάκχας.* Neroniana cantica in Suet. Vitell. 11. He took his subjects from Greek tragedies. Philostrat. Apoll. Tyan. IV 39 *ᾠδῶν τὰ τοῦ Νέρωνος μέλη. . . ἐπῆγε μέλη τὰ μὲν ἐξ Ὀρεστείας, τὰ δὲ ἐξ Ἀντιγόνης, τὰ δ' ὁποθενοῦν τῶν τραγῳδουμένων αὐτῷ, καὶ ᾠδὰς ἔκαμπτεν ὁπόσας Νέρων ἐλύγιζέ τε καὶ κακῶς ἔστρεφεν.* Cf. Suet. Ner. 21. Plin. n. h. XXXVII 3, 12: Domitius Nero . . quodam carmine. Poems (elegies?) on lascivious subjects, Martial. IX 26, 9 sq. (Nero . . lascivum iuvenis cum tibi lusit opus) cf. VIII 70, 8. Plin. Epp. V 3, 6 (above 25, 1). Similar to this was probably poema Neronis quod inscribitur Luscio against Clodius Pollio (Suet. Domit. 1) and the one against Quintianus (mollitia corporis infamis et a Nerone probroso carmine diffamatus, Tac. A. XV 49). O. Jahn's Prolegg. to Pers. p. LXXV—LXXVIII. A. Haakh in Pauly's Enc. V. p. 579 sq. note. Lehmann, Claudius p. 6 sq.

10. Tac. A. XIII 3: adnotabant seniores . . primum ex eis qui rerum potiti essent Neronem alienae facundiae eguisse. Cf. n. 7 and 282, 2. Dio LXI 3: *τοσαῦτα καὶ πρὸς τὴν βουλήν, πρὸς τοῦ Σενέκου καὶ αὐτὰ γραφέντα, ἀνέγνω.* The speeches mentioned by Suet.Ner. 7, the gratiarum actio in the Senate, pro Bononiensibus latine, pro Rhodiis atque Iliensibus graece, were probably also written by Seneca. Fronto ad Ver. II 1 p. 124 says inaccurately on the Emperors from Tiberius to Vespasian: quis eorum oratione sua populum aut senatum adfari, quis edictum, quis epistulam suismet verbis componere potuit? See above n. 1. 4. 5. 7.

282. To the reigns of all these three Emperors extends the literary activity of L. Annaeus Seneca, (c. 750—818 v. c.), who was Senator under Caligula and Claudius, though exiled to Corsica soon after his accession, owing to Messalina (a. 41), whence he was recalled eight years afterwards through the influence of Agrippina (a. 57); he was then entrusted with the education of Nero and appointed praetor; under Nero he was Consul (a. 57) and for some time the actual ruler of the Monarchy, finally, however, (a. 65) forced to commit suicide, being charged with participation in the conspiracy of Piso. Seneca is the most brilliant figure of this time. In point of *esprit* and formal perfection, he may be compared with Ovid. He was fully aware of his talents, but did not always resist the temptations held out by opportunities and power and the suggestions of the moment. It can, however, but rarely be

shown that he put his great talents and high position to perverse use: though his life only exhibited wisdom frequently in the weakened form of prudence, his death proved his resolute renunciation of the goods of this life.

1. Seneca was born at Corduba (see above 264, 1. Cordubenses nostri, III p. 434 Hse.), the second of three brothers (above 264, 2). His mother's name was Helvia; see the Consolatio addressed to her and above 264, 1. Of her sister (subsequently the wife of a man who governed Egypt for 16 years, probably Vitrasius Pollio) he says cons. ad Helv. 19, 2: illius manibus in urbem perlatus sum, illius pio maternoque nutricio per longum tempus aeger convalui; illa pro quaestura mea gratiam suam extendit. At Rome he was instructed by the philosophers Attalus (above 277, 5) and Sotion (Epist. 49. 98. 108), also by Papirius Fabianus (above 261, 10). Seneca remembered also Asinius Pollio († 758, above 210, 1): de tranq. 17, 1. Epist. 49, 2: quid non 'modo' est si recorderis? modo apud Sotionem puer sedi, modo causas agere coepi, modo desii velle agere, modo desii posse. ib. 108, 22: in Tiberii Caesaris principatum iuventae tempus inciderat. Dio LIX 19, 7 (a. 39): *ὁ Σενέκας ὁ Ἄννιος ὁ Λούκιος . . διεφθάρη παῤ ὀλίγον . . ὅτι δίκην τινὰ ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ παρόντος αὐτοῦ* (Caligula) *καλῶς εἶπεν.* When a. 41 the youngest daughter (born a. 18) of Germanicus and sister of Caligula, Iulia Livilla, was exiled through the influence of Messalina, Seneca, being her lover, shared her fate. (Tac. A. XIII 42. Dio LXI 10. Schol. Juv. V 109). Caesonius Maximus followed him to Corsica (Martial. VII 44 sq.). Tac. A. XII 8 a. 49: Agrippina . . veniam exilii pro Annaeo Seneca, simul praeturam impetrat, . . ut Domitii pueritia tali magistro adolesceret et consiliis eiusdem ad spem dominationis uterentur, quia Seneca fidus in Agrippinam memoria beneficii et infensus Claudio dolore iniuriae credebatur. Suet. Nero 7: undecimo aetatis anno a Claudio adoptatus est Annaeoque Senecae iam tunc senatori in disciplinam traditus. Schol. Juv. l. l. (p. 254 J.): revocatus . . etsi magno desiderio Athenas intenderet ab Agrippina tamen erudiendo Neroni in palatium adductus. Dio suspects even his relations to Agrippina, LXI 10: *οὐ γὰρ ἀπέχρησεν αὐτῷ τὴν Ἰουλίαν μοιχεῦσαι, οὐδὲ βελτίων ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς ἐγένετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ Ἀγριππίνῃ . . ἐπλησίαζεν.* But in this case it is possible that he was seduced by the lady. Cons. suff. 57, see Hermes II. p. 45. Seneca shows in several passages how he thought of the conduct to be adopted in a difficult time, e. g. de otio 3, 3: si resp. corruptior est quam ut adiuvari possit, si occupata est malis, non nitetur sapiens in supervacuum nec se nihil profuturus impendet. See below 328, 8 fin.

2. Seneca influenced Nero in the good beginning of his reign, an influence maintained partly by dangerous means. Dio LXI 4: *αὐτοὶ* (Seneca and Burrus) *τὴν ἀρχὴν ἅπασαν παρέλαβον καὶ διῴκησαν ἐφ' ὅσον ἠδυνήθησαν ἄριστα καὶ δικαιότατα.* Tac. A. XIII 2: ibatur in caedes

nisi Afranius Burrus et Annaeus Seneca obviam issent. hi rectores imperatoriae iuventae et . . concordes diversa arte ex aequo pollebant, . . Seneca praeceptis eloquentiae et comitate honesta, iuvantes invicem, quo facilius lubricam principis aetatem, si virtutem aspernaretur, voluptatibus concessis retinerent. (Against the latter see Dio LXI 4). ib. 11: clementiam suam obstringens (Nero) crebris orationibus, quas Seneca, testificando quam honesta praeciperet vel iactandi ingenii, voce principis vulgabat. ib. 13: donec . . exueret obsequium in matrem seque Senecae permitteret, ex cuius familiaribus Annaeus Serenus simulatione amoris adversus eandem libertam (Acte) primas adolescentis (Nero) cupidines velaverat. Plin. n. h. XIV 51: Annaeo Seneca, principe tum eruditorum ac potentia, quae postremo nimia ruit super ipsum, minime utique miratore inanium. Seneca knew how to make use of favourable opportunities. Tac. A. XIII 42: qua sapientia, quibus philosophorum praeceptis intra quadriennium regiae amicitiae ter millies sestertium paravisset (Seneca)? Romae testamenta et orbos velut indagine eius capi, Italiam et provincias immenso fenore hauriri. An instance of such speculations is given by Dio LXII 2. Cf. ib. LXI 10: *καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις πάντα τὰ ἐναντιώτατα οἷς ἐφιλοσόφει ποιῶν ἠλέγχθη. καὶ γὰρ ἐνραννίδος κατηγορῶν . . οὐκ ἀφίστατο τοῦ παλατίου . . τοῖς τε πλουτοῦσιν ἐγκαλῶν* (? cf. Sen. vit. beat. 17) *οὐσίαν ἑπτακισχιλίων καὶ πενταχοσίων μυριάδων ἐκτήσατο, καὶ τὰς πολυτελείας τῶν ἄλλων αἰτιώμενος πενταχοσίους τρίποδας . . εἶχε. . . τὰς ἀσελγείας ἃς πράττων γάμον τε ἐπιφανέστατον ἔγημε* (with Pompeja Paulina, Tac. A. XV 60) *καὶ μειρακίοις ἐξώροις ἔχαιρε καὶ τοῦτο καὶ τὸν Νέρωνα ποιεῖν ἐδίδαξε.* But in Tac. A. XIV 53 Seneca says to Nero: tantum honorum atque opum in me cumulasti ut nihil felicitati meae desit nisi moderatio eius. In general it may be said that Tacitus understood Seneca much better than Dio who frequently merely reproduces the jealous gossip of the Town and even (LXII 25) attempts to depreciate his death (Tac. A. XV 60—65). In comparing himself with others and reconsidering his actions and omissions, Seneca could afford to look back on his life with satisfaction: Tac. A. XV 62: imaginem vitae suae relinquere. 63: contemplatione vitae per virtutem actae. It is true that there is a certain study of effect even in the manner of his death, but this scarcely decreases the actual merit of the act.

3. Volquardsen, a vindication of Seneca's character, Hadersleben 1839. 4. E. F. Gelpke, de Senecae vitae et moribus, Bern 1848. 4. Peter, History of Rome III. p. 344—351. A. Martens, de Senecae vita et de tempore quo scripta eius philosophica . . composita sint, Altona 1187. 62 pp.

283. Seneca is as a writer also a faithful picture of his period, in which brilliancy was placed above accuracy; he purposely wrote in harmony to the prevailing taste and thus forfeited the applause of the succeeding generations. In

respect of his subjects, he was most varied; yet he was always and at last exclusively fond of quiet meditations on nature and human life. He started from the Stoic system, but alloyed it with additions from other systems, by which the original austerity was toned down, the ethic severity of the system softened and its crotchets left aside. These popular philosophical writings charm the reader by fulness and fineness of observation, abundance of knowledge unalloyed with pedantry, nobility of thought and a glittering style, decked out with all means of rhetoric. But the absence of definite plan and the constant repetition of the same manner will tire us at last, we are displeased with the author's persistent endeavours to please and even serious passages cause suspicion of the writer's sincerity. This manner, retained by Seneca throughout his life, had become part and parcel of his being and appears equally in all his works, both in prose and poetry, though in the latter the rhetorical element has entirely overpowered the contents.

1. Tac. XIII 3: fuit illi viro (Seneca) ingenium amoenum et temporis eius auribus accommodatum. Quintil. X 1, 125: ex industria Senecam in omni genere eloquentiae distuli, propter vulgatam falso de me opinionem qua damnare eum et invisum quoque habere sum creditus. quod accidit mihi dum corruptum et omnibus vitiis fractum dicendi genus revocare ad severiora iudicia contendo. (126.) tum autem solus hic fere in manibus adulescentium fuit. quem . . potioribus (especially Cicero) praeferri non sinebam, quos ille non destiterat incessere. . . (127.) placebat propter sola vitia. . . (128.) cuius et multae alioqui et magnae virtutes fuerunt, ingenium facile et copiosum, plurimum studii, multa rerum cognitio. . . tractavit etiam omnem fere studiorum materiam. (129.) nam et orationes eius et poemata et epistolae et dialogi feruntur. in philosophia parum diligens, egregius tamen vitiorum insectator fuit. multae in eo claraeque sententiae, multa etiam morum gratia legenda; sed in eloquendo corrupta pleraque atque eo perniciosissima quod abundant dulcibus vitiis. (130.) . . si non omnia sua amasset, si rerum pondera minutissimis sententiis non fregisset, consensu potius eruditorum quam puerorum amore comprobaretur. (131.) . . multa . . probanda in eo, multa etiam admiranda sunt: eligere modo curae sit; quod utinam ipse fecisset. Even stronger are the expressions used by Seneca's antipodes in mannerism, Fronto and his adherents. E. g. Fronto p. 155 N.: eloquentiam . . Senecae mollibus et febriculosis prunuleis insitam subvertendam censeo radicitus. (156.) . . neque ignoro copiosum sententiis et redundantem hominem esse; verum sententias eius . . video nusquam pugnare etc. (157.) at eandem sententiam miliens alio atque alio amictu indutam referunt. (158.) . . quid ego verborum sordes et

illuvies, quid verba modulate collocata et effeminate fluentia? Gellius XII 2, 1: de Annaeo Seneca partim existimant ut de scriptore minime utili, cuius libros attingere nullum pretium operae sit, quod oratio eius vulgaris videatur et protrita, res atque sententiae aut inepto inanique impetu sint aut levi et quasi dicaci argutia, eruditio autem vernacula et plebeia nihilque ex veterum scriptis habens neque gratiae neque dignitatis. alii vero elegantiae in verbis parum esse non infitias eunt, sed et rerum quas dicat scientiam doctrinamque ei non deesse dicunt et in vitiis morum obiurgandis severitatem gravitatemque non invenustam. After this, Seneca's depreciating criticisms on Ennius, Cicero and Virgil are quoted from Epist. XXII with much indignation.

2 The dates of the composition of Seneca's works. Previous to his exile, i. e. under Caligula, he wrote, besides speeches (above 282, 1) the works on Egypt and India, and also the consolatio ad Marciam. nI the time of his exile he composed epigrams, perhaps also part of his tragedies, and the consolatio ad Helviam and ad Polybium (a. 43 or 44), and also the panegyric on Messalina, though he subsequently withdrew the latter, Dio LXI 10. Soon after his return he appears to have published the works de tranquillitate animi (Lehmann, Claudius p. 321 sq.), de ira (Lehmann ibid. p. 315—321) and de brevitate vitae (cf. 13, 8). After the death of Claudius he composed the ἀποκολοκύντωσις; in the first years of Nero's reign the books de clementia (which are also addressed to the Emperor), the work de vita beata, addressed to Novatus, who had meanwhile changed his name to Gallio, the books de beneficiis and de constantia sapientis. In this time he seems to have composed another part of his tragedies (below 285, 2). After Seneca had retired from the Court and from public life (a. 62), he wrote de otio ad Serenum, and also the works addressed to Lucilius de providentia, the quaestiones naturales and the letters (a. 62—65). H. Lehmann, Philologus VIII p. 309—328 = Claudius and his time p. 8—17. Fr. Jonas, de ordine librorum Senecae philosophi, Berlin 1870. 74 pp. A. Martens, see above 282, 3.

3. Volkmann, on Seneca, a literary sketch, Mager's Revue 1857, p. 259—267. F. Böhm, Seneca and his importance for our time, Berlin 1856. 47 pp. 4.

4. E. F. Werner, de Sen. philosophia, Breslau 1825. B. ten Brink, de Seneca eiusque in philosophiam meritis, Gandav. 1827. 4. G. Herzog, de Senecae philosophia, Bernburg 1828. H. Dörgens, Senecae disciplinae morales cum Antoniniana comparatio, Lips. s. a. (1857). F. Chr. Baur, Seneca and Paulus; the relation of Stoicism to Christianity, according to the works of Seneca, in Hilgenfeld's Journal of Theology I (1858) p. 171—246. 441—463. Holzherr, the philosopher Seneca; a contribution towards the appreciation of his general merit and philosophy etc. I. Programm of Rastatt 1858. 122 pp. II. 1857. 76 pp. C. Martha, les moralistes sous l'empire romain (Paris 1865) p. 20 sqq. G. Boissier, le christianisme et la morale de S., Revue des deux mondes, T. XCII (1871) p. 40—71.

Baarts, Seneca de deo, Marienwerder 1848. 4. C. R. Fickert, Sen. de natura deorum, Breslau 1857. 4. Siedler, on the religious and moral views of Seneca, Fraustadt 1863. 4. W. Bernhardt, Seneca's views of the Universe, Wittenberg 1861. 4.

De latinitate Senecae Böhmer (Öls 1840. 4) and E. Opitz (Naumburg 1871. 33 pp. 4.)

284. Many of the prose-works of Seneca are known only in fragments or from quotations. Among those extant we notice chiefly the collection of Letters addressed to Lucilius, the richest and fullest image of the individual peculiarities of Seneca. The libel on the defunct Emperor Claudius does, indeed, arise from malice, but is remarkable for being the only instance of the satira menippea. The estimation in which the ethic writings of Seneca were held caused them to be frequently copied, but also produced at an early time such forgeries as the fictitious correspondence with the Apostle Paul.

2. Lost prose-works of Seneca's. a) On Natural science. De motu terrarum (volumen edidi iuvenis, nat. quaest. VI 4, 2), de lapidum natura, perhaps also de piscium natura, monographs de situ Indiae and de situ et sacris Aegyptiorum, both works being probably the results of Seneca's sojourn with the husband of his aunt (282, 1), de forma mundi. b) On moral philosophy. Exhortationes, de officiis, de immatura morte, de superstitione (against the Anthropomorphism and Anthropopathy of popular superstition) dialogus, de matrimonio (very interesting and piquant), probably also de amicitia; then moralis philosophiae libri; de remediis fortuitorum ad Gallionem; de paupertate, and perhaps de misericordia. c) Historical works: de vita patris, see above 264, 3. d) Speeches written for Nero; see Tac. A. XI 3. 11. XIV 10 sq. Quintil. VIII 5, 18. Dio LXI 3. See above 281, 10. e) a Panegyric on Messalina, Dio LXI 10. f) Letters. in decimo epistolarum ad Novatum (Priscian. II p. 410, 6 sq. H.). Martial. VII 45, 3 sq. (to Caesonius Maximus). The best collection of the fragments is given in Haase's edition III p. 419—467. cf. p. XV—XXI. F. Osann, de Sen. scriptis quibusdam deperditis, Giessen 1846—1848. 4.

2. There are indeed many mss. of the prose-works of Seneca in existence, but most of them are very late. The oldest are the Mediolanensis saec. IX containing dialogorum libros XII, Gruter's Nazarianus containiug de benefic. and de clementia; in the natur. quaest., besides the now lost Memmianus and Bongarsianus, a Berolinensis saec. XIII; in the first half of the Letters especially Parisinus 8540, p in Haase's edition, in the second part the Bamberg and Strasburg mss. saec. IX or X. L. v. Jan, symbolae ad notitiam codd. atque emend. epist. Senecae, Schweinfurt 1839. 4. C. R. Fickert, prolegomena in novam Sen.

editionem, Naumburg 1839. 4. See also the prefaces in the editions by Fickert and by Haase (especially III p. VI—XIII).

3. Complete editions of the prose-works of Seneca. The princeps, Naples 1475. fol. 2 vols. Ex recogn. D. Erasmi, Basil. 1515. 1529. fol. Cum notis Mureti, Rom. 1585. fol. Ad mss. Palat. rec. J. Gruter, Heidelberg 1593. fol. Cum notis J. Lipsii, Antverp. 1605. fol. Cum comm. J. Fr. Gronovii (whose Notae ad L. et M. Ann. Senecas appeared Lugd. Bat. 1649) et aliorum. Amst. 1672. 2 vols. Recogn. et illustr. F. E. Ruhkopf, Lips. 1797—1811. 5 vols. Recensuit, comm. adiecit etc. C. R. Fickert, Lips. 1842—1845. 3 vols. An edition of the text alone by Fr. Haase, Lips. Teubner, 1852 sq. 3 vols.

Fr. Haase, adnotationes criticae ad Sen., Breslau 1852 sq. 1859. 4. K. Schenkl, Contributions to the criticism of Seneca, Vienna 1864. 67 pp. (Reports of the meetings of the Academy at Vienna XLIV p. 3 sqq.). M. Haupt, emendationes (Berol. 1864. 4.) and adnotationes ad L. A. S. opera, Berlin 1866. 21 pp. 4. C. F. W. Müller, Critical observations on either Seneca, Fleckeisens Jahrb. 93, p. 483—503. O. Matthiä, Observationes criticae in Sen., Berlin 1865. E. Bährens, lectiones latinae Bonn 1870) p. 40 46. J. J. Cornelissen, Coniectanea latina, Daventr. 1870. 4.

4. The works called dialogi in the Milan ms. deserve this name on account of the frequent introduction of a second speaker in the manner of the Stoics. There are twelve of them: 1) the Essay addressed to Lucilius on the question quare aliqua incommoda bonis viris accidant cum providentia sit. Edited by B. A. Nauta, Lugd. Bat. 1825. 2) ad (Annaeum) Serenum: nec iniuriam nec contumeliam accipere sapientem. 3—4. Three books de ira, ad Novatum, Seneca's elder brother, evidently written after Caligula's death, see I 16, 29. II 33, 3. III 18, 3. 22, 1. 6) ad Marciam (the daughter of Cremutius Cordus) de consolatione, on the death of her son which had, however, taken place more than three years previously. See an Essay on this by Fr. Heidbreede, Bielefeld 1839. 4. Edited by H. C. Michaelis, Harlem 1840. 7) ad Gallionem de vita beata. Prolegomena to this by C. F. Schulze, Lips. 1797. 4. 8) ad Serenum de otio. 9) ad Serenum de tranquillitate animi. A special treatise on this by A. Hirschig, Lugd. Bat. 1825. 10) ad Paulinum (Seneca's father-in-law?) de brevitate vitae. Adnotationes on it by Clumper, Lugd. Bat. 1835. 11) ad Polybium (cf. 226, 5) de consolatione, a consolation addressed to a gentleman of the bed-chamber at the court of Claudius concerning the loss of his brother, full of flattery towards Claudius (especially c. 13 sq.), in order to obtain his own repeal; Volkmann in Mager's Revue 1858, p. 104—135. 12) ad Helviam matrem de consolatione, intended to console her about the writer's exile, but in reality calculated to promote his recal. An Essay on this by H. C. Michaelis, Harlem 1841. Of similar contents, but not included in the collection of dialogi, are 13) the books addressed to Nero de clementia; 14) the seven books de beneficiis, addressed to his friend Aebutius Liberalis of Lugdunum, and 15) the Letters (n. 5).

5. The letters to his young friend Lucilius, the procurator Siciliae,

were commenced c. 810, and written from the very first with the intention of being published; the first three books also appear to have been published by Seneca himself (Jonas). The rest were not, as it seems, quite ready for publication by the time of Seneca's death and were, therefore, published from his papers (perhaps by Lucilius) in general accordance with the order in which they were composed (Haase's praef. p. III — VI. R. Peiper, praef. suppl. p. 14—17). We possess 124 letters, divided into 20 books; but Gellius XII 2, 3 sqq. gives several literary criticisms of Seneca ex libro XXII epistularum moralium quas ad Lucilium composuit (above 283, 1 fin.) Edition of the letters by J. Schweighäuser (Strasburg 1809. 2 vols). On the criticism see also J. Bartsch, Rhein. Mus. XXIV p. 271—288.

6. The seven books naturalium quaestionum, likewise dedicated to Lucilius, chiefly from Stoic sources, with the addition of moral meditations, were used in the Middle Ages as a text-book of physical science. Editions by G. D. Köler, Götting. 1819. J. Fr. Gronovii notae in S. n. q. ed. Fickert, Breslau 1846. 1848. 4. H. C. Michaelis, notae ad Sen. n. q. . . . coll. cum cod. Vossiano, Philologus VIII p. 445—460. IX p. 324—345. L. Crouslé, de Sen. n. q., Versailles 1863. 146 pp. Larish, diss. Breslau 1865, and on the criticism of b. I, Sagau 1870. 4.

7. Dio LX 35: *Λούκιος Ἰούνιος Γαλλίων ὁ τοῦ Σενέκα ἀδελφὸς ἀστειότατόν τι ἀπεφθέγξατο* (on the apotheosis of Claudius). *συνέβηκε μὲν γὰρ καὶ ὁ Σενέκας σύγγραμμα ἀποκολοκύντωσιν αὐτὸ ὥσπερ τινὰ ἀποθανάτωσιν ὀνομάσας.* The extant work does not, however, bear this title, but in the St. Gall ms.: *ΑΠΟΘΗΟΣΙΣ* Annaei Senecae per saturam, perhaps because the original title given by Dio was no longer understood. Nor does this work contain anything of Claudius' change into a gourd (*κολοκύντη*), this witticism being limited to the title. It is a venomous political Satire, written in vivid recollection of Claudius' personal appearance and reign and with deep hatred against him. The official lie concerning his death is simply adopted, Agrippina greatly spared and the new Emperor glorified. The origin of the work in this time and in the Court circles is therefore undoubted, and the tradition as to Seneca's authorship all the less to be doubted, as the metrical treatment of the lines interspersed is certainly in agreement with his manner. The old doubts of Seneca's authorship were revived, not strengthened, by A. Stahr, Agrippina (Berlin 1867) p. 330—343. Cf. A. Riese, Philol. XXVII p. 321—323. The absence of mention in other writers proves only that the work was originally published without Seneca's name and added to his writings from his papers. Prose and verse are mixed up, see above 28 and 28, 3. The numerous mss. of this Satire are derived from one ms. which seems, apart from Seneca's other works, to have formed part of a miscellaneous collection, and from which, in the middle of the work, a leaf was lost. This tradition is most faithfully represented by the Sangallensis saec. X or XI; see Bücheler p. 72—76. A separate edition by C. E. Schusler (denuo rec., Utrecht 1844) and especially by Fr. Bücheler, in the Symbola philol. Bonn. p. 31—89. Contributions to criticism by Fr. Lindemann (Emen-

dationes ad etc. Zittau 1832. 4.), A. Baumstark (Philologus XVIII p. 543—649), K. Schenkl (Contributions to the criticism of Seneca, Reports of the meetings of the Academy at Vienna XLIV. Vienna, 1864 p. 3 – 30).

8. Seneca was also supposed to have a share in the notae Tironianae, see above 178, 4, and W. Schmitz, Symb. phil. Bonn. p. 538 —540. To him as the representative of wisdom even this kind of it was attributed, though quite against his mind; see Epist. 90, 25: quid loquar . . verborum notas, quibus quamvis citata excipitur oratio et celeritatem linguae manus sequitur? vilissimorum mancipiorum ista commenta sunt.

9. Spurious works. The observation that in his opposition to popular belief and many details of moral doctrine Seneca approached the Christian doctrine, led to the assumption that he was actually a Christian, and caused the fiction of a correspondence between Seneca and St. Paul, which was known to St. Jerome and considered genuine by him (de scriptor. eccles. 12: quem non ponerem in catalogo sanctorum nisi me epistolae illae provocarent quae leguntur a plurimis, Pauli ad Senecam et Senecae ad Paulum). Cf. Augustin. Epist. 153 (ad Maced. 74): Seneca, . . cuius etiam quaedam ad Paulum apostolum leguntur epistolae. These 14 shallow and insignificant letters were last printed in Haase's edition III p. 476—481 cf. p. XXII. See also C. Wachsmuth, Rhein. Mus. XVI p. 301 — 303, and Fr. X. Kraus, in the Tübing. Quartalschrift XLIX (1867) p. 609—624. A. Fleury, St. Paul et Senèque, Recherches sur les rapports du philosophe avec l'apôtre etc. Paris 1858. 2 vols. F. C. Baur, Hilgenfeld's Journal of Theology I p. 161—170. 463—470. C. Aubertin, étude critique sur les rapports supposés entre Senèque et St. Paul, Paris 1857. 444 pp. and Senèque et St. Paul, Paris 1869. F. X. Kraus l. c. p. 603—609. J. B. Lightfoot, St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians (London 1868) p. 260 – 331.

10. In the Middle Ages Seneca was also considered the author of the treatise de formula honestae vitae or de quattuor virtutibus cardinalibus, though according to the preceding dedication (gloriosissimo .. Mironi regi Martinus humilis episcopus) it was written by the bishop Martinus Dumiensis (c. 560): last printed in Haase's edition III p. 468 —475, cf. p. XXI sq. In the mss. this treatise is frequently found together with sententious Excerpts from Seneca's letters and proverbia Senecae per ordinem alphabeti, mostly in senarii; see above 208, 3. Excerpts of this kind, many of them quite identical, and likewise mixed up with sentences from other sources, chiefly Christian (cf. e. g. 55: eleemosyna non tam accipientibus quam dantibus prodest) are also contained in the liber de moribus to which Seneca's name is prefixed in the mss. (in Orelli's opusc. sent. I p. 269—276, in Haase's edition III p. 462—467, in Wölfflin's Publilius Syrus p. 136—148, altogether 145 sentences), a collection which existed as early as a. 567 in its present form; see Haase III p. XX sq. E. Wölfflin, Philologus

VIII p. 184—187. IX p. 680 sqq. K. Schenkl, Contributions etc. (see n. 7 fin.) p. 33—62.

285. We possess of Seneca in verse both epigrams relating to his exile and tragedies. There are eight of the latter: Hercules furens, Thyestes, Phaedra, Oedipus, Troades (Hecuba), Medea, Agamemno, Hercules Oetaeus, also two scenes of a Thebais which form part of an Oedipus (Coloneus) in 362 lines, and Phoenissae in 302 lines. There is no doubt as to the later origin of a praetexta entitled Octavia. These tragedies agree in their chief peculiarities both with one another and with the prose-works of Seneca. There is throughout the same abundance of words, rhetorical figures and sentences, though in these tragedies it is often so much exaggerated as to be scarcely bearable. Owing to the nature of the subject-matter, the pompousness of the style is but rarely a substitute for the absence of deep thought. The metrical treatment of these tragedies is very strict, but wanting in variety.

1. Concerning the nine epigrams (e. g. in Haase's edition I p. 261—263) Seneca's authorship is attested by the mss. only in nr. 1, 2 and 7; in all the rest it is neither attested nor credible. See A. Riese in Fleckeisen's Jahrb. 99 p. 279 sq.

2. The time when Seneca wrote his tragedies cannot be fixed with certainty. See various conjectures in Peiper's praef. suppl. p. 11—27. 32. In Corsica Seneca could easily find time and quiet for works of this kind, cf. consol. ad Helv. 20, 1 sq. There he may have composed his Medea, and under Claudius also his Troades. Then, a. 57 sqq., after an interval of some time, he wrote Oedipus, Hercules, and Phaedra. Tac. A. XIV 52 (obiciebant . . carmina crebrius factitare postquam Neroni amor eorum venisset), in a. 62, points to occupation of this kind, as Nero also chose subjects of Greek tragedy; see above 281, 9. Medea is mentioned by Quintil. IX 2, 8 (ut Medea apud Senecam, also Diomedes III p. 511, 23 K. anapaesticum choricum habemus in Seneca = Med. 301); Phaedra by Priscian. VI 13, 68 (p. 253 H.: Seneca in Phaedra), Hecuba (Troades) by Ps. Probus p. 224. 246 K. (Seneca in Hecuba); Seneca in Thyeste by Lactant. on Stat. Theb. IV 530. Serv. Aen. XII 395 confounds Statius and Seneca owing to the identity of the titles (Statius in Thebaide = Sen. Oedip. 1079). A similar error in Sidonius Apoll. carm. IX 229—231 (quorum unus colit hispidum Platona, . . orchestram quatit alter Euripidis), perhaps misled by Martial I 61, 7 duosque Senecas (father and son) unicumque Lucanum, in making a distinction between the tragic poet Seneca and the philosopher. The identity of manner and thought, as well as of numerous detailed sentences, which can be proved, admits of no doubt on this point; see F.

G. C. Klotzsch, prolusio de Annaeo Seneca uno tragoediarum quae supersunt omnium auctore, Wittenberg 1802. 4. G. Richter, de Seneca tragoediarum auctore, Naumburg 1862. p. 1—17. 32—41. After G. Richter has given up his doubts of the genuineness of the Oedipus, it remains still a matter of controversy, whether Agamemno and Hercules II (Oetaeus) are by the same writer as the other plays. R. Peiper and G. Richter (l. l. p. 18—32) deny this, on account of many peculiarities of these two plays which they consider as indications of the influence of Fronto; but L. Müller, B. Schmidt, J. Köhler and others do not think these deviations so important as to justify the assumption of different authorship.

3. These tragedies also show considerable formal talent, fertility and vivacity of fancy, and sagacity in psychological observation, though these qualities are overlaid by rhetorical phrases. There is no attempt at delineating characters, the persons of the drama being merely the vehicles of delivering speeches and reciting descriptions. On acount of the want of artistic restraint and moderation, this fertility degenerates into tiresome loquacity and repetitions, and talent for invention unguided by artistic refinement and tact often causes absurdities and nonsense. It is quite an error of taste that Iocaste, in Oedipus 1026 sqq., appears once more after the discovery of the terrible secret, converses with Oedipus, makes up her mind to die, but then begins a new discussion where to strike herself, whether in her chest or neck, but finally decides for her womb (1060 sq.: hunc, dextra, hunc pete uterum capacem, qui virum et gnatos tulit). The metrical treatment deserves most praise for following the strictest writers of the Augustan age, especially in the senarii. Besides these, anapaestic and Sapphic lines, glyconeans and Asclepiadeans are especially frequent. But there are not many traces of any perception of connexion between the metre and its dramatic signification. This blemish would be greatly exaggerated, if the recent editors were right in assuming strophic arrangement throughout the tragedies of Seneca, even sophistical discussions and agitated conversations (e. g. Herc. fur. 426—441) being divided into corresponding strophes in their text. But this is, after all, but an unfortunate crotchet on the part of the editors, who in order to carry out their assumption have been obliged to leave aside parts of lines and monometers, and even to strike out a considerable number of lines. See some sensible observations on this point by B. Schmidt in Fleckeisen's Jahrb. 99 p. 769—791.

4. On the character of these tragedies see, besides earlier works (e. g. D. H. G. Pilgramm, de vitiis tragoediarum quae v. Senecae tribuuntur, Götti. 1765. 4.) especially F. Jacobs, Supplements to Sulzer IV p. 343 sqq. F. G. Welker, Rhein. Mus. Suppl. II 3. p. 1447—1456. L. Müller in Fleckeisen's Jahrb. 89, p. 409—422. R. Peiper, praefationis in Sen. tragoedias nuper editas supplementum (Breslau 1870. 4.) p. 8—27.

On the metres of Seneca see F. A. Lange, Quaestiones metricae (Bonn 1851) p. 23 sqq. B. Schmidt, de emendandarum Sen. tragoediarum rationibus prosodiacis et metricis, Berlin 1860. 73 pp. M. Hoche, the metres of Seneca, Halle 1862; cf. L. Müller in Fleckeisen's Jahrb. 89, p. 473—492 and de re metr. p. 118—130. G. Richter, on the composition of the choric songs in the tragedies of Seneca, Rh. Mus. XIX p. 360—379. 521—527. R. Peiper, Berl. Ztschr. f. Gymn. XVIII p. 694 sqq.

5. It may be asked whether Seneca's tragedies were intended for the stage or merely for recitation. The former is not proved by the observation, that Seneca keeps within the number of three actors (H. Weil, Revue archéol. 1865. I. p. 21—35), as this may be the result of his general imitation of Greek tragedy, and as the Roman stage did not in general observe this limitation (above 16, 3). But on the other hand, the period of Nero does not entirely exclude the idea of public performance, and several scenic hints (e. g. Phaedr. 392 sq.) might relate to this. What could, however, safely be expected was recitation and being read by the public, and in fact no other public might well have been treated to such lengthy speeches but the Roman public of that age. G. Boissier, les tragédies de Sénèque ont-elles été représentées? Paris 1861. 22 pp.

6. Most of the Greek plays by Sophocles and Euripides, from which Seneca's tragedies are derived, being still extant, we are enabled to trace the great exaggeration on the part of the Roman rhetorician. In Phaedra he appears to follow a play by Sophocles; C. W. Swahn, de Hippolyto Senecae fabula, I. Holm 1857. Sophocles' Oedipus has been turned by Seneca into monotonous horror, a play devoid of all refinement but enriched with abundant declamation. J. Köhler, Sen. tragoedia quae Oed. inscribitur cum Soph. O. R. comparata, Neuss 1865. 16 pp. 4. W. Braun, Seneca's Oedipus compared with Sophocles and Euripides and the Thebaid of Statius, Rh. Mus. XXII p. 245—275. On the other plays see Widal, études sur trois tragédies de Sénèque imitées d'Euripide, Paris 1854. W. Braun, Rh. Mus. XX p. 271—287 (on Seneca's Phoenissae); de Sen. fab. q. inscrib. Troades, Wesel 1870. 12 pp. 4. Medea et Troades cum adn. Gronov. ed. A. Matthiae, Lips. 1828.

7. Octavia cannot be by Seneca, because in it Nero's downfall is mentioned—an event posterior to Seneca's death by three years. But all attempts at discovering the author (e. g. Curiatius Maternus, or the author of recensio A) have been fruitless. The play is not contained in the principal ms., the Florentine (n. 8), but in all the others, and as its text is corrupt, it does not appear advisable to follow W. Braun (on the tragedy of Octavia and the time of its composition, Kiel 1863, cf. Fleckeisen's Jahrb. 99 p. 875—879) in assigning it to the close of the Middle Ages (12—14 century), against which there are also other reasons (G. Richter, Fleckeisen's Jahrb. 95 p. 260—264. Edition p. XII). It was probably written between the second and fourth century of the Christian era, (incerta post Traianum aetate, Fr. Vater p. 613). Besides

Tacitus (and Dio) also Seneca de clementia is used as a source of the subject-matter. It is not as pompous and bombastic in diction as the tragedies of Seneca, nor is the action confined to three actors, besides which it also differs from him in style and metrical peculiarities. It may be supposed to have been joined to the plays of Seneca on account of its general similarities, and because Seneca himself appears in it. F. G. C. Klotzsch, prolusio de Octavia Senecae, Wittenberg 1804. Octavia praetexta. Curiatio Materno vindicatam, ad libros antiquos recognitam, brevi adnotatione instructam ed. Fr. Ritter, Bonn 1843. 53 pp. Fr. Vater in Jahn's Archiv XIX (1853) p. 565—618. G. Richter, de Sen. tragg. auctore (1862) p. 2—6. An analysis of this play is given by A. Stahr, Agrippina (Berlin 1867) p. 271—303.

8. The text of the tragedies of Seneca has come down to us in two recensions. The better one (E) is represented by the Etruscus (= Florentinus = Mediceus = Laurent.) saec. XI or XII, and by the scanty excerpts in the Miscellaneous ms. of Thuanus (above 211, 9) saec. IX—X. All the other mss., none of which is older than saec. XIV, belong to the inferior class (A); the best representatives of this are the Melisseus (now lost) and a Vossianus. Also the arrangement of the plays differs in these two classes. The deviation probably arose from the emendations of a copyist who experienced difficulties in decyphering the original ms., but was as a rule satisfied with merely recovering something like sense and metre. But that even A arose in a comparatively early time (perhaps saec. IV) appears from the leaves of the Ambrosian palimpsest of Plautus (above 86, p. 119), which contain parts of Medea and Oed. in this recension. See, in general, the preface of the edition of R. Peiper and G. Richter p. XIV—XL.

9. Editions. Editio princeps, Ferrara c. 1484 fol. Ascensiana (cum comm.) Paris 1514 fol. Among later editions we notice those by M. A. Delrio (Antverp. 1576. and in t. II of his Syntagma tragg. latt., Antv. 1594. Paris 1620. 4.), J. Lipsius (Lugd. B. 1588), J. Gruter (Heidelberg 1604), P. Scriverius (Lugd. B. 1621. 1651) and chiefly J. Fr. Gronovius (Lugd. B. 1661. Amsterd. 1682). cum notis variorum by J. C. Schröder (Delft 1728. 4. 2 vols.). Recent editions by F. H. Bothe (Lips. 1819 and Lips. 1834), T. Baden (Lips. 1821. 2 vols.), J. Pierrot (1829—1832, 3 vols,), and especially: recensuerunt R. Peiper et G. Richter, Lips. (Teubner) 1867; on which see B. Schmidt, Fleckeisen's Jahrb. 97, p. 781—800. 855—880.

10. Contributions to the criticism of these tragedies by J. H. Withof (praemetium crucium crit., Lugd. B. 1749. 4.), A. Henneberger (adn. ad Sen. Med. et Troad., Meiningen 1862. 4.), R. Peiper (observation. in Sen. tragg., Breslau 1863. 4.), G. Richter (Instances of transposition of lines and interpolations in the tragedies of Seneca, Rhein. Mus. XVIII p. 29—46; de cantico quodam in Oed. Sen., Symbola philol. Bonn. p. 557—580), B. Schmidt (Observationes criticae in Sen. tragg., Jena 1865; also Rhein. Mus. XVI p. 589—591).

286. The historians of this age were most of them deeply imbued with rhetoric and, as a rule, actually were rhetoricians or orators. Such seem to have been the poet Gaetulicus under Caligula, and such was Servilius Nonianus under Claudius. They wrote on subjects of contemporary history or recent events, but are merely known to us from quotations. It is the same with Domitius Corbulo under Caligula and Nero, who described his personal adventures in Asia. Cornelius Bocchus wrote under Claudius a work on chronography.

1. Suet. Calig. 8: Cn. Lentulus Gaetulicus Tiburi genitum scribit (of Caligula). . . Gaetulicum refellit Plinius quasi mentitum per adulationem etc. Consul 779 (Tac. A. IV 46 cf. 42 and VI 30), killed by Caligula a. 792 (according to the Fasti Arvales Dio LIX 22 cf. Suet. Claud. 9). Mentioned as an erotic poet by Pliny Ep. V 3, 5 (above 26, 1) before Seneca, and by Martial praef. (above 238, 2), cf. Sidon. Apoll. epp. II 10 (saepe versum . . complevit . . Caesennia cum Gaetulico). carm. IX 256 (non Gaetulius hic tibi legetur, non Marsus, Pedo, Silius, Tibullus). Probus on Georg. I 227 (p. 38, 12 sqq. K.): cuius rei testis est Gaetulicus, cum ait de Britannis: non aries etc. (three hexameters). And as Gaetulicus governed Germany for three years, (Dio l. l. *Γαιτούλικον Λέντουλον τά τε ἄλλα εὐδόκιμον ὄντα καὶ τῆς Γερμανίας δέκα ἔτεσιν ἄρξαντα*, cf. Suet. Galb. 6), O. Jahn (Prolegg. to Persius p. CXLII not. 1) conjectures that Gaetulicus did not compose an historical work, but a carmen de expeditionibus Romanorum contra Germanos et Britannos, fortasse Germanici. To the nine epigrams *Γαιτουλίκου* or *Γαιτουλικίου* or *Γαιτυλλίου* etc. in the Greek Anthology (II p. 151 ed. Jacobs) we cannot apply the reports concerning the poetry of Gaetulicus; see Jacobs Anth. gr. XIII p. 896.

2. Plin. n. h. XXVIII 2, 5: M. Servilius Nonianus, princeps civitatis (employed a superstitious remedy against lippitudo). XXXVII 6, 21: avus Servilii Noniani, quem consulem (a. 788, Tac. A. VI 31) vidimus. Was he an adopted son of the Consul 756 (W. Teuffel in Pauly's Enc. VI 1. p. 1122, Nr. 78)? † 812 = 59 A. D., see Tac. A. XIV 19 (above 271, 5). Quintil. X 1, 102: Servilius Nonianus, . . qui et ipse a nobis auditus est, clari vir ingenii et sententiis creber, sed minus pressus quam historiae auctoritas postulat. Cf. Tac. dial. 23 (eloquentia . . Servilii Noniani). Plin. Ep. I 13, 3: memoria parentum Claudium Caesarem ferunt, cum in palatio spatiaretur audissetque clamorem, causam requisisse, cumque dictum esset recitare Nonianum, subitum recitanti inopinatumque venisse. On his relation to Persius see below 297, 2.

3. Tac. A. XV 16: prodiderit Corbulo etc. This may have been in the Memoirs composed by Cn. Domitius Corbulo (Cons. suff. under Caligula a. 39 = 792, executed by Nero a. 67 = 820); cf. Plin. n. h.

V 24, 83: oritur (Euphrates) etc., ut prodidere ex iis qui proxime viderant Domitius Corbulo. VI 8, 23: anxia perquisita cura rebus nuper in eo situ gestis a Domitio Corbulone. II 70, 180: Corbulo dux in Armenia . . prodidit. On him see A. Haakh in Pauly's Enc. II p. 1218 sq. Held, de Cn. Dom. Corb., Schweidnitz 1862. 27 pp. 4. E. Egli in M. Büdinger's Essays on Roman Imperial history (1868) I p. 336—343.

4. Cornelius Bocchus is mentioned by Pliny in his ind. auct. in b. 16 and 37, also (as Bocchus) in b. 33 and 34, and is quoted XV 216. XXXVII 24. 97. 127 in statements concerning Spain, perhaps from a work de admirandis Hispaniae (Mommsen). Solinus p. 27, 3 (ut Bocchus auctor est) and p. 38, 22 (Bocchus autumat), cf. p. 37, 8 M., quotes him in chronological statements which are not found in Pliny himself; whence Mommsen, Solin. p. XVII, supposes that Solinus' source (see below 307, 7) employed also a chronicle by Bocchus (of the time of Claudius). E. Hübner (Hermes I p. 397) identifies him with L. Cornelius C. f. Bocchus, flamen prov., trib. mil., to whom the colonia Scallabitana ob merita in coloniam erected a monument, according to an inscription C. I. lat. II 35.

287. Q. Curtius Rufus who wrote under Claudius ten books historiae Alexandri Magni, of which, however, the first two have not come down to us, was also a rhetorician. His work bears small traces of historical criticism, but more of rhetoric, and attests great predilection for speeches and sentences. His style bears a certain resemblance to that of Seneca: short and antithetically pointed sentences, a sparing use of particles, rhetorical order of words, and numerous phrases of poetical colouring.

2. Suetonius had mentioned Q. Curtius Rufus among his rhetores after M. Porcius Latro and before L. Valerius Primanus, Verginius Flavus and others; see Reifferscheid's edition p. 99, cf. 128. This agrees with assuming the date of the work in the reign of Claudius, in consequence of X 9 (= 28), 3—6: quod imperium sub uno stare potuisset, dum a pluribus sustinetur, ruit. proinde iure meritoque pop. rom. salutem se principi suo debere profitetur, qui noctis quam paene supremam habuimus novum sidus inluxit. (4.) huius, hercule, non solis ortus lucem caliganti reddidit mundo, cum sine suo capite discordia membra trepidarent. (5.) quot ille tum extinxit faces, quot condidit gladios! quantam tempestatem subita serenitate discussit! non ergo revirescit solum sed etiam floret imperium. (6.) absit modo invidia, excipiet huius saeculi tempora eiusdem domus utinam perpetua, certe diuturna, posteritas. (7.) ceterum, ut ad ordinem a quo me contemplatio publicae felicitatis averterat redeam, Perdicca etc. This passage is most conveniently understood of the events in the night of January 24/25 41, when Caligula was assassinated, his German guard killing peaceful

citizens, and the Senate thinking of the resuscitation of the Republic, until Claudius' elevation to the throne restored everything to the old order of things. Mützell's edition I p. XLVII—LXXXI. W. Teuffel, Studies and Characteristics p. 387—390. So also Brissonius, J. Lipsius, Tellier, St. Croix. J. D. Gerlach, Th. Wiedemann (who renders it probable that Curt. VIII 10, 27 sqq. was the source of Sen. ep. VI 7 (59), 12), A. Hug, and A. Eussner.

2. With regard to other assumptions concerning the age of Curtius, we may mention that placing him under Augustus (recently defended by A. Hirt, C. G. Zumpt, R. Klotz) and the one according to which he lived under Vespasian (Rutgers, Freinsheim, G. J. Voss, F. A. Wolf, Ph. Buttmann, G. Pinzger, A. Baumstark, Fr. Ritter, Fr. Kritz, W. Berger). But placing him under Augustus is incompatible with the style of Curtius which does indeed resemble that of Livy owing to his elaborate imitation of that writer's manner, but the affected, poetical and rhetorical manner of which clearly points to the silver age. Curtius' political notions are based on hereditary monarchy. He repeatedly mentions (V 7, 9. VI 3, 12) the Parthian Empire without speaking of Augustus' successes, as the Augustan writers invariably do. Last of all, it would on this assumption be impossible to explain the full purport of the principal passage X 9, 3 sqq. If we were to understand it of Vespasian, we should have to refer it to combats on the Capitol, though subita would then be left unexplained. Another passage, IV 4, 21 on Tyrus, is less favourable to this assumption: nunc tandem, longa pace cuncta refovente, sub tutela romanae mansuetudinis adquiescit. Niebuhr's (Trans. of the Ac. at Berlin, 1822 = Minor Writings I p. 305—337) opinion that Curtius wrote in the reign of Septimius Severus, was paradoxical. A. Hirt, on the life of the historian Q. Curtius Rufus, Berlin 1820. Ph. Buttmann, on the reading of C. R., Berlin 1820. G. Pinzger, on the age of C. R., in Seebode's Archiv I (1824) p. 91—104. Fr. Kritz in the Halle Allg. Lit. Ztg. 1844 p. 326 sq. 733 sqq. W. Berger, de Q. C. R. aetate, Carlsruhe 1860. 31 pp. Th. Wiedemann, on the age of C. R., Philologus XXX p. 241—264, cf. p. 441—443. L. Eussner, ibid. XXXII p. 157—160.

3. Among his sources Curtius mentions Clitarchus (IX 5, 21. 8, 15. Cf. Schöne, Anal. philol. I p. 50), Timagenes and Ptolomaeus (IX 5, 21). Cf. R. Petersdorff, Diodorus, Curtius, Arrianus quibus ex fontibus expeditiones ab Alexandro . . factas hauserint (Danzig 1870. 32 pp.), and A. Eussner, Philol. XXXII p. 161 sq. (who shows that C. used Clitarchus only at second hand). Curtius does not lay claim to historical criticism; see VII 8, 11 (utcumque sunt tradita incorrupta perferemus). IX 1, 34 (equidem plura transscribo quam credo; nam nec adfirmare sustineo de quibus dubito, nec subducere quae accepi.) A feeble attempt at criticism is made IX 5, 21. The chief parts are speeches, descriptions and ornamental pieces (such as IV 10, 25 sqq. V 12). He treats history like a novel. A. Chassang, histoire du roman (Paris 1862) p. 323—322. His descriptions of battles manifest small technical

knowledge, whence it appears improbable that the author was identical with that Curtius Rufus who was procos. Africae under Tiberius. An identity of this kind would also be incompatible with the historian's proportionate candour and frequently (e. g. VIII 10, 12) pronounced liberty of thought. He speaks against superstition, magic etc: IV 3, 23. 6, 12. 7, 26. 29. V 4, 1 sq. VII 4, 8. 7, 8. His positive belief is the usual fatalism (inevitabile fatum IV 6, 17). Adulatio, perpetuum malum regum, quorum opes saepius adsentatio quam hostis evertit, VIII 5, 6.

4. The diction of Curtius with regard to etymological, lexical and syntactical treatment, and excepting a few insignificant peculiarities, retains the character of classicality, but its rhetorical colouring evidently betrays the bad influence necessarily attending the writer's course of study and the depraved taste of his time (Mützell p. LXXXVI). Mützell, de translationum quae vocantur apud Curtium usu, Berlin 1842. 4. J. H. Ernesti, usurpata a Curtio in particulis latinitas, tam in se spectata quam cum Corneliana dictione collata, Lips. 1719. See the comparison with Quintilian's diction in Bonnell's Lex. Quintil. p. LXV. LXVIII. On the peculiarities shared by Curtius and Tacitus with Livy see Th. Wiedemann, Philol. XXXI p. 342—348. See E. Krah, Curtius as a schoolauthor, I Insterburg 1870. 30 pp. 4. II. 1871. 24 pp. 4.

5. The about 80 mss. of Curtius are divided into two classes, an older one (saec. IX—XI) represented by Paris. 5716 saec. IX (or X) and some fragments at Zurich (Rheinau), Darmstadt, Vienna, and Würzburg, and also by Leidensis, Vossianus I, Flor. A and Bern. A; see E. Hedicke, Quaestionum Curtianarum specimen (Berlin 1862) and praef. of his edition, and De codicum Curtii fide atque auctoritate, Bernburg, 1870. 32 pp. 4., also A. Eussner, specimen criticum (Würzburg 1868) p. 4—25, and on the criticism of Curtius, in the Trans. of the Philol. Congress at Würzburg (Leipzig 1869) p. 158—160. All these mss. are derived from an archetype which was both defect and corrupt. The second class embraces the large number of late (saec. XIV sq.) corrected and interpolated mss. without independent value. Besides the absence of b. I and II we have also other gaps in the extant text, e. g. at the end of b. V and beginning of VI, also X 3 sq. Fragments of b. X are contained in Pseudo-Callisthenes; see Jeep in Jahn's Jahrb. LXXI p. 125—132. On the Einsiedeln fragment see A. Hug, Philol. XXXI p. 334 sq. Cf. Eussner ibid. XXXII p. 162—165 (on C. in the Middle Ages) and 165—171.

6. Ed. princeps, Venet. c. 1471 fol. Iuntina 1507 sqq. Aldina 1520. Editions by Erasmus (1518), Fr. Modius (Colon. 1579), J. Freinsheim (cum comm. et suppl., Strasburg 1648, 2 vols. and 1670. 4.), H. Snakenburg (cum notis var. Delft 1724. 4.), Fr. Schmieder (cum comm. Gotting. 1803), J. Mützell (with crit. and exeget. notes, Berlin 1841, 2 vols.) and especially by C. G. Zumpt (ad fidem codd. rec. et comm. instr., Brunswick 1849 and even before an unfinished edition Berol. 1826). School-editions by J. Mützell (Berlin 1843) and C. G. Zumpt

(Brunswick 1849. 1864). Texts by A. Baumstark (Stuttgart 1829), H. E. Foss (Lips. Teubner 1851) and especially (with brief critical notes) by E. Hedicke (Berol. Weidmann 1867).

7. Contributions to the criticism of the text by Acidalius (Animadvers., Frankfurt 1594), H. E. Foss (Epist. crit. ad Mützell., Altenburg 1846. 4. Quaestiones Curt., Altenburg 1852. 50 pp. 4.), J. Schmidt (Quaest. Curt. I. Schweidnitz 1853. 4.), A. Hug (in the Contributions to the criticism of Latin prose-writers, Basle 1864, p. 1—20; and Rhein. Mus. XX. p. 117—129) also Quaestionum Curt. pars I, Zurich 1870. 4. U. Köhler (Rhein. Mus. XIX p. 184—196), J. Jeep (Fleckeisen's Jahrb. 91, p. 189—196), H. Alanus (Observationes in Curt., Dublin 1865), E. Hedicke and A. Eussner (n. 5), E. Grunauer (Frauenfeld 1870. 4.), Th. Vogel (Fleckeisen's Jahrb. 101, p. 547—561), A. Eussner (Philol. XXXII p. 172—178).

288. The contemporary and compatriot of Seneca L. Junius Moderatus Columella of Gades, is known to us by his twelve books De re rustica, addressed to P. Silvinus. They are his second work on this subject-matter, while of the first we still possess a book de arboribus. Columella is an enthusiast for his subject and complains of its being neglected by his age which had deserted nature. Hence he uses his utmost endeavour to treat his subject in a worthy manner. The tenth book, on horticulture, he has even, in imitation of Virgil, written in verse; it consists of 436 well-made hexameters, in which, however, the author has not even approached his model as regards the artistic arrangement of his materials.

1. An inscription from Tarentum in Mommsen I. R. N. 578 = Orelli-Henzen 5598: L. Iunia L. f. Gal. Moderato Columellae, trib. mil. leg. VI ferratae. And indeed Columella's native town, Gades (Colum. X 185: mea quam generant Tartessi littore Gades, cf. VII 2, 4), belonged to the tribus Galeria, and the legio VI ferrata was stationed in Syria (Grotefend in Pauly's Enc. IV p. 883 sq.), where Columella staid for some time (II 10, 18: hoc quidem semen Ciliciae Syriaeque regionibus ipse vidi mense Iunio Iulioque conseri et per autumnum . . tolli). C. L. Grotefend, Zeitschr. f. d. Alt. Wiss. 1835, p. 179. His patruus was M. Columella, doctissimus et diligentissimus agricola (II 16, 4), vir illustribus disciplinis eruditus ac diligentissimus agricola Baeticae provinciae (V 5, 15), acris vir ingenii atque illustris agricola in the municipium Gaditanum (VII 2, 4). Cf. XII 21, 4 sq. 40, 2. 43, 5. He was a contemporary of Seneca's; see III 3. 3: Nomentana regio, . . quam possidet Seneca, vir excellentis ingenii atque doctrinae. Hence it appears that Columella wrote before the death of Seneca (a. 65), and probably after his retirement from Court, i. e. perhaps a. 62; cf. Plin. n. h. XIV 49—51.

E. Meyer, Hist. of Botany II p. 59—62. At all events, Columella wrote after Celsus and Graecinus, both of whom he quotes (see above 275, 1 and 278, 5 sq.) and before Pliny the Elder, by whom he is frequently quoted (VIII 153. XV 66. XVII 51 sq. 137. 162. XVIII 70. 303. XIX 68). See also Colum. I. praef. 15: sicut M. Varro iam temporibus avorum conquestus est. I 7, 3: ipse nostra memoria veterem consularem (A. D. 3) virumque opulentissimum L. Volusium († 56 A. D.) asseverantem audivi. V 1, 2: cum M. Trebellius noster a me requireret (perhaps the lieutenant of a. 36 mentioned by Tac. A. VI 41?). IX 16, 2: Gallioni nostro († 65 A. D., see above 263, 7 fin.) P. Silvinus seems to have been a countryman and neighbour of Columella's; see III 3, 3 (in nostris Ceretanis). 9, 6 (a me . . ex una vite quam in Ceretano tuo possides . . consummata). Columella possessed estates in Italy, see III 9, 2 (cum et in Ardeatino agro quem multis temporibus ipsi ante possedimus et in Carseolano itemque in Albano . . vites . . habuerimus).

2. His works. XI 1, 31: contra quam observationem multis argumentationibus disseruisse me non infitior in iis libris quos adversus astrologos composueram. II 22, 5 sq.: certum habeo quosdam .. desideraturos lustrationum ceterorumque sacrificiorum quae pro frugibus fiunt morem priscis usurpatum. nec ego abnuo docendi curam, sed differo in eum librum quem componere in animo est cum agricolationis totam disciplinam perscripsero. We do not know whether this intention was carried out. At all events we should not connect with it the mistake XVI instead of XII in Cassiod. div. lect. 28 (Columella XVI libris per diversas agriculturae species eloquens ac facunde illabitur). Colum. II 11, 1 (excepta cytiso, de qua dicemus in iis libris quos de generibus surculorum conscripsimus) relates to b. III—V (especially V 12) which in the Florentine (Mediс.) ms. bear the heading: Surcularis I, II, III.

3. Both b. III treats de arboribus (III 1, 1: sequitur arborum cura etc.) and also a book specially so entitled and which is designated as the second (quoniam de cultu agrorum abunde primo volumine praecepisse videmur, non intempestiva erit arborum . . cura) but contains in a shorter form the same as the books III—V, and is not dedicated to Silvinus. That is does not belong to the twelve books appears, moreover, from the consistent and accurate disposition given in them, e. g. VIII 1, 1 (quae exigebat ratio septem memoravimus libris). X. praef. 1 (superioribus novem libris). XI 1, 2 (hoc undecimum praeceptum rusticationis tradidi). XII 13, 1 (cui septimo libro praecepta dedimus = VII 8). The extensive work was no doubt intended to fill the place of the shorter one, and it is mere accident that we possess also part of the latter. It seems to have been dedicated to Eprius Marcellus (Schneider's edition p. 19. and II 2. p. 673 sq.).

4. The twelve books have come down to us in their complete form and in the order chosen by the author himself, as appears from the regular prefaces; see n. 3 and the closing words XII 57, 6 (clausulam peracti operis mei). The first ten corresponded perhaps to four of the

first edition (n. 3), and to these two further books were added owing to personal causes; see XI 1, 2: quod nunc aggredior . . primo rei rusticae libro (I 8 sq.) videbar aliquatenus executus; . . tamen . . numerum quem iam quasi consummaveram voluminum excessi etc. XII 1, 1: ut institutum ordinem teneamus quem priore volumine (XI) inchoavimus. But also the preceding books would seem to have been sent to P. Silvinus one after the other, as the prefaces prefixed to b. II, IV and V relate to observations made on the former books. The author does not consider his subject exhausted; see V 1, 1 neque infitior aliqua me praeteriisse, quamvis inquirentem sedulo quae nostri saeculi cultores quaeque veteres litterarum monumentis prodiderunt; sed . . non asseveraveram quae vastitas eius scientiae contineret cuncta me dicturum, sed plurima. . . (2.) nobis satis abundeque est tam diffusae materia . . maximam partem tradidisse. XII 57, 6: nihil dubitasse me paene infinita esse quae potuerint huic inseri materiae, verum ea quae maxime videbantur necessaria memoriae tradenda censuisse. But he also takes a very comprehensive view of his task; see I praef. 21 sqq.: ego cum aut magnitudinem totius rei . . aut partium eius . . numerum recenseo vereor ne supremus ante me dies occupet quam universam disciplinam ruris possim cognoscere. nam qui se in hac scientia perfectum volet profiteri sit oportet rerum naturae sagacissimus etc. (32.) ille quem nos perfectum esse volumus agricolam . . multum tamen profecerit si usu Tremellios Sasernasque et Stolones nostros aequaverit. (33.) . . illud procul vero est . . facillimam esse nec ullius acuminis rusticationem. Quite in the true Roman style is IX 2, 5: haec et his similia magis scrutantium rerum naturae latebras quam rusticorum est inquirere. studiosis quoque litterarum gratiora sunt ista in otio legentibus quam negotiosis agricolis, quoniam neque in opere neque in re familiari quidquam iuvant. But Columella appears throughout as a well-educated person fully capable of treating his subject in a dignified and worthy manner (Isidor. Orig. XVII, 1, 1: Columella insignis orator, qui totum corpus disciplinae eiusdem complexus est). He is also fully alive to its moral bearing. He repeatedly praises ancient Rome and complains of the spreading of unnaturalness (I praef. 14 sqq. X praef. 2. XII praef. 8 sq.). The depravation of the soil is, in his opinion, due to man himself (II 1, 7: non fatigatione . . nec senio, sed nostra inertia minus benigne nobis arva respondent).

5. Colum. IX 16, 2: quae reliqua nobis rusticarum rerum pars superest, de cultu hortorum, P. Silvine, deinceps ita ut et tibi et Gallioni nostro complacuerat in carmen conferemus. X praef. 3: cultus hortorum . . diligentius nobis quam tradiderunt maiores praecipiendus est; isque . . prosa oratione prioribus subnecteretur exordiis, nisi propositum meum expugnasset frequens postulatio tua, quae pervicit ut poeticis numeris explerem Georgici carminis omissas partes, quas tamen et ipse Vergilius significaverat (Georg. IV 148) posteris post se memorandas relinquere. neque enim aliter istud nobis fuerat audendum quam ex voluntate vatis maxime venerandi. (4.) cuius quasi numine instigante

. . aggressi sumus tenuem admodum . . materiam. X 433 sq.: hactenus arvorum cultus, Silvine, docebam, siderei vatis referens praecepta Maronis.

6. Columella's work is not often quoted; besides Pliny and Gargilius Martialis only by Serv. Aen. III 540. It was copied by Palladius, whose work was more suited to the rough taste of a later time. There are, however, not a small number of mss. of Columella's work extant, though they have not yet been properly employed. The best are the Sangermanensis at Paris and the Florentine. See the prefaces of Gesner (p. IX sq.) and J. G. Schneider.

7. Editions in the collections of the scriptores rei rusticae; see above 44, 2. A separate edition by J. H. Ress, Flensburg 1795. Book X also in Wernsdorf's poetae lat. min. VI p. 31—134.

8. On Columella see E. H. F. Meyer, Hist. of Botany II p. 58—67, and a list of the more than 400 plants mentioned by Columella ibid. p. 68—80.

289. Famous physicians in the reign of Claudius were Stertinius and Vettius Valens. As a writer on this subject we know Scribonius Largus, of whom we possess a treatise (dedicated to Callistus c. a. 47) on approved remedies (compositiones medicamentorum or medicae), which though not free from the general superstition of the period, is still not altogether nonsensical and in tolerable style.

1. Plin. n. h. XXIX 1, 7: multos praetero medicos, celeberrimosque ex his Cassios, Arruntios, Rubrios. ducena quinquagena HS annua his mercedes fuere apud principes. Q. Stertinius imputavit principibus quod sestertiis quingenis annuis contentus esset, sescena enim sibi quaestu urbis fuisse enumeratis domibus ostendebat. (8.) par et fratris eius merces a Claudio Caesare infusa est. . . exortus deinde est Vettius Valens, adulterio Messalinae Claudii Caesaris nobilitatus pariterque eloquentia. adsectatores et potentiam nanctus novam instituit sectam. Cf. Tac. A. XI 31. 35 (Vettium Valentem confessum . . tradi ad supplicium iubet, A. D. 48). Sen. apocol. 13, 4 (Vettius Valens, Fabius, eq. rom. quos Narcissus duci iusserat.) Cf. n. 2. He was no doubt a native of Ariminum; see Pauly's Enc. VI 2 p. 2533 sq. nr. 24 sqq. Cael. Aurel. III 1: Valens physicus libro III Curationum.

2. Scribon. Larg. 23, 97: Tiberio Caesari per libellum scriptum . . venit in manus nostras, cf. 28, 120. 42, 163: vidi . . cum Britanniam peteremus (a. 43) cum deo nostro Caesare. 11, 60: Messalina dei nostri Caesaris hoc utitur († 48). 22, 94: hoc medicamentum Apulei Celsi fuit, praeceptoris Valentis et nostri, et nunquam ulli se vivo compositionem eius dedit. 43, 171: antidotus Apulei Celsi praeceptoris, quam . . mittebat Centuripas, unde ortus erat. See E. Meyer, Hist. of Botany

II p. 21—23. 28. Scribon. 44, 175: accepimus a Tryphone, praeceptore nostro. The agnomen of Designatianus rests on a doubtful combination.

3. Scrib. Larg. praef.: (1) . . Herophilus, Cai Iuli Calliste, fertur dixisse etc. (22) . . a me compositiones qaasdam petiisti. (23) cupio medius fidius . . tuae in me . . benevolentiae respondere, adiutus omni tempore a te, praecipue vero his diebus. . . tradenda scripta mea latina medicinalia deo nostro Caesari. (24) . . divinis manibus laudando consecrasti. . . (25) ignosces autem si paucae visae tibi fuerint compositiones et non ad omnia vitia scriptae. sumus enim, ut scis, peregre nec sequitur nos nisi necessarius admodum numerus libellorum. . . (26) initium a capite faciemus, . . dantes operam ut simplicia primo ponamus. (37) . . deinde medicamentorum quibus compositiones constant nomina et pondera vitiis subiunximus. 4, 38: neque illud dico novas et non aliquibus notas in hoc libro congesturum compositiones verum etiam quasdam divulgatas et, ut ita dicam, publicatas. Epilogue: harum compositionum . . ipse composui plurimas, . . valde paucas ab amicis. . . illud autem te meminisse oportet, mi Calliste, . . eadem medicamenta in iisdem vitiis interim melius deteriusve respondere, propter corporum varietatem differentiamque aetatum, temporum aut locorum.

4. The following passages may serve to furnish a general characteristic of the author. Scrib. Larg. praef. 9: medicis, in quibus nisi plenus misericordiae et humanitatis animus est . . diis et hominibus invisi esse debent. (10) . . quia medicina non fortuna neque personis homines aestimat, verum aequaliter omnibus implorantibus auxilia sua succursuram se pollicetur. His sources were for the most part Greek writers, chiefly Soranus; he mentions Hippocrates, Herophilus, Asclepiades (noster e. g. 75), Andron, among the Romans Cassius, Paccius Antiochus and others (n. 2). Some peculiarities of popular superstition are also mentioned by him; cf. e. g. 2, 17: item ex iecinore gladiatoris iugulati particulam aliquam novies datam consumant (epilectic patients). quaeque eiusdem generis sunt extra medicinae professionem cadunt, quamvis profuisse quibusdam visa sunt. 28, 122: hoc medicamento muliercula quaedam Romae ex Africa multos remediavit. postea nos . . compositionem accepimus, pretio dato quod desideraverat, et aliquot non ignotos sanavimus. 43, 172: hoc ego cum quaererem ab hospite meo, legato inde (from Crete) misso, nomine Zopyro, Gordiense medico, quid esset pro magno munere accepi. 23, 105: stomachi vitium quod . . inrequiebili, ut ita dicam, et inextinguibili siti consistit ἄτονον Graeci vocant. One of his usual expressions is facit bene. We possess 271 prescriptions, but the text has been preserved in one only ms. in a corrupt condition with many gaps (cf. 72. 177. 236), which may however be filled up from Calenus and Marcellus who have employed Scribonius, the latter even merely copying him.

5. Editions, besides the collections of Aldus (1547) and Stephanus (1567), by J. Ruellius (ap. Wechel, Paris 1529 fol.) and especially J.

Rhodius (Patav. 1655. 4.), also J. M. Bernhold (ad edit. Rhod., Argentorati 1786). O. Sperling's ms. notes ad Scrib. are at the Royal library at Copenhague; specimens of them have been published by Kühn in three programs, Lips. 1825 sq. 4.

6. Choulant, Manual of Bibliography, sec. ed., p. 180 sq. E. H. F. Meyer, Hist. of Botany II (Königsb. 1855) p. 26—39.

290. The learned Q. Asconius (c. 3.-88 A. D.) devoted his studies to the classical writers, especially Cicero, Sallust, and Virgil. We still possess, though in a somewhat impaired condition, his historical commentaries on five speeches of Cicero, works of high value and which are written in a very good style. This cannot at all be said of the Scholia on Cicero's Verrinae, which bear his name unjustly. The Scholia Bobiensia, in which the original commentary of Asconius was perhaps used, are more useful.

1. Hieron. on Eus. chron. ad a. Abr. 2092 = Vespas. 8 (Freher. as early as 2091): Q. Asconius Pedianus scriptor historicus (Suetonius had treated of him among the historici, between Fenestella and the elder Pliny, p. 91 Rffsch.) clarus habetur, qui LXXIII aetatis suae anno captus luminibus XII postea annis in summo omnium honore consenescit. This date necessarily applies to the loss of his eyesight, but Asconius must have flourished under Claudius and Nero. In Suidas, v. *Ἀπίκιος*, *Ἀσκώνιος*, *Παιδιανὸς* appears as early as a. 781 = 28 A. D. (under Tiberius), together with Junius Blaesus; cf. Ascon. ad Scaur. p. 27 Or.: possidet (Scaurus' house) nunc Largus Licinius, qui cos. fuit cum Claudio (a. 795 = 42 A. D.). He is quoted by Plin. n. h. VII 48, 159 (auctor est Pedianus Asconius) and Quintil. I 7, 24 (ex Pediano comperi, cf. V 10, 9). Ascon. ad Cornel. p. 76 Or. (Livius noster); which seems to indicate that he was a native of Patavium. Serv. on Vergil. Ecl. III 105 (Asconius Pedianus dicit se Vergilium dicentem audisse) is rectified by Philargyr. and Schol. Bern. ibid. (dicit Cornif. or Cornel. se audivisse Vergilium etc.); Ribbeck Prolegg. Vergil. p. 97 sq.

2. Acro on Hor. S. I 2, 41 (p. 29 Hth.): quem (Sallust) Asconius Pedianus in vita eius significat. A work contra obtrectatores Vergilii; see above 221, 3 fin. 224, 6. To this may be referred all statements of Asconius on Virgil, without assuming a real commentary on Virgil; Suringar hist. cr. schol. lat. II p. 206—212. His commentary on the speeches of Cicero was addressed to his sons (p. 44 Or.: vestra aetas, filii, facit; cf. vos ib. p. 12. 14 sq. 26 sq. 45. 68 and elsewhere) chiefly in explanation of the subject-matter and historical relations and derived from the best sources (Madvig p. 63 sqq. Klotz. Lat. lit. I. p. 109—111) with much accurary and sagacity. From the references made in the extant parts Asconius appears to have commented on most (or all) of

the speeches of Cicero in the same manner; cf. Gell. XV 28, 4. We possess — though in a fragmentary shape — commentaries on the speeches in Pisonem, pro Scauro, pro Milone, pro Cornelio and in toga candida. Poggio found them at St. Gall a. 1416 and made of them a hasty copy now at Florence, the St. Gall original being soon afterwards again lost. The editions from this copy (Madvig p. 33 sqq., in Orelli V p. I—XIII) are mostly interpolated: Ed. princeps Venet. 1477; others by P. Manutius (Ven. 1547 etc.), Fr. Hotomannus (Lugd. 1551), T. Popma (Colon. 1578), Th. Crenius (Lugd. 1698), Jac. Gronovius (Lugd. Bat. 1692. 2 vols. 4.) and in the editions of Cicero by C. G. Schütz and Orelli-Baiter (V 2. p. 1—95). Critical contributions by Rinkes, Mnemosyne X and XI.

3. The commentaries on the Verrinae (including the divinatio) are principally grammatical, while the others are historical; besides which difference, the notes on the Verrinae contain little not known to us from other sources or even deserving of special notice; they are moreover, written in a discursive style and unclassical diction, nor are they are addressed to a plurality of persons (e. g. p. 119 Or.: primarum, subaudi partium). If the author of those notes (at the very earliest in the fourth century of the Christian era) had employed Asconius' commentary on these speeches, he would appear to have used him without discrimination and translated him into his own manner of style. Cf. Madvig p. 84 sqq. The commentaries are printed in Orelli's edition V. 2 p. 97—213.

4. Much less poor (a circumstance in favour of the assumption that they are partly derived from Asconius), but not at all to be compared with the genuine Asconius in historical and exegetical importance and polished diction are the fragments first published by Aug. Mai from a palimpsest of Bobbio (the first part of which is at present in the Vatican, the second in the Ambrosian library) containing notes on some Ciceronian speeches (pro Flacco, cum in senatu gratias egit, cum populo gratias egit, pro Plancio, Milone, Sestio, in Vatinium, in Clodium et Curionem, de aere al. Milonis, de rege alexandrino, pro Archia, Sulla, in Catil. IV, pro Marcello, Ligario, Deiotaro, Scauro), generally called Scholia Bobiensia. A. Mai in his first edition (Mediol. 1814 = Frankf. 1815; cum Maii notis edid. Cramer et Heinrich, Kiel 1816. 4.) attributed them to Asconius (comm. antiquus ineditus qui videtur Asconii Pediani), but recalled this in the second edition (Auctores classici e vaticanis codd. editi, Vol. II. Rome 1828). It is indeed impossible to place these Scholia in an earlier period than the fourth or fifth century. See e. g. p. 286 Or.: quos nunc vulgo muliones dicimus, . . eos veteres, ut animadvertis, redarios dicebant. That the author belonged to the Christian religion, appears from p. 256, 9 Or. (secundum veterem superstitionem). Edited by Orelli V 2 (Mai's praefatio etc. p. 217—228) p. 228—376. Cf. Madvig p. 142 sqq.

5. Suringar, historia critica schol. lat. I p. 116—146. The principal work on A. is: J. N. Madvig, de Q. Asconio Pediano et aliorum veterum

interpretum in Cic. orationes commentariis disp. critica, Copenhagen 1828; with an Appendix critica, ib. 1828. Gräfenhan, History of classical philology IV p. 292—298.

291. Under Caligula or Claudius, Pomponius Mela of Tingentera in Spain wrote his three books de chronographia, the earliest account of the ancient world which we possess. This brief treatise is derived from good sources, well-arranged and very complete. Besides geography, the author has paid much attention to statements on manners and customs. His style shows the influence of rhetorical training, and his arrangement of words, his constructions and the somewhat abrupt formation of his sentences clearly attest the contemporary of Seneca.

1. Mela II 96: Carteia . . atque unde nos sumus Tingentera. III 49: Britannia qualis sit . . mox certiora dicentur. quippe tamdiu clausam aperit ecce principum maximus, nec indomitarum modo ante se verum ignotarum quoque gentium victor propriarum rerum fidem ut bello adfectavit ita triumpho declaraturus portat. This is an allusion either to Caligula's triumph on Britain (A. D. 40), or (more probably) to that of Claudius (a. 44). III 90: Eudoxus quidam avorum nostrorum temporibus cum Lathyrum regem (A. D. 117—81). Alexandriae profugeret.

2. Pliny quotes Mela, Pomponius Mela, and Mela Pomponius among his sources in b. III—VI, VIII, XII sq., XXI sq. of his nat. hist. He is also cited by Schol. Iuv. II 160 and Serv. Aen. IX 31, and employed, though never mentioned, by Solinus. Mela himself mentions as his sources Hipparchus (III 70), Hanno (III 90, 94) and Cornelius Nepos (III 45: Corn. N. ut recentior, auctoritate sic certior; cf. ib. 90). The number of the geographical names mentioned by him amounts to more than 1500. In spite of his usual brevity, he adds lengthy descriptions on memorable points, e. g. on the specus Corycius I 72—76, mount Ida I 94 sq., and statements concerning the customs of Egypt (I 57—59), and Britain III 49—52. The arrangement of the work shows that the writer had a map of the world before his eyes. He does not seem to have carried out his intention of giving a fuller account of the subject; see I 2: dicam autem alias plura et exactius, nunc ut quaeque sunt clarissima et strictim.

3. Tzschucke (cf. Parthey p. IX—XXVII) enumerates about 60 mss. of Mela, and 104 editions. Among the first the oldest and most important is Vaticanus 4929 saec. IX or X, all the others being of saec. XIV sqq. Among the editions principal importance attaches to those of Is. Voss (Hag. Com. 1658. 4. Franeker 1700. 8.), C. H. Tzschucke (Lips. 1806 sq. 6 vols. with critical and exegetical notes), G. Parthey

(ad librorum mss. fidem edidit notisque criticis instruxit, Berlin 1867). We may also mention the edition of J. Gronovius (Lugd. Bat. 1685. 1696. 1722. 1748. 1782).

292. The principal orators of this period were such as made a profession of political accusations, e. g. P. Suillius, Vibius Crispus of Vercellae, who on account of his sedate character attained to a high old age and lived until the time of Domitianus, also the more lively Eprius Marcellus; Julius Africanus and the solicitor Galerius Trachalus (Cons. a. 68), a man also distinguished by his sonorous voice, were trained speakers. Others exhibited their eloquence chiefly in the Senate, e. g. the Stoic Paetus Thrasea and Helvidius Priscus. We know also the names of a number of professors of eloquence in this period, e. g. Verginius Flavus, Clodius Quirinalis, Antonius Liberalis, and others.

1. Tac. A. XIII 42: P. Suillius, imperitante Claudio terribilis (as accuser) ac venalis. . . eius opprimendi gratia repetitum credebatur SC. poenaque Cinciae legis adversum eos qui pretio causas oravissent. Suillius . . praeter ferociam animi extrema senecta liber etc. ib. 43 he is accused among others of equitum rom. anima damnata He was exiled to insulas baleares, A. D. 58. His wife was a step-daughter of Ovid's, ex Pont. IV 8, A. D. 15. A. Haakh in Pauly's Enc. VI 2. p. 1458 sq. nr. 1.

2. Tac. dial. 8: ausim contendere Marcellum Eprium (see n. 3) . . et Crispum Vibium . . notos non minus esse in extremis partibus terrarum quam Capuae aut Vercellis, ubi nati dicuntur (cf. Schol. Juv. IV 81: Crispus, municeps Viselliensis; but the Schol. of Valla ib., mixing him up with Passienus Crispus, above 263, 5: V. Cr. Placentinus). hoc illis praestat . . ipsa eloquentia. . . sine commendatione natalium, sine substantia facultatum, neuter moribus egregius, alter habitu quoque corporis contemptus, per multos iam annos potentissimi sunt civitatis ac donec libuit principes fori, nunc principes in Caesaris (i. e. Vespasiani) amicitia agunt geruntque cuncta. Hist. II 10: Vibius Crispus, pecunia, potentia, ingenio inter claros magis quam inter bonos. . . Crispum easdem accusationes cum praemio exercuisse meminerant. Juv. IV 81—93: venit et Crispi iucunda senectus, cuius erant mores qualis facundia, mite ingenium. . . sic multas hiemes atque octogesima vidit solstitia, his armis illa (of Domitian) quoque tutus in aula. He appears to have lived about A. D. 10—90, whence we may perhaps accept the statement of Schol. Vall. on Juv. l. l.: et manu promptus et lingua sub Claudio et consulatum adeptus. Cf. Plin. n. h. XIX. prooem. 4: C. Flavio legato Vibi Crispi procos. (of Africa). The year of his consulship is unknown. Cf. Borghesi, Oeuvres IV p. 529—538. He was a

boon comrade of Vitellius (Suid. v. *Βιτέλλιος*). Quintil. V 13, 48: quod factum venuste nostris temporibus elusit Vibius Crispus, vir ingenii iucundi et elegantis. X 1, 119: erant clara et nuper ingenia. et Trachalus (n. 6) . . fuit . . et Vibius Crispus compositus et iucundus et delectationi natus, privatis tamen causis quam publicis melior. XII 10, 11 (iucunditatem Crispi). VIII 5, 17 (pro Spatale Crispus, cf. ib. 19: Trachalus contra Spatalen).

3. An inscription from Capua in Orelli-Henzen 5425: T. Clodio M. f. Pal. (the gaudy tinsel of an upstart) Eprio Marcello cos. II (a. 827 = 74; I between 811 and 814), auguri curioni maximo, sodali augustali, pr(aetori) per(egr., a. 48 see Tac. A. XII 4), procos. Asiae III (a. 824—826) provincia Cypros; cf. Borghesi Oeuvres III p. 285 sqq. He was born at Capua of humble parents (see n. 2), was delator under Nero (Tac. A. XVI 22 extr.: Marc. Epr. acri eloquentia. ib. 29: cum Marcellus, ut erat torvus ac minax, voce, voltu, oculis ardesceret), e. g. against Thrasea, and was as such repeatedly accused by Helvidius Priscus (Tac. dial. 5: quid aliud infestis patribus nuper Eprius Marcellus quam suam eloquentiam opposuit? qua accinctus et minax disertam quidem sed inexercitatam et eiusmodi certaminum rudem Helvidi sapientiam elusit; see below 294, 12), but retained his influence even under Vespasian (see n. 3); a. 79, however, he was convicted of conspiring against the Emperor and forced to commit suicide. Cf. A. Haakh in Pauly's Enc. III p. 207 sq. Tac. hist. IV 7: esse illi (i. e. E. M.) pecuniam et eloquentiam, quis multos anteiret, ni memoria flagitiorum urgeretur. The defence of E. M. ib. 8. Comp. also below 288, 3 extr.

4. Quintil. X 1, 118: eorum quos viderim Domitius Afer († A. D. 59, see above 271, 5) et Iulius Africanus longe praestantissimi. . . hic concitatior (than Afer), sed in cura verborum nimius et compositione nonnumquam longior et translationibus parum modicus. Cf. ib. XII 10, 11 (above 37, 2). Tac. dial. 15. Plin. Ep. VII 6, 11. Quintil. VIII 5, 15 (insigniter Africanus apud Neronem de morte matris, A. D. 59). His father was probably Julius Africanus e Santonis, gallica civitate (Tac. A. VI 7), sentenced a. 32.

5. Quintil. X 3, 13: patruus Iulii Secundi fuit Iulius Forus, in eloquentia Galliarum (quoniam ibi demum exercuit eam) princeps, alioqui inter paucos disertus.

6. Tac. Hist. I 90: in rebus urbanis Galerii Trachali (Cons. 821 = 68 with Silius Italicus) ingenio Othonem uti credebatur. et erant qui genus ipsum orandi noscerent crebro fori usu celebre et ad implendas populi aures latum et sonans. Quintil. X 1, 119: erant clara et nuper ingenia. et Trachalus plerumque sublimis et satis apertus fuit et quem velle optima crederes, auditus tamen maior; nam et vocis quantam in nullo cognovi felicitas et pronuntiatio vel scenis suffectura et decor, omnia denique ei quae sunt extra superfuerunt. The latter

is detailed XII 5, 5 sq., cf. 10, 11 (sonum Trachali). He had published his speech contra Spatalen (Quintil. VIII 5, 19). See also Quintil. VI 3, 78.

7. A. Fabricius Veiento (praetorius, Dio LXI 6) was accused A. D. 62 quod multa et probrosa in patres et sacerdotes composuisset iis libris quibus nomen codicillorum dederat (Tac. A. XIV 50). This seems to have been a prose satire in the form of a last will (comp. above 24, 4). Convictum Veientonem Italia depulit (Nero) et libros exuri iussit, conquisitos lectitatosque donec cum periculo parabantur (Tac. l. l.). Under Domitian he is mentioned as a servile flatterer and delator by Juv. III 185. IV 113. 123 sqq. VI 113. He survived even Nerva (Plin. E. IV 22, 4 cf. IX 13, 13).

8. L. Valerius Primanus, was mentioned by Suetonius (p. 99 Rffsch.) after Q. Curtius Rufus and before Verginius Flavus among the clar rhetores.

9. Tac. A. XV 71: Verginium Flavum . . claritudo nominis expulit (A. D. 65); nam Verginius studia iuvenum eloquentia . . fovebat. Among these was also the youthful Persius Flaccus (vita Pers.). In Suetonius' list of rhetoricians (Suetonius p. 99 Rffsch.) he is the tenth. Quintil. III 1, 21: scripsit de eadem materia (rhetoric) . . aetatis nostrae Verginius. VII 4, 40: Flavum, cuius apud me summa est auctoritas, cum Artem scholae tantum componeret etc. In this he followed Greek originals; see ib. VII 4, 24. He is mentioned ib. III 6, 45. IV 1, 23. XI 3, 126.

10. Hieronym. on Eus. chron. a. Abr. 2063 = Claud. 7 = 47 A. D. from Suetonius (cf. p. 99 Rffsch.): P. Clodius Quirinalis rhetor Arelatensis Romae insignissime docet.

11. Hieronym. ib. ad a. 2064 = Claud. 8 = 48 A. D.: M. Antonius Liberalis, latinus rhetor, gravissimas inimicitias cum Palaemone (above 277, 3) exercet. But Liberalis noster from Lugdunum in Sen. Epist. 91, 1. 3. 13 seems to be Aebutius Liberalis (above 284, 4).

12. Hieronym. ib. ad a. 2073 = Neron. 3 = 57 A. D.: L. Statius Ursulus Tolosensis celeberrime in Gallia rhetoricam docet.

13. Vita Lucani: matrem habuit Aciliam, Acilii Lucani filiam, oratoris (solicitor) opere apud proconsules (in Spain) frequentis et apud clarissimos viros non nullius ingenii. adeo non improbandus fuit ut in scriptis aliquibus hodieque perduret eius memoria.

14. On Passienus Crispus the younger see above 263, 5; on Junius Gallio above 263, 7; on Paetus Thrasea and Helvidius Priscus below 294, 7 and 12; on Cluvius Rufus below 308, 2; on Curiatius Maternus below 312, 1; on Silius Italicus below 314, 1; on Statius' father below 312, 3.

15. On the rhetorical writings of L. Annaeus Cornutus see below 294, 2.

293. Eminent jurists of this time were Proculus, from whom the Proculians derived their name, and the younger Nerva (father to the Emperor); among the Sabinians C. Cassius Longinus (Cons. 30 A. D.). A younger contemporary of Proculus is Atilicinus, and also Fufidius and Sex. Pedius seem to belong to this period.

1. Pompon. Dig. I 2, 2, 52: Nervae (above 276, 2) successit Proculus. fuit eodem tempore et Nerva filius (note 2) . . sed Proculi auctoritas maior fuit. nam etiam plurimum potuit, appellatique sunt partim Cassiani (cf. n. 3) partim Proculiani. Dig. XXXVII 14, 17 (decree of the Divi fratres): Proculum, sane non levem iuris auctorem. Cf. XVIII 1, 1, 1 (Sabinus et Cassius, . . Nerva et Proculus . . verior Nervae et Proculi sententia). His complete name was probably Sempronius Proculus, cf. Dig. XXXI 47 sq. Rudorff, Ztschfr. f. gesch. Rechtsw. XII p. 336 — 339. One of his juridical writings was in epistolary shape (questions and answers): Epistolarum libri, at least 11 books; see Dig. XIX 5, 12 and XXIII 4, 17: Proculus libro XI epistolarum; cf. n. 4 and Dig. XVIII 1, 69. Besides this, Proculus libro III ex Posterioribus Labeonis (ib. XXXIII 6, 16), probably identical with his Notae on Labeo (ib. III 5, 10, 1 and XXXV 1, 69: apud Labeonem Proculus notat, cf. ib. XVII 2, 65, 5). Altogether 37 excerpts from Proculus have been admitted into the Digest. A collection of them in Hommel's Palingenesia II p. 389—396.

2. Pompon. Dig. I 2, 2, 52: fuit eodem tempore et Nerva filius (for the father see above 276, 2). fuit et alius Longinus (than the one mentioned n. 3) ex equestri quidem ordine, qui postea ad praeturam usque pervenit. Dig. III 1, 1, 3; qua aetate (pueritia, which extended to the 17th year) aut paulo maiore fertur Nerva filius et publice de iure responsitasse. XLI 2, 47: idque Nerva filius libris De usucapionibus retulit. He was a Proculian. Of him we should probably understand Tac. A. XV 72: triumphale decus . . Cocceio Nervae, praetori designato, . . tribuit (Nero, A. D. 65).

3. Pomponius l. l. (n. 1) 51: huic (i. e. Masurius, above 276, 1) successit Gaius Cassius Longinus, natus ex filia Tuberonis (above 205, 1), quae fuit neptis Servii Sulpicii (above 171, 2 sqq.) et ideo proavum suum Servium Sulpicium appellat. hic consul fuit cum Quartino (Surdino? Orelli 4034; a. 783 = 30 A. D.) temporibus Tiberii, sed plurimum in civitate auctoritatis habuit, eo usque donec eum Caesar (Nero, A. D. 65, see Suet. Ner. 57: Cassio Longino iuris consulto ac luminibus orbato etc., cf. Tac. A. XVI 7, 9) civitate pelleret. expulsus ab eo in Sardiniam, revocatus a Vespasiano diem suum obiit. Cf. Tac. A. XII 11 (a. 49). Gaio Cassio, qui Suriae praeerat. 12: ea tempestate Cassius ceteros praeminebat peritia legum. XIII 41. 48. XIV 43 sq. Gromat. vet. p. 403, 29: Cassius Longinus, prudentissimus vir, iuris auctor. Plin. epist. VII 24, 8: domus C. Cassi, huius qui Cassianae

scholae princeps et parens fuit (cf. n. 1). Dig. IV 8, 19, 2: Cassius sententiam magistri sui (i. e. Sabinus, see also Arrian. Epict. IV 3) bene excusat. He wrote also a large work on ius civile (Dig. VII 1, 7, 3. 9, 5 and 70, 2: C. Cassius . . libro octavo iuris civilis; cf. ib. XXXV 1, 54: in commentariis Gaii, XLVI 3, 78: in libris Gaii), commented on by his pupil Aristo and excerpted by Iavolenus Priscus in 15 books; besides this notes on Vitellius (Dig. XXXIII 7, 12, 27: Cassius apud Vitellium notat).

4. Dig. XXIII 4, 17: Proculus (n. 2) libro XI epistolarum. Atilicinus Proculo suo salutem. This is followed by a juridical query, to which Proculus 'respondit'. He is mentioned ib. X 3, 6, 4 (Sabinus et At. responderunt). XII 4, 7 (Nerva, At. responderunt). XLV 2, 17 (At., Sabinus, Cassius . . aiunt). Inst. Iust. II 14 (Atilicino placuisse Paulus . . refert). Fragm. Vat. 77 (Atilicinum respondisse Aufidius — or Fufidius, see n. 5 — refert).

5. Dig. XXXIV 2, 5 (from Africanus): apud Fufidium Quaestionum libro II ita scriptum est etc. XL 2, 25 (from Gaius): Fufidius ait; Nerva filius (n. 2) contra sentit, quod verius est. XLII 5, 29 (from Paulus): Fufidius refert etc.

6. Sex. Pedius (Dig. IV 8, 32, 20 and IX 2, 33 from Paulus; ib. XXXIX 1, 5, 9 from Ulpian), the author of a work in several books de stipulationibus (Paul. ib. XII 1, 6: Pedius libro primo de st.) and of a large work of at least 25 books, ad edictum; see Paul. ib. XXXVII 1, 6, 2: notis scriptae tabulae non continentur edicto, quia notas litteras non esse Pedius libro XXV ad edictum scribit. In the notae Einsidlenses on legal subjects we find also at the end S. P. M., which is explained Sexti Pedii Medmani (according to Huschke's emendation, from Medma or Medama in Bruttium). He would appear to have lived before Probus (below 295, 4). From the Digest we learn that he wrote after Ofilius (Dig. XIV 1, 1, 9 from Ulpian: unde quaerit Ofilius, . . quam distinctionem Pedius probat) and Masurius Sabinus (ib. L 16, 13, 1 from Ulpian: ut Sabinus ait et Pedius probat), and before Julian (ib. III 5, 6, 9—11 from Julian: item quaeritur apud Pedium libro VII etc.) and Pomponius (ib. IV 3, 1 4 from Ulpian: ut et Pedius libro VIII scribat. . . idem et Pomponius libro XXVIII et adicit etc.). Cf. Huschke, iurisprud. anteiust.[2] p. 67 sq. 77. Tijdemann, de Pedio icto, Lugd. Bat. 1822.

294. The professors of philosophy in this age wrote for the most part in Greek; e. g. Sextius, Cornutus, Musonius Rufus, and Epictetus. Cornutus, a very influential man, composed also rhetorical and grammatical works, part of which we know from abridgments. Among those philosophers who wrote in Latin, we may mention Celsus, Papirius Fabianus, Plautus, and especially Seneca. The best characters embraced the Stoic system, which enabled them to live with dignity and

die with courage. Such were Julius Canus, Thrasea Paetus, Barea Soranus, Rubellius Plautus, Helvidius Priscus, and the poets Persius and Lucan. As all these avoided any manifestations of servility and, some even candidly avowed their aversion to it, the Stoic system became politically obnoxious. Only P. Egnatius Celer combined Stoicism and the character of delator. The Stoic doctrine was, however, but rarely kept pure by its adherents; some diluting it so that it became a mere system of practical wisdom (e. g. Seneca, Musonius, and Epictetus), others exaggerating it by ascetic additions derived from the Pythagorean system and from Cynicism, without heeding the inroads thus made upon the Stoic system as such.

1. On Sextius see above 261, 5—8.

2. Suidas s. v. *Κορνοῦτος: Λεπτίτης φιλόσοφος, . . γεγονὼς ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐπὶ Νέρωνος καὶ πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἀναιρεθεὶς σὺν τῷ Μουσωνίῳ* (n. 3). *ἔγραψε πολλὰ φιλόσοφά τε καὶ ῥητορικά.* Hieronym. chron. ad a. Abr. 2084 = Ner. 14: Nero . . Cornutum philosophum, praeceptorem Persii (see below 297, 2), in exsilium fugat. Dio LXII 29 (*Ἄνναῖον Κορνοῦτον εὐδοκιμοῦντα τότε γε ἐπὶ παιδείᾳ*). He composed philosophical treatises *πρὸς Ἀθηνόδωρον καὶ Ἀριστοτέλην, περὶ τῆς τῶν θεῶν φύσεως*, which latter work is extant (Corn. de natura deorum, ex schedis C. de Villoisonis rec. et comm. instr. Fr. Osann, Gotting. 1844), perhaps an abridgment of the original work. He also wrote on subjects of rhetoric: *τέχνας ῥητορικὰς* in Greek and de figuris sententiarum in Latin (Gell. IX 10, 5: Annaeus Cornutus, homo sane pleraque alia non indoctus neque imprudens, in secundo librorum quos de figuris sent. composuit). Also grammatical writings: Gell. II 6, 1: nonnulli grammatici aetatis superioris, in quibus est Cornutus Annaeus, haut sane indocti neque ignobiles, qui commentaria in Vergilium composuerunt, reprehendunt etc. Charis. I p. 127, 20 K.: L. Annaeus Cornutus in Maronis commentariis X, no doubt identical with ib. p. 125, 16: Annaeus Cornutus ad Italicum de Vergilio libro X; cf. O. Jahn, Pers. p. XV—XIX. Ribbeck Proleg. Vergil. p. 123—128. From his work de enuntiatione vel orthographia excerpts are given by Cassiod. p. 2281 sqq. P. Charis. II p. 201. 12 K. is corrupt and unintelligible. Annaeus Cornutus libro tab. castarum patris sui. It is doubtful whether Cornutus wrote also tragedies. It is indeed stated in the vita Persii (p. 234 sq. J.): cognovit per Cornutum etiam Annaeum Lucanum, aequaevum auditorem Cornuti. nam Cornutus illo tempore tragicus fuit, sectae stoicae, qui libros philosophiae reliquit. sed Lucanus etc. But the words nam — reliquit are a foreign addition, as Cornutus had been previously mentioned in the vita, and moreover his quality as tragicus could not be brought up in describing his instruction. It is, however, improbable that these words (as it is maintained by M. Hertz, de Scaevo p. 4 sq. not. 4) should be

referred to Seneca, who is mentioned directly afterwards, their present illogical arrangement excluding the assumption of their having come from Probus himself, while a later grammarian would not have thought of Seneca as a tragic poet in the first place. In general see G. J. v. Martini, disp. lit. d. L. Annaeo Cornuto, Lugd. Bat. 1825. O. Jahn, Prolegg. to Pers. p. VIII–XXIV.

3. C. Musonius (Plin. Ep. III 11, 5, 7) Rufus. Tac. A. XV 71: (Musonium) Rufum claritudo nominis expulit (A. D. 65, cf. Dio LXII 27: *Ῥοῦφος Μουσώνιος ὁ φιλόσοφος . . ἐφυγαδεύθη*). nam . . Musonius praeceptis sapientiae fovebat (iuvenes.) XIV 59: doctores sapientiae, Coeranus graeci, Musonius tusci (from Volsinii) generis. Hist. III 81: miscuerat se legatis (a. 69) Musonius Rufus, equestris ordinis, studium philosophiae et placita stoicorum aemulatus. Hence Hieronym. errs ad a. Abr. 2095 (Freher. ad 2096), Tit. 1: Titus Musonium Rufum philosophum de exilio revocat. Cf. Dio LXVI 13: *πάντας αὐτίκα τοὺς φιλοσόφους ὁ Οὐεσπασιανός, πλὴν τοῦ Μουσωνίου, ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐξέβαλεν* (a. 71). An inscription (Eph. Arch. 3833, 3): *ἱερεὺς Ἀπόλλωνος Δηλίου διὰ (βίου) Μουσώνιος Ῥοῦφος*. That he wrote in Greek appears from Gell. IX 2, 8. XVI 1, 1 sq. and the collection of his sayings concerning moral questions (*ἀπομνημονεύματα Μουσωνίου*) by Lucius and (Valerius) Pollio, from which Stobaeus gives ample quotations in his Florilegium. Cf. E. Rohde, on Lucian's *Λούκιος*, p. 26 sq. note. The citation in Gellius V 1 may possibly be a translation, but the play between remittere and amittere animum (ib. XVIII 2, 1) seems to point to original Latin composition. C. Musonii Rufi . . reliquiae et apophthegmata cum annot. ed J. Venhuizen-Peerlkamp, Harlem 1822. H. Ritter and L. Preller, hist. philos. graeco-rom. p. 438 sqq. J. J. Bäbler, New Swiss Mus. IV (Bern 1864) p. 23—37. O. Bernhardt, on G. Mus. Rufus, Sorau 1866. 4. E. Baltzer, Musonius, Nordhausen 1871. 50 pp.

4. Epictetus of Hierapolis, known by his pupil Arrianus' *Ἐγχειρίδιον Ἐπικτήτου*. Fr. Spangenberg, on Epictetus' doctrine, Hanau 1849. 4. Winnefeld, the Philosophy of Ep., a contribution to the history of the eclectic philosophy of the Imperial Roman period, in Fichte's Journal of Phil. XLIX p. 1—32. 193—226. G. Grosch, the moral teaching of E., Wernigerode 1867. 4. and many other treatises.

5. Quintil. X 1, 124: Plautus in stoicis rerum cognitioni utilis. See above 261, 9. On Celsus see above 275, 3; on Fabianus above 261, 10 sq.; on Seneca above 284, 4 and 5; on the Epicurean Aufidius Bassus above 272, 2.

6. Sen. de tranq. an. (dial. IX) 14, 4: Kanus Iulius, vir inprimis magnus, cuius admirationi ne hoc quidem obstat quod nostro saeculo natus est, cum Caio (Caligula) diu altercatus, was by him sentenced to death. (9.) prosequebatur illum philosophus suus (to the place of execution). . . promisitque (I. K.) si quid explorasset circumiturum amicos (after his death) et indicaturum quis esset animarum status.

7. P. (Fannius?) Thrasea Paetus from Patavium, son-in-law to Caecina Paetus, the husband of the younger Arria and father of Fannia who was married to Helvidius Priscus (n. 12), consularis, sentenced to death by Nero a. 66. W. Teuffel in Pauly's Enc. VI 2 p. 1898 sq. A. S. Hoitsema, de P. Thr. P., Gröningen 1852. G. Joachim, P. Valerii Paeti Thr. vita, Lahr 1858. Dio LXII 26: *ὁ Θρασέας καὶ ὁ Σορανός* (n. 8), *καὶ γένους καὶ πλούτου τῆς τε συμπάσης ἀρετῆς ἐς τὰ πρῶτα ἀνήκοντες, . . ἀπέθανον . . ὅτι τοιοῦτοι ἦσαν.* Tac. A. 16, 21: ad postremum Nero virtutem ipsam excindere concupivit interfecto Thrasea Paeto et Barea Sorano. He belonged to the secta quae Tuberones et Favonios . . genuit (ib. 22). When sentenced to die, he was maxime intentus Demetrio, cynicae institutionis doctori (Sen. de benef. VII 8, 2: virum exactae . . sapientiae firmaeque . . constantiae, eloquentiae vero eius quae res fortissimas deceat etc., exiled under Vespasian, Dio LXVI 13). cum quo . . de natura animae et dissociatione spiritus corporisque inquirebat etc. (Tac. A. XVI 34). Thrasea's ideal was always Cato minor, whose life he had also written in a work resembling a panegyric, and which was used by Plutarch as his chief source in his biography, see Plut. Cat. min. 37 cf. 25 and H. Peter, on the sources of Plutarch p. 65 sq. 68.

8. Servilius Barea Soranus, cos. suff. 52 under Claudius, accused at the same time as Thrasea (n. 7) and driven to commit suicide. Dio LXII 26: *τοῦ Σωρανοῦ Πούπλιος Ἐγνάτιος Κέλερ* (of Berytos) *φιλόσοφος κατεψευδομαρτύρησεν.* Tac. A. XVI 32: cliens hic (P. Egnatius) Sorani et tunc emptus ad opprimendum amicum auctoritatem stoicae sectae praeferebat, habitu et ore ad exprimendam imaginem honesti exercitus, ceterum animo perfidiosus, subdolus etc. Juv. III 116 sqq. with the Schol. on I 33 (Soranum Baream Celer philosophus magister ipsius apud Neronem scelere delationis occidit et ipse postea sub Vespasiano ob hoc ipsum Musonio Rufo accusante damnatus est) and VI 552.

9. Rubellius Plautus . . placita maiorum colebat, habitu severo, casta et secreta domo, Tac. A. XIV 22 (where Nero writes to him a. 50: per Asiam avitos agros, in quibus tuta et inturbida inventute frueretur). ib. 57: Plautum . . veterum Romanorum imitamenta praeferre, assumpta etiam Stoicorum arrogantia sectaque, quae turbidos et negotiorum adpetentes faciat. He was murdered by Nero a. 62, ib. 58 sq. Fr. Wolffgramm, Rub. Pl. and his character in Tac. and Juvenal, Prenzlau 1871.

10. H. Schiller, on the Stoic opposition under Nero; I 1—3. Wertheim 1867 sq. Carlsruhe 1869.

11. Vita Persii: usus est apud Cornutum duorum convictu doctissimorum et sanctissimorum virorum, acriter tunc philosophantium, Claudii Agaturrini (Reinesius: Agathemeri) medici Lacedaemonii et Petroni Aristocratis Magnetis, . . cum aequales essent, Cornuti minoris et ipsi.

12. Tac. Hist. IV 5: Helvidius Priscus Carecinae municipio, Cluvio patre, qui ordinem primi pili duxisset, (adopted by some Hel-

vidius) ingenium inlustre altioribus studiis (cf. Gell. XIII 10, 1 above 260, 1) iuvenis admodum dedit, non, ut plerique, ut nomine magnifico segne otium velaret, sed quo firmior adversus fortuita remp. capesseret. doctores sapientiae secutus est qui sola bona quae honesta, mala tantum quae turpia, potentiam, nobilitatem ceteraque extra animum neque bonis neque malis adnumerant (i. e. Stoicism). quaestorius adhuc a Paeto Thrasea (n. 7) gener delectus etc. 6: erant quibus adpetentior famae videretur; . . ruina soceri in exilium pulsus ut Galbae principatu (a 69) rediit Marcellum Eprium (above 292, 3) delatorem Thraseae accusare adgreditur. . . primo minax certamen et egregiis utriusque orationibus testatum etc. A subsequent attack upon Marcellus was likewise in vain, though not, as Tac. dial. 5 lets his speaker represent it in accordance with his character, in consequence of the superior eloquence of Marcellus; cf. Hist. IV 43 sq. He was praetor a. 70. When he continued his opposition even under Vespasian, partly without sufficient reason and merely for demonstration's sake, the Emperor lost at last patience, Helvidius was exiled and soon afterwards killed partly by mistake. Suet. Vesp. 15. Dio LXVI 12 (*Πρίσκος Ἑλουίδιος . . τοῖς στωϊκοῖς δόγμασιν ἐντραφεὶς καὶ τὴν τοῦ Θρασέου παρρησίαν οὐ σὺν καιρῷ μιμούμενος* etc.).

295. In the department of grammar the most eminent person of this time is M. Valerius Probus of Berytus, who undertook the critical revision of the texts of the classical writers in the manner of the Alexandrine critics. He chiefly devoted his studies to Lucretius, Virgil, Horace, and the poems of Persius. He also explained the peculiarities of archaic Latin partly in oral lectures, partly in treatises most of which he edited himself in epistolary form. Of his work de notis a valuable abridgment, containing the legal abbreviations, has come down to us. Other parts of his works were used by later grammarians, e. g. Flavius Caper. He is different from a certain Probus who lived at the commencement of the fourth century and by whom we possess a grammatical manual (Ars vaticana).

1. Sueton. gramm. 24 (P. being the last grammarian in Suetonius' account, directly after Remmius Palaemon, so that he appears to be next to Suetonius' age): M. Valerius Probus Berytius diu centuriatum petiit, donec taedio ad studia se contulit. legerat in provincia quosdam veteres libellos (Latin) apud grammatistam. . . hos cum diligentius repeteret atque alios deinceps cognoscere cuperet . . in proposito mansit multaque exemplaria contracta emendare ac distinguere et adnotare curavit, soli huic nec ulli praeterea grammaticae parti deditus. hic non tam discipulos quam sectatores aliquot habuit; numquam enim

ita docuit ut magistri personam sustineret. unum et alterum vel, cum plurimos, tres aut quatuor postmeridianis horis admittere solebat cubansque inter longos ac volgares sermones legere quaedam, idque perraro. (Cf. n. 2) nimis pauca et exigua de quibusdam minutis quaestiunculis edidit (independently of his editions). reliquit autem non mediocrem silvam observationum sermonis antiqui. These 'collectanea' would thus appear not to have been edited by himself, but from his papers after his death.

2. Hieronym. ad a. Abr. 2072 = Neron. 2 (Amand. 2073): Probus Berytius eruditissimus grammaticorum Romae agnoscitur. From Martial (III 2, 12 to his book: nec Probum timeto) he seems to have been living as late as Domitian. This agrees also with the fact of Gellius having heard in his youth some of Probus' pupils (n. 3), who might be born c. a. 70. Favorinus also belonged to them (Gell. III 1, 6). Gell. IX 9, 12: Valerii Probi, . . docti hominis et in legendis pensitandisque veteribus scriptis bene callidi. I 15, 18 (grammaticum inlustrem). IV 7, 1 (V. P. grammaticus inter suam aetatem praestanti scientia fuit). Auson. epigr. praef. ad Syagr. 18—20: nomen grammatici merui, non tam grande quidem quo gloria nostra subiret Aemilium aut Scaurum Berytiumve Probum. Id. profess. 15, 12 (Scaurum Probumque). 20, 7 (grammatice ad Scaurum atque Probum). Macrob. 22, 9 sq. (Valerius Probus, vir perfectissimus, notat etc. quod tantum virum fugisse miror). Cassiod. de gramm. p. 2321 P. (Palaemon, Phocas, Probus et Censorinus). Analecta gramm. Vindob. p. 514 (ut est Probus et Caesar). Gräfenhan, Hist. of class. Philol. IV p. 286—293. W. Brambach, on Latin spelling p. 31—37. J. Steup, de Probis grammaticis, Jena 1871. 206 pp. Against his assumption of two different Probus, an elder, (in Suet.) and a younger (in Martial and Gellius) shortly succeeding each other see W. Teuffel, Studies and Char. p. 442—445, cf. Rh. Mus. XXVII p. 62 sqq. and 192.

3. Specimens of Val. Probus' lectures on sermo antiquus in Gell. who obtained them from his familiares (e. g. Annianus VI 7, 1 sqq.); see I 15, 18. III 1, 5 sq. (on Sallust). VI 7, 3—5 (Plautus and Terence). 9, 12 (Valerius Antias). XIII 21, 1—8, and ib. 9: his tum verbis Probus . . hominem dimisit, ut mos eius fuit erga indociles, prope inclementer. Written explanations are indicated ib. VI 9, 11 (on the perfects occecurri Probus adnotavit et haec verba apposuit). XV 30, 5 (ego cum Probi multos admodum commentationum libros adquisierim neque scriptum in his inveni etc.). IV 7, 1 sqq. (Valerius Probus — pronounced Hannibâlem, Hasdrubâlem — teste epistula eius scripta ad Marcellum, in qua Plautum et Ennium . . eo modo pronuntiasse affirmat etc.). Commentationes of this kind (probably edited from his papers) are perhaps those on fluctuating deponents (below n. 7), de inaequalitate consuetudinis (n. 7), on verba communia (Gellius XV 13 with Kretzschmer de font. Gell. p. 86), and other grammatical treatises, see n. 7.

4. Suetonius in the Anced. Paris. (first edited by Th. Bergk, Ztsch. f. A. W. 1845, p. 85 sqq., reprinted in Osann's Anecd. Rom. p. 327 sqq., Sueton. ed. Reiff. p. 137—141, and A. Nauck, Lex. Vindob. p. 278 sqq.): his (21 critical notes) solis in adnotationibus Ennii, Lucilii et historicorum usi sunt Vargunteius, Ennius Aeliusque et postremo Probus, qui illas in Vergilio et Horatio et Lucretio apposuit ut Homero Aristarchus (p. 138 R.). Cf. Steup p. 48—60. 88 sqq. This employment of critical notes in his editions of poets probably induced Probus to devote some attention to 'notae' in general. Gell. XVII 9, 5: est adeo Probi grammatici commentarius satis curiose factus de occulta literarum significatione in epistularum C. Caesaris (above 182, 8) scriptura. The abbreviations employed in iure civile (i. e. in legibus et plebiscitis, in legis actionibus, in edictis perpetuis; cf. above 46, 3) are contained in the treatise (preserved in several mss.): Valerii Probi iuris notarum (liber), probably once part of a treatise of V. Pr. de notis antiquis or de litteris singularibus (which begins: est etiam circa perscribendas vel paucioribus literis notandas voces studium necessarium), but is mutilated at the end and has altogether come down to us in an abbreviated form. There is nothing in this treatise which points to a later time than that of Probus, barring some interpolations found in the bad mss., not in the Amb. and Chigianus. The best edition by Th. Mommsen in Keil's gramm. lat. IV p. 271—276, and after this in Huschke's iurisprud. antei. p. 64—70 = 68—77 ed. II. Cf. Mommsen, on M. Val. Pr. de notis antiquis, in the Trans. of the Saxon Society of Literature 1853, p. 91—134, and in his edition p. 267—270. Huschke l. l. p. 61—64=63—68. Steup p. 135 sq. The arrangement of the portion belonging to Probus follows the subject and is systematical, but in the later list of notae (the Lugdunenses, ex cod. Reginae, Magnonianae, Lindenbrogianae, Vaticanae, Papianae and Einsidlenses, published together by Mommsen in Keil IV p. 277—230) the arrangement is alphabetical. The latter belong to the 15th century and form the list of 'siglae' used by the earliest collectors of inscriptions. (Th. Mommsen l. l. p. 129 sqq.) Only the Einsidl. contain a part of the ancient lists of Probus, not known from other sources, see Huschke iurispr.[2] pp. 68. 74—77. See also W. Schmitz, Studies on Latin stenography. I: The Madrid Notes (21 pp.) and de Romanorum tachygraphia (12 pp.) in the Panstenographicon 1869.

5. Oral explanations by Probus of passages of Virgil and his diction see in Gell. IX 9, 12 sqq. XIII 21, 1—8. The first passage (cf. Serv. Aen. IV 418. IX 814. XI 554) proves that Probus kept free from blind admiration. In forming the text of his edition, he employed the earliest sources; see Gell. XIII 21, 4: in primo Georg., quem ego, inquit (Probus), librum manu ipsius (Vergilii) correctum legi. This edition is often quoted by Servius; see O. Jahn's Pers. p. CXL—CL. Ribbeck Proleg. Vergil. p. 136—149. Cf. Steup p. 85—94. 99—125. E. g. Servius Ge. I 277: Probus orchus (Steup p. 84: orcus) legit, Cornutus vetat (Steup. putat) aspirationem addendam (horcus)

His criticism was expressed chiefly in the critical notes of the Alexandrines (Ribbeck p. 149—163, cf. A. Riese in Fleckeisen's Jahrb. 93, p. 868—874). The accuracy of Probus' labours on Virgil (see above 220, 1 a) may be guessed at from the commentary on the Bucolics and Georgics attributed to him, and which may actually be traced back to him, but is overlaid with an abundance of foreign matter. It was first edited (from a lost cod. Bobiensis) by J. B. Egnatius, Venet. 1507 and repeatedly afterwards (cf. Keil p. V—XI), the best edition by H. Keil, M. Valerii Probi in Verg. Bu. et Ge. commentarius etc., Halle 1848 (p. 1—68). Wollenberg, de Probo carminum Vergil. editore, Berlin 1857. 4. A. Riese, de commentario Vergiliano qui M. Valeri Probi dicitur (Bonn 1862) p. 15—32 and against him Ribbeck, in Fleckeisen's Jahrb. 87, p. 351 355 and Proleg. Verg. p. 163—165. Steup p. 112 sqq.

6. Besides his editions of Lucretius and Horace (n. 4), Probus seems also to have published an edition of Terence with notes, see O. Jahn, Persius p. CXL, and cf. Steup p. 94 sq. 97—99. For his notes on Persius see below 297, 1. G. Valla wrongly attributed the Scholia edited by him on Juvenal (in which e. g. Trajan is mentioned on I 35) to this Probus; see O. Jahn, Persius p. CLIV—CLVII. For Scholia on Persius by a so-called Probus ib. p. CLVII sq. Steup p. 127 sq. Commentaries on Plautus and Sallust? Steup p. 130—133.

7. The mentions made of Probus (saec. I) in Charisius, Diomed, Servius and Priscian are no doubt derived from a third source, perhaps from Flavius Caper (Steup p. 190—200). They relate mostly to the treatise de inaequalitate consuetudinis (Charis. II p. 212, 7 K. = Iulius Romanus), parts of which are the citations in Priscian V 45 (p. 171, 4 sq. H: et apud Caprum et apud Probum de dubiis generibus) and X 52 (p. 541, 19: Probus de dubio perfecto tractans ostendit Naevium protulisse etc.). Cf. ib. X 46 p. 535: quod Probus usu Pomponii (above 135, 4 sq.) comprobat. Other quotations evidently relate to the younger Probus (saec. IV), see Steup p. 187—189. Cf. n. 8. And as his Ars was often joined with Diomed in one and the same ms., Probus is frequently mistaken for him (Steup p. 177—183. Rh. Mus. XXVI p. 317 sq.) and also for Sacerdos (Steup, de Prob. p. 184—187).

8. Under the name of Probus we possess a short work entitled Catholica, treating of noun and verb (De catholicis Probi in Keil's gramm. lat. IV p. 3—43). This being identical with the second book of Sacerdos (whom see), the question arises who is the real author, Probus or Sacerdos? Spengel, Lersch, and Steup are in favour of the latter; and indeed 'sacerdos' is very frequently used in this work as an instance of a noun (Steup p. 163 sq.). The first book of Sacerdos was in school-use and mss. partly superseded by the Ars of Probus (= Ars vaticana), and the name of Probus transferred to the whole work (ib. p. 168 sq.). Cf. Pompeius in Keil V p. 165, 17 sqq.: scripsit ad hunc locum (on the genera of nomina) Probus unum librum. iste

(Donatus) institutoriam artem scripsit, non scripsit perfectis, sed ad eos qui volunt se perfectos esse. Keil V p. XVII—XXIV.

b) A very lengthy, but also very trivial treatise on the whole of grammar, first published a. 1833 by A. Mai (auct. class. V p. 153 sqq.) from a codex vaticanus and hence called Ars vaticana or grammaticus vaticanus, then a. 1837 by Endlicher (from Paris. 7519. saec. XV) under the title of Probi . . ars minor (Analecta Vindob. I p. 227 sqq.), the best edition by Keil (IV p. 47—192, cf. p. XVIII) as Instituta artium; cf. Steup, Rh. Mus. XXVI p. 314—317. It belongs to the commencement of saec. IV and is not by the same author as the Catholica (H. Wentzel, de Probo p. 9 sqq. Steup p. 142—147). We possess also an Appendix to it (in Endlicher's Anal. p. 437—451, Keil IV p. 193—204), which deviates in some points from the Ars Probi, but in which that work is evidently made use of. Especially the third part (de orthographia) is valuable, the fourth treats de differentiis. Valerii Probi de nomine excerpta (in Endlicher's Anal. p. 213—225. Keil IV p. 207—216) are a compilation from various grammatical works and seem to bear the name of Probus from the circumstance of having been added to the Ars Probi in some ms. (Steup p. 175—177). But in the work on final syllables (de ultimis syllabis liber ad Caelestinum), ap. Keil IV p. 219—264, the addition of the name of Probus rests only on the conjecture of the first editor of it (Mediol. 1504), Parrhasius. Cf. W. Freund in Jahn's Jahrb. V. 1832. p. 90 sqq. Steup p. 138 sq.

9. The assumption of the existence of two grammarians of the name of Probus, that of Berytus in the first century and the author of an Ars in the fourth century is chiefly defended by F. Osann (Contributions to the Hist. of Latin and Greek Lit. II p. 166 sqq.), L. Lersch (Ztsch. f. A. W. 1843, nr. 79 sq.), O. Jahn (Persius p. CXXXVI), H. Wentzel (de Probo artifice latino, Oppeln 1867, p. 7—16), and recently by J. Steup (cf. note 2). Quite isolated is now H. Keil who (gramm. lat. I p. LII—LIV. IV p. XVI—XXXI. Symb. phil. Bonn. p. 93—100; Fleckeisen's Jahrb. 95 p. 638—643) refers all quotations from Probus to the Berytian, at least as regards their chief substance, assuming that his posthumous writings were subsequently put into the shape of a manual, in two parts, one of which (under the usual title of Instituta artium) treated of letters, syllables, and the eight parts of speech, the second of nouns and verbs (the commencement in Keil IV p. 3: quoniam instituta artium sufficienter tractavimus, nunc de catholicis nominum et verborum rationibus doceamus). But as it is of itself very doubtful, whether from observationes sermonis antiqui (see n. 1) a systematical grammar might have been constructed, this view has, moreover, been entirely upset by showing the relation of the Catholica to Sacerdos; see n. 8 (a).

10. Under Nero Pliny the Elder wrote his eight books dubii sermonis, see Plin. Epist. III 5, 5 (below 307, 2 and 4).

296. The epic panegyric on the Consul Piso was probably written in the reign of Claudius by an anonymous young poet, who was well-versed in the literature of the Augustan period, skilled in employing all the means of rhetoric, and in imparting to his verses an elegant and harmonious flow.

1. Tac. A. XV 48: is (C. Piso, † 65 = 818 V. C.) Calpurnio genere ortus . . claro. apud volgum rumore erat. . . namque facundiam tuendis civibus excercebat, largitionem adversum amicos et ignotis quoque, comi sermone et congressu. aderant etiam . . corpus procerum, decora facies. sed procul gravitas morum aut voluptatum parsimonia. This description suits the Piso of the panegyric poem perfectly well, though it cannot have furnished the theme of it. So also the Schol. of Valla on Juv. V 109: Piso Calphurnius, ut Probus inquit, antiqua familia, scenico habitu tragoedias actitavit, in latrunculorum lusu tam perfectus . . ut ad eum ludentem concurreretur. ob haec insinuatus C. Caesari repente . . relegatus est, quia consuetudinem pristinae uxoris, abductae sibi ab ipso, deinde remissae, repetere noluisse (the traditional reading is repetita esse) existimabatur. mox sub Claudio restitutus et post consulatum (it is uncertain in what year; it cannot have been 810) materna hereditate ditatus magnificentissime vixit, meritos sublevare inopes ex utroque ordine solitus, de plebe vero certos quotannis ad equestrem censum dignitatemque provehere. In agreement with this, the panegyric poem praises Calpurnius Piso as an eloquent solicitor before the Centumvirs and in Criminal suits, as a speaker in the Senate (e. g. tu, reticente senatu, quom tua bis senos numeraret purpura fasces, Caesareum grato cecinisti pectore numen, 69 sqq.), liberal, a boon companion, who was accustomed to fill up his leisure-time with writing verse (151 sqq.), music and the draught-board (latrunculorum lusus). From the fact that, in the lengthy justification (or excuse) of Piso's musical playing (157 sqq.) Nero's example is not quoted we should infer that it did not yet exist. Nothing calculated to lead us beyond Claudius occurs in the poem.

2. The author assures us honestly, though perhaps not quite credibly, that he was induced to sing Piso not by (207 sqq.) divitis auri imperiosa fames, but by laudis amor. His youth appears from v. 248 sq.: quamvis nunc iuvenile decus mihi pingere malas coeperit et nondum vicesima venerit aestas. He is acquainted with and mentions the Augustan poets, Virgil, Horace, L. Varius, Melissus (277 sq.), and Ovid; there are reminiscences of Horace (130 sq.) and Ovid (203). In accordance with them he says desset, v. 6. Somewhat uncommon is the hasta of the decem viri who preside to the Centum viri (41 sq.). The prosodiacal and metrical treatment is the same as with the most accurate poets; the caesura is always correct and varied (he combines the τριθημ. and ἑφθημ. with τριτ. τροχ. 14 times in 261 hexameters), elision scarce (atque illos 24, quare age 259 = 81) and only in the first foot.

3. The author's name not having been handed down, all attempts at discovering it have been in vain. Even the conjecture which seems to be most probable, that the bucolic poet Calpurnius (below 301) wrote the poem (M. Haupt, de carm. bucol. p. 26 sq.) is not supported by any convincing arguments. Comp. C. F. Weber (1859) p. 14 sq. That the poem is not mentioned or quoted by any later writer (unless, indeed, it was read by Probus; see n. 1) may be explained from the merely personal character of the subject.

4. The oldest known ms. is the Parisian Notre-Dame 188 of the first half of saec. XIII (employed by Scaliger), which agrees with Junius' Atrebatensis in all important points (A. in Weber); see E. Wölfflin, Philol. XVII p. 340 sqq. These facts suffice to disprove the assumption that the poem was written in the 16th century.

5. Editio princeps by Sichard (Basil. 1527), as app. to Ovidii opera from a ms. probably belonging to the abbey of Lorsch (near Mannheim). It is also found in many editions of Lucan, e. g. by Corte (Lips. 1726). Separate editions by Hadr. Junius, Animadversorum libri VI (Basle 1556) p. 249 sqq. In Wernsdorf's poetae latt. min. IV p. 236—282, cf. ib. p. 36—48. 72—74; in W. E. Weber's corpus poett. lat. p. 1411—1413. J. Held (incerti auctoris etc., Breslau 1831. 4.), C. Beck (Statii ad Pis. poemation, Ansbach 1835), C. F. Weber (incerti auctoris carmen panegyricum in Pis. cum prolegomenis et adnotatione critica, Marburg 1859. 44 pp. 4.).

6. On the writer and his poem see C. F. Weber's prolegomena and J. Mähly in Fleckeisen's Jahrb. 85, p. 286—289. Contributions to the criticism of the text by M. Haupt (de carm. buc. 1854, p. 37 and Hermes III p. 211 sqq.), C. F. Weber (annotationes ad etc. Marburg 1860. 12 pp. 4.), J. Mähly (l. l. p. 289—294).

297. Among the poets of the time of Nero, the youthful and unripe, but noble-minded A. Persius Flaccus (A. D. 34—62) from Volaterrae, wrote both other compositions which have been lost, and six satires, most of which are versified lectures on Stoic tenets, in the manner of the Stoics and with extensive employment of Horatian expressions and phrases. The exaggeration and bombast characteristic of the manner of this period are in these Satires carried to obscurity.

1. On the life of Persius see the vita Aulis Persii Flacci, de commentario Probi Valeri sublata, in O. Jahn's edition (1843) p. 233—238 and in Reifferscheid's Suetonius p. 72—75, with the explanations of Jahn ib. p. CL—CLII, Reifferscheid p. 394—398. Steup de Probis p. 125—130. Jahn maintains, but Reifferscheid denies that commentarium meant a set of notes on the Satires; Steup has a mediating view according to which it was taken from a biographic preface to a commentary, just as in the case of Virgil.

2. Vita: Aules Persius Flaccus natus est prid. non. decembr. Fabio Persico, L. Vitellio coss. (4 Dec. 787 = 34). decessit VIII kal. decembr. Rubrio Mario, Asinio Gallo coss. (24 Nov. 815=62). natus in Etruria Volaterris eques rom. . . decessit autem vitio stomachi anno aetatis XXVIII. (sepultus est) ad VIII miliarium via Appia in praediis suis. Hieronym. a. Abr. 2050 = Tiber. 21: Persius Flaccus satiricus poeta Volaterris nascitur; and ad a. 2078 (Freher. ad a. 2079) = Neron. 8: Persius moritur anno aetatis XXIX. — Vita: pater eum Flaccus pupillum reliquit moriens annorum fere sex. His mother was Fulvia Sisennia. . . studuit Flaccus usque ad annum XII aetatis suae Volaterris, inde Romae apud grammaticum Remmium Palaemonem (above 277, 3) et apud rhetorem Verginium Flavum (above 292, 9). cum esset annorum XVI amicitia coepit uti Annaei Cornuti (above 292, 2), ita ut nusquam ab eo discederet; inductus (ab eo) aliquatenus in philosophiam est. . . coluit ut patrem Servilium Nonianum (above 286, 2). . . idem decem fere annis summe dilectus a Paeto Thrasea (above 294, 7) est, . . cognatam eius Arriam uxorem habente. . . sero cognovit et Senecam, sed non ut caperetur eius ingenio. . . fuit morum lenissimorum, verecundiae virginalis, formae pulcrae, pietatis erga matrem et sororem et amitam exemplo sufficientis.

3. Vita: et raro et tarde scripsit. hunc ipsum librum (the six Satires to which the vita was intended as an introduction) imperfectum reliquit, versus aliqui dempti sunt ultimo libro, ut quasi finitus esset. leviter retractavit Cornutus et Caesio Basso (below 299, 1) petenti ut ipsi cederet tradidit edendum. scripserat in pueritia Flaccus etiam praetextam Vescio (Vescia according to M. Hertz, who understands this of the sudden attack of Vescia, Livy IX 25), et Ὁδοιπορικῶν librum unum, et paucos in socrum Thraseae, in Arriam matrem, versus, quae se ante virum (Caecina Paetus) occiderat. omnia ea auctor fuit Cornutus matri eius ut aboleret. editum librum continuo mirari homines et diripere coeperunt. Cf. Quintil. X 1, 94 (multum et verae gloriae quamvis uno libello Persius meruit). Martial. IV 29, 7 (above 238, 3).

4. Vita: lecto Lucilii libro X vehementer satiras componere instituit, . . sibi primo, mox omnibus detracturus, cum tanta recentium poetarum et oratorum insectatione ut etiam Neronem . . culpaverit (see above 281, 8). This 'insectatio' takes place in the first Satire and in the prologue prefixed to it in 14 choliambics. This is really the only satire in Persius' collection and treats of the taste of the poets and public of his age. The others are declamations on dogmas of the Stoic system, full of dramatic scenes which frequently approach burlesque and recall Sophron; see Laurent. Lyd. de magistr. I 41 (above 24, 2). They are all dressed up with Horatian reminiscences. Just as Persius' characters, except those which are mere shadows or the representatives of Stoic categories, are derived from Horace or Lucilius, he has also borrowed numerous thoughts, comparisons, and expressions from Horace, though generally distorting them by his additions and exaggerations. Cf. Casaubonus, Persiana Horatii imitatio, e. g. in Dübner's edition of Per-

sius, p. 344—367. Owing to the affected boldness of his metaphors, tropes and epithets, the strangeness of his combinations, the manner of enveloping all in mystery, and partly also on account of the want of practice on the author's part, his style is encumbered with almost intolerable obscurity. Cf. W. Teuffel, Studies and Char. p. 400—409.

5. As Persius was in the Middle Ages greatly admired on account of his moral strictness, and as, moreover, his Satires do not take up much space, we possess them in numberless mss. A list of them is given in O. Jahn's edition (1843) p. CLXXIII—CCXIV. The earliest and best are two at Montpellier saec. IX (C) and X (A), the latter with the subscriptio: Flavius Iulius Tryfonianus Sabinus v. c. . . temptavi emendare sine antigrapho meum et adnotavi Barcellonae coss. . . Arcadio et Honorio Q. (a. 402), see O. Jahn l. l. p. CLXXIV—CLXXXI. CXCII sq. and in the Trans. of the Saxon Society 1851, p. 332 sq. The same recurs in a Vatican ms. (B). But even these mss., just like all the other mss. of Persius, abound in errors, owing to the fact that the scribes did not understand what they copied. But this also prevented any attempt at interpolation. A. Kissel, Persii codicum mss. Leidensium collatio, una cum animadvers. in eius satiram I, Zalt-Bömel 1848. 100 pp. On a Vienna ms. saec. X with glosses and Scholia see A. Göbel, Philol. XIV. p. 170 sqq. 279 sqq., cf. XV p. 128—135, and in the Conitz program 1859. 4. M. Zillober, on an unknown ms. of Persius, Progr. of the Stephan-Gymnasium at Augsburg 1862. 4.

6. The Scholia on the Satires of Persius (the best reprint in O. Jahn's edition 1843, p. 245—350) bear the title: (Annei) Cornuti commentum, leaving it uncertain whether they were actually written by some Cornutus or that this name was merely prefixed to lend these notes the authority of the poet's master and instructor. They are a compilation from old glosses and brief Scholia, forming a commentary mostly trivial and sometimes even absurd. It may perhaps belong to the Carlovingian period (O. Jahn p. CXIII sqq.) an assumption more probable than that of C. F. Hermann (lect. Pers. I, Marb. 1842, and Anal. de aetate et usu schol. Pers. Götting. 1846. 4.), that it was written in the time of Isidore (a. 636). It is doubtful whether anything in this commentary should be traced back to Probus (cf. note 1). The glossae Pithoeanae are a selection from this commentary (Jahn p. CLXIV — CLXVI).

7. Editio princeps c. 1470 fol. at Rome generally with Juvenal; the principal later editions are by B. Fontius (Venet. 1480 fol.), J. Britannicus (originally Brix. 1481 fol.), N. Frischlin (Basle 1582. 4.), P. Pithoeus (Paris 1585), E. Vinetus and Th. Marcilius (Paris 1601. 4.), Is. Casaubonus (first ed. Paris. 1605. 4.; the last edition with many additions by Fr. Dübner, Lips. 1833), König (Gotting. 1803), Fr. Passow (P. I Leipzig 1809), Achaintre (Paris 1812), E. W. Weber (Lips. 1826), Fr. Plum (Copenhagen 1827), J. C. Orelli (Eclogae poett. latt., Zürich 1833), F. Hauthal (part I Leipzig 1837) and especially O. Jahn (cum

scholiis antiquis ed., Lips. 1843; the text Lips. 1851, and, with Juvenal and Sulpicia, recogn. Berol. 1868). See also C. F. Heinrich's lectures on Pers., edited by O. Jahn, Leipzig 1844. A text (with Juvenal) by C. Fr. Hermann, Lips. (Teubner) 1854. Edited by A. Pretor, London 1869.

8. On Persius see e. g. Nisard, études sur les poètes latins de la décadence (Paris 1834) I p. 237—311. O. Jahn's Prolegomena, and in Ersch and Gruber's Encycl. III 18. p. 33—38. W. Teuffel's introduction to his translation. C. Martha, un poète stoicien, Revue des deux mondes, September 1863, p. 291 sqq. Breuker, A. Persius and his time, Mörs 1866. 21 pp. 4.

Fr. Knickenberg, de ratione stoica in Pers. satt. apparente, Münster 1867. 122 pp.

W. Pierson, on the metaphors of Persius, Rhein. Mus. XII p. 88—98. B. Erdmann, observationes aliquot grammaticae in Pers. satiras, Wittenberg 1866. 4. J. Schlüter, Quaestiones Persianae, Münster 1857.

9. On Sat. I see A. Kissel (n. 5), F. Hand (Jena 1850 4.), H. Lehmann (Ztschr. f. d. Alt. Wiss. 1852, Nr. 25 sq.). On Sat. II H. Lehmann, Philologus VI p. 431—445; on IV Häckermann in Jahn's Archiv XVIII p. 390—410; on V H. Lehmann (Greifswald 1855. 34 pp. 4.) and Handrick (Torgau 1846. 4.: a German translation by the same Torgau 1853. 4.).

298. Of the same mind as Persius and a friend of his was Seneca's nephew M. Annaeus Lucanus, who in proportion to his short life (a. 39—65) was a fertile writer in various departments both in prose and in verse. We possess his Pharsalia in ten books, an unfinished epic poem on the Civil War between Pompey and Caesar, of historical accuracy, though evidently in favour of Pompey, whose cause the writer identifies with that of Rome's liberty and greatness. The treatment is very rhetorical, full of descriptions, speeches and general sentences; the style is artificial and pathetic; the whole production unripe, but indicative of talent and a generous heart.

1. We possess two biographies of Lucan, the one (in Reifferscheid's Suetonius p. 50—52) with a gap at the beginning and unfavourable to the poet, in close agreement with Hieronymus' abridgment, and hence probably by Suetonius; the other (in Reifferscheid's Suetonius p. 76—79) complete, long-winded, admiring and defending Lucan, probably by the expositor Lucani, the grammarian Vacca, probably of the sixth century, see C. F. Weber, vitae M. Annaei Lucani collectae, Part. I (Marburg 1856. 4.). To this we may add the statements of Tacitus and

Statius' genethliacon Lucani (Silv. II 7). Lucani vita per annos digesta by C. F. Weber l. l. Part. II and III, Marb. 1857 sq. 4.; and De suprema Lucani voce, Marb. 1857. 4.

2. Vacca: M. Annaeus Lucanus patrem habuit M. Annaeum Melam . . Cordubensem, equitem rom. . . notum Romae et propter Senecam fratrem . . et propter studium vitae quietioris. . . matrem habuit et regionis eiusdem et urbis Aciliam (above 292, 13). . . natus est III non. novembr. C. Caesare Germanico II L. Apronio Caesiano coss. (3 Nov. 792 = 39 A. D.). . . octavum mensem agens Romam translatus est. . . a praeceptoribus tunc eminentissimis est eruditus (cf. vita Persii: cognovit per Cornutum etiam Annaeum Lucanum, aequaevum auditorem Cornuti. Lucanus mirabatur scripta Flacci etc.). declamavit et graece et latine cum magna admiratione audientium.

3. Suetonius' vita: prima ingenii experimenta in Neronis laudibus dedit quinquennali certamine. . . revocatus Athenis a Nerone cohortique amicorum additus atque etiam quaestura honoratus (sacerdotium etiam accepit auguratus, Vacca) non tamen permansit in gratia (the fault of which the writer lays upon the poet and the offence taken by him at the depreciation of his talent, while Vacca blames Nero's jealousy of Lucan' poetical succees, see n. 4) . . sed et famoso carmine cum ipsum (Neronem) tum potentissimos amicorum gravissime proscidit. ad extremum paene signifer Pisonianae coniurationis extitit. . . verum detecta coniuratione nequaquam parem animi constantiam praestitit (cf. Tac. A. XV 56. 70). . . impetrato autem mortis arbitrio libero . . brachia ad secandas venas praebuit medico (cf. Hieronym. ad a. Abr. 2079 = Ner. 9 — cod. Freher. as late as at a. 2080 —: M. Annaeus Lucanus Cordubensis poeta in Pisoniana coniuratione deprehensus brachium ad secandas venas medico praebuit. Vacca: sua sponte coactus vita excedere venas sibi praecidit periitque pridie kal. mai. Attico Vestino et Nerva Siliano coss. = 30 April 818 = 65 A. D.). poemata eius etiam praelegi memini, confici vero ac proponi venalia non tantum operose et diligenter sed inepte quoque.

4. Vacca: et certamine pentaeterico acto in Pompei theatro laudibus recitatis in Neronem fuerat coronatus et ex tempore Orphea scriptum (in hexameters) in experimentum adversum complures ediderat poetas et tres libros (of the Pharsalia) quales videmus. quare inimicum sibi fecerat imperatorem. quo . . interdictum est ei poetica (cf. Tac. A. XV 49: famam carminum eius premebat Nero prohibueratque ostentare, vanus adsimulatione; Dio LXII 29), interdictum etiam causarum actionibus. . . extant eius conplures et alii (libri), ut Iliacon (Stat. Silv. II 7, 54—56; R. Unger quaestio de Lucani Heliacis, Friedland 1858. 4.), Saturnalia (from this perhaps Martial. X 64, 6?), Catachthonion (cf. Stat. Silv. II 7, 57), Silvarum X, tragoedia Medea imperfecta, salticae fabulae XIV (see above 8, 1 extr.), Epigrammata (? the codd.: appamata and et ippamata); prosa oratione in Octavium Sagittam (Tac. A. XIII 44. Hist. IV 44) et pro eo (a mere exercise of the pen), de incendio

urbis, Epistolarum ex Campania, non fastidiendi quidem omnes, tales tamen ut belli civilis (Phars.) videantur accessio. Also adlocutio ad Pollam (his wife Argentaria Polla) according to Stat. Silv. II 7, 62 sq. R. Unger, de Lucani carminum reliquiis, Friedland 1860. 4.

5. Quintil. X 1, 90: Lucanus ardens et concitatus et sententiis clarissimus et, ut dicam quod sentio, magis oratoribus quam poetis imitandus. An old criticism on Lucan (which was perhaps spread by Suetonius) is less just. Serv. Aen. I 382: Lucanus ideo in numero poetarum esse non meruit quia videtur historiam composuisse, non poema. This agrees almost verbally with Isidor. Orig. VIII 7, 10. Schol. Phars. I 1: ideo Lucanus dicitur a plerisque non esse in numero poetarum quia omnino historiam sequitur, quod poeticae arti non convenit. So also Jornand. get. 5. Petron. apparently alludes to him Sat. 118: belli civilis ingens opus quisquis attigerit, nisi plenus litteris, sub onere labetur. non enim res gestae versibus comprehendendae sunt, quod longe melius historici faciunt, sed etc. Cf. Martial. XIV 194: Lucanus. Sunt quidam qui me dicant non esse poetam, sed qui me vendit bibliopola putat. It is true that the subject was too large for such a poem as the Pharsalia. But the principal mistakes are the rhetorical treatment, and the abundance of descriptive passages, in which the limits of moderation and good taste are frequently overstepped. See, e. g., the fearful scenes depicted at the close of b. III and VI 530, also VII 839 sqq. Sentimental rhetoric appears IV 168 sqq. An almost Ovidian description of Cornelia's longing for her husband Pompey V 805 sqq. Useless exhibition of geographical and mythological learning III 169 sqq. IV 593 sqq. 677 sqq. VI 330 sqq. X 193 sqq.

6. The subject is carried down to the siege sustained by Caesar in Alexandria, but the authentic title of the work (IX 983: Pharsalia nostra vivet etc. shows that it was the writer's intention to continue his work to the battle of Pharsalus. The first three books were published by Lucan himself (see n. 4), when he was still on good terms with Nero; whence I 33—66 his praise with the customary suggestion of a later apotheosis (very different is VII 456 sqq.). A difference of political views (A. Preime p. 12 sqq.) between the first books and the continuation cannot, however, be maintained. In these we find his preference for Pompey (II 453 sqq. 519 sqq. 732 sqq.) and Cato and Brutus (II 234 sqq.) as well as his aversion to Caesar (II 439 sqq. 382 sqq.). Not different opinions are enounced by the poet in his later books, but rather the same with increased candour, or even bitterness and hostility. Pompey's cause is by him identified with right and liberty (e. g. VI 139. 259. VII 579 sqq.), while Caesar's is constantly designated as scelus (e. g. VII 751, cf. also IV 188. V 242. 261 sqq. 390 sqq. VI 147 sqq. 298 sqq. VII 40. 168 sqq. 243. 558 sqq. 751. 777 sqq. VIII 782. 834). Caesar's victory is represented as the cause not only of the downfall of liberty (VII 433 sqq. 639 sqq. 696 sq. IX 204 sqq. 252 sq.), but also of the decay of Roman power and majesty (VII 427 sqq.). Even Caesar's noble actions are turned into the reverse (VII 798 sqq.

IX 1034 sqq.), and his assassination is justified and praised (VII 593 sqq. cf. VIII 609. X 338 sqq. 523 sqq.). Negatively speaking, Caesar is the hero of the poem, and for this reason he is ironically promised immortality (IX 981 sqq.). Just as he is all that is bad, Pompey is all that is good (cf. especially VIII 841 sqq., also V 1 sqq. VI 799 sqq. VII 28 sqq.), so that even the betrayal of his own country admits of praise (VIII 232 sqq.). Only Cato surpasses him in the poet's eyes (IX 597 sqq., cf. ib. 187 sqq. 254 sqq. 553 sqq.). The Stoic convictions of Lucan appear in many passages, e. g. VII 814 sqq. IX 302 sqq. 572 sqq. X 265 sqq. 413 sq. Expressions resembling Epicurean tenets (e. g. VII 446 sqq. 455 sq.) are the results of his despair of a just Providence (III 449). Directly against Nero is IX 983 sqq. Other candid expressions IV 807 sqq. 823. V 385. VI 229. VII 210. 433 sqq. 456 sqq. VIII 672. IX 252 sq. 600 sqq. X 24 sqq.

7. That the tenth book is not complete appears even from its small size, as it has at least 200 lines less than the other books. But even books IV—IX were not published by Lucan himself, but after his death by some friend or relation (Genthe p. 75—82). It is, however, possible that these books were recited in public by the author himself. Vacca pronounces them 'mendosi' and applies to them Ovid's expression 'emendaturus si licuisset eram', and this may perhaps be said of details, but in the whole composition Lucan would scarcely have changed much. Fronto p. 157 N.: unum . . poetae prooemium commemorabo, poetae eiusdem temporis eiusdemque nominis (as Seneca): fuit aeque Annaeus. is initio carminis sui (the Phars.) septem primis versibus nihil aliud quam bella plus quam civilia interpretatus est. The erroneous explanation of these words seems to have caused the report given by the Schol. Lucan. I 1 (p. 8 sq. Us.): hos VII versus primos dicitur Seneca ex suo addidisse . . ne videretur liber ex abrupto inchoare. Against F. Osann (de Sen. scriptis deperditis spec. III. Giessen 1848. 4.) see Genthe p. 77—81. C. F. Weber, de duplici Pharsaliae Lucaneae exordio, Marburg 1860. 26 pp. 4.

8. Lyd. de magistr. III 46: *ὡς ὁ Πολέμων ἐν πέμπτῃ ἐξηγήσεων τῆς κατὰ Λουκανὸν τὸν Ῥωμαῖον ἐμφυλίων συγγραφῆς ἀπεφήνατο.* On Vacca see n. 1. Some remnants of these commentaries remain in the Scholia on Lucan, of which we possess a twofold recension, one entitled Commenta and which exists in a complete shape only in the Berne ms. 370 (C) saec. X, the other styled Adnotationes, the most complete and important mss. of which are the Wallersteinensis, two Vossiani saec. X at Leyden, and a Gemblacensis at Brussels saec. X. The latter have been published by Oudendorp and C. F. Weber, though inaccurately; and both together are being edited by H. Usener, of which publication Pars prior has appeared containing the commenta Bernensia, Lips. Teubner 1869. To this we may add H. Genthe, scholia vetera in Luc. e codice Montepessulano, Berlin 1868. 29 pp. 4.

9. The epic itself is entitled De bello civili in the mss. The earliest ms. of it is formed by the palimpsest leaves at Vienna, Naples

and Rome, at the latest of saec. IV. D. Detlefsen, Philologus XIII p. 313—357. XV p. 526—538 XXVI p. 173—184. W. Steinhart, de Lucani schedis rescriptis Vindobonensibus, Salzwedel 1860. 4. and in Fleckeisen's Jahrb. 83, p. 553—367. Among the other mss., Voss. II (B in Steinhart, U in Usener), Montepess., Colbert. and Cassellanus bear the subscription: Paulus Constantinopolitanus emendavi manu mea solus, whom Usener (Rhein. Mus. XXIII p. 497 — 505) identifies with the Papulus Const. Theyderich of a Paris miscellaneous ms. 7530 of a. 674. The mss. of this recension differ from the numerous other mss. in omitting a considerable number of lines in the books not published by Lucan himself, which may perhaps have come from the papers of the poet, but are more probably later interpolations. Also in the mss. of this recension the lines in question are added from mss. of the other class, though in unequal measure. W. Steinhart, de Lucani codice Montepessulano, in the Symbola philol. Bonn. p. 287—300; see his Diss. de emendatione Lucani, Bonn. 1854. C. E. C. Schneider, trium codd. Vratisl. Luc. lectiones variae, Bresl. 1823. 4. Imm. Bekker, on a ms. of Lucan at Berlin, Monthly Reports of the Academy at Berlin, 1853, p. 166—69. On three mss. saec. XI and XII see J. Klein, Rhein. Mus. XXIV p. 121—126.

10. Ed. princeps Rom. 1469 fol. Among the later editions we should chiefly mention those by Th. Pulmann (Antverp. 1564. 1576), H. Grotius (ex emend. H. Gr. cum eiusdem notis, Antverp. 1614. Lugd. 1626; cf. Usener, Lucani pugnae Pharsaliae narratio ex H. Gr. rec. ed. cum comm. critico, Greifswald 1863. 4. Rhein. Mus. XIX p. 148—150), G. Corte (Lips. 1726. cf. H. Genthe in Fleckeisen's Jahrb. 89, p. 547 —550), Fr. Oudendorp (Lugd. Bat. 1728. 4.), P. Burmann (Lugd. 1740. 4.), C. Fr. Weber (cum notis varr. etc. Lips. 1821—1831, 3 vols., the last of which contains the Scholia and editionem morte Cortii interruptam absolvit, Lips. 1828 sq. 2 vols.). Also editions by Lemaire (Paris 1830, 2 vols.) and C. H. Weise (rec. schol. interpr., Quedlinb. and Leipzig 1835). R. Bentley's notes on the first three books in the edition Strawberryhill 1760. 4. (Luc. c. notis H. Grotii et R. Bentlei) and Glasgow 1816; also in C. F. Weber's edition.

11. J. Merkel, Lucan's Phars. l. I in Latin and German. Aschaffenburg 1849. 4.

12. Meusel and Gottfr. Bürger, de Lucano, Halle 1767 sq. 4. 2 partes. Supplements to Sulzer V, 1. p. 16 sqq. VII p. 334 sqq. Leloup, de poesi epica et Phars. Luc., Treves 1827. 4. A. Preime, de Lucani Pharsalia, Marburg 1859, and especially Herm. Genthe, de Lucani vita et scriptis, Berlin 1859. 85 pp.

F. Kortüm, Historical Investigations (Leipzig and Heidelberg 1863) p. 209—252. A. Schaubach, Lucan's Phars. and its relation to history, Meiningen 1869. 4. Th. Creizenach, the Aeneid . . and the Pharsalia in the Middle Ages, Frankfort-on-the-Maine 1864. 4.

299. One of the friends of Persius was the lyrical poet Caesius Bassus who seems also to have written a didactic poem de metris. It is probable that in the third century this work was turned into a prose-manual of metres, considerable fragments of which are extant. Some other compositions wrongly bear his name. Other writers of verse in the time of Nero are Vagellius, Curtius Montanus, and Serranus.

1. Vita Persii (see 297, 1) p. 234 J.: amicos habuit a prima adolescentia Caesium Bassum poetam et Calpurnium Staturam, qui vivo eo iuvenis decessit (and was not a poet himself). He edited the Satires of Persius; see above 297, 3. Schol. Pers. 6, 1 (p. 340 J.): hanc satiram scribit Persius ad Caesium Bassum poetam lyricum, quem fama est in praediis suis positum ardente Vesuvio . . et late ignibus abundante cum villa sua ustum esse (A. D. 79). Cf. Plin. Ep. VI 16, 8 (according to O. Jahn's emendation): accipit codicillos . . Caesi Bassi imminente periculo exterriti. Quintil. X 1, 96: lyricorum Horatius fere solus legi dignus. . . si quem adicere velis is erit Caesius Bassus, quem nuper vidimus. Pers. 6, 1—6: admovit iam bruma foco te, Basse, Sabino? iamne lyra et tetrico vivunt tibi pectine chordae, mire opifex numeris veterum primordia vocum atque marem strepitum fidis intendisse latinae, mox iuvenes agitare iocos et police honesto egregius lusisse senes? Priscian. X 36. p. 527 H.: Bassus in II lyricorum: Calliope princeps sapienti psallerat ore. The identity with the writer on metres is rendered very probable by the quotation Bassius (instead of Bassus) ad Neronem de iambico sic dicit, in Rufin. p. 2707 P.=379 Gaisf. From this metrical work is no doubt derived Diomed III p. 513 K.: huius (i. e. molossicum metrum) exemplum dat Caesius Bassus tale: Romani victores Germanis devictis. Cf. Ter. Maur. 2358: quae (exempla) locasse Caesium libro notavi quem dedit metris super. 2369: auctore tanto credo me tutum fore. Victorin. ap. Keil VI p. 209, 10 sq.: Caesius Bassus, vir doctus atque eruditus, in libro de metris 'iambicus trimetrus' . . ait. The latter characteristic applies to the treatise de metris which is mutilated at the beginning and attributed to Atilius Fortunatianus owing to an error arising from the final subscription of a work following this in the ms. (see Keil, gramm. VI p. 255—272), which treatise can therefore be by Caesius Bassus, especially as it contains many valuable notices drawn from old writers (multa quae ex antiquissima et praestantissima doctrina sunt petita, Keil p. 252). From Persius (numeris etc.) we might indeed infer that Caesius' work was originally in verse, like that of Terentianus Maurus; for which reason Westphal assumes a later prose version. The derivation (*παραγωγή*) also assumed by Varro of the various metres from one metrum principale (the herous and trimeter iambicus) by means of adiectio, detractio, permutatio etc. was perhaps contained in it. The examples were derived from the contemporary poets Pomponius Secundus (above 279, 7), Seneca (and

Petronius Arbiter?) R. Westphal, on Greek metres I² p. 169—174. See ibid. p. 119 sq. Keil, gramm. latt. VI p. 250—252.

2. In the collection of the Latin writers on metre a fragment (p. 2663 sqq. P. = 302 sqq. Gaisf. = Keil IV p. 305 sq.) bears the title of Ars Caesii Bassi de metris. It contains a poor explanation of five metres of Horace, derived from Caesius Bassus (n. 1). It is followed (p. 307—312 Keil VI) by two chapters, entitled Breviatio pedum and De compositionibus, perhaps from Julius Romanus. R. Westphal, on Greek metres I² p. 118 sq. 132 sq. 204 sq. Keil, gramm. lat. VI p. 253 and 254.

3. In general see also Leutsch, Philologus XI p. 739—744. J. Caesar in Pauly's Enc. I 2. p. 2295, Nr. 10.

4. Sen. nat. quaest. VI 2, 9: egregie Vagellius meus in illo inclito carmine . . inquit. Hence Ritschl in Reifferscheid's Suet. reliqq. p. 528—531 has applied to this Vagellius the statement of Donatus (ib. p. 35): Scipionis fabulas edidisse Terentium Vagellius in Actione ait (follow three Senarii). A declamator mulino corde Vagellius occurs Juv. 16, 23 cf. 13, 119.

5. Tac. A. XVI 28 (a. 66 = 819): qui . . Curtium Montanum detestanda carmina factitantem eludere impune sinerent. 29: Montanum probae iuventae neque famosi carminis, quia protulerit ingenium, extorrem agi. Specimens of his candour in the Senate (a. 70) Tac. Hist. IV 40. 42.

6. Quintil. X 1, 89 in treating of epic poets: Serranum (G. Sarpe; the mss. read farrenum, varrenum etc.) consummari mors immatura non passa est: puerilia tamen eius opera et maximam indolem ostendunt et admirabilem praecipue in aetate illa recti generis voluntatem. But Juv. 7, 79—81 presupposes a man of longer life: contentus fama iaceat Lucanus in hortis marmoreis, at Serrāno tenuique Saleio gloria quantalibet quid erit, si gloria tantumst? According to these words Serranus should rather be placed in a later period.

7. On Gaetulicus see above 286, 1; on Atticus Labeo below 303, 5.

8. In this period lived the two epigrammatists Lucillius and Leonidas (of Alexandria) who occupy much space in the Greek Anthology.

300. It cannot be doubted that in Nero's time arose that character-novel which has come down to us under the name of Petronius Arbiter. Originally a large work of at least 20 books with accounts of various adventures supposed to have taken place during a journey, it now consists of a heap of fragments, the largest of which is the cena Trimalchionis, being the description of a feast given by a rich and uneducated upstart. Though full of dirt, this novel is not only

highly important in illustrating the history of the manners and language, especially plebeian, but is also a work of art in its way, full of humour, knowledge of human nature, splendid wit and merry humour. In its form it is a satira menippea, in which the metrical pieces interspersed contain parodies of certain fashions of taste. This applies especially to the large epic poems of Troiae halosis and Bellum civile. The spirit of this work bears great affinity to C. Petronius, a courtier who was compelled to die by Nero a. 66, but the identity of the writer and the courtier is by no means certain.

1. The original title of the work appears to have been Satirae, which is partly preserved in the mss. (satirarum liber etc.), partly changed to satiricon or Petronii Arbitri satirici liber or similar titles; the most complete title is given by the cod. Trag.: Petronii Arbitri Satyri fragmenta ex libro XV et XVI; see Bücheler's edition p. VI sq. and p. 2. The name of Afranius which is found in mss. by the side of Petr. Arb., denotes his resemblance to that poet of togatae in puerorum foedis amoribus (above 131, 1). Being employed for excerpts in anthologies, the work itself was all the sooner lost, which it appears to have been as early as the 7th century. In the 9th century we find that the carmen de bello civili was both known and used. In the 10th and 11th century the earliest ms. we have was written, cod. Bernensis (B); saec. XII John of Salisbury, saec. XIII Vincentius of Beauvais read Petronius in his present shape. Bücheler's ed. p. X sq. The pretended discoveries of new parts of Petronius since the end of the 17th century have always turned out to be forgeries; especially the parts published by Fr. Nodot a. 1693 at Paris (Bücheler p. XLII), and Lallemand's pretended discovery at St. Gall (Paris 1800).

2. The extant mss. have on the whole the same gaps and corruptions and must, therefore, be derived from one and the same original ms., which contained only excerpts from the complete work of Petronius and besides them various small Latin poems and glosses collected by anonymous hands from Gellius, Isidore and ecclesiastical writers, and which came to be attributed to Petronius owing to their connexion with the excerpts from Petronius. Cf. C. Beck, Petronius Arbiter de antiquis dictionibus, Cambridge (America) 1860. 26 pp. 4. and on it A. Reifferscheid, Rhein. Mus. XVI p. 1—12. Similar miscellaneous mss. among the codd. of Petronius are the Leidensis (L) of Jos. Scaliger, Bernensis (B) and Traguriensis (saec. XV) from Trau in Dalmatia found c. 1620, now in the library at Paris (A). The latter contains also the cena Trimalchionis (H), first published from it Patav. 1664 and (by P. Petitus) Paris 1664. On the mss. of Petronius in general see Bücheler's edition p. XII—XXXVI, cf. p. XLIV sqq. C. Beck, the manuscripts of the sat. of P. A. described and collated, Cambridge

(Mass. U. S.) 1863. 218 pp. 4.; on the Leyden and Berne mss. of P. and their mutual relation, Philol. XX p. 293—301, and against him Bücheler ibid. p. 726—730.

3. In the extant parts the freedman Eucolpius is introduced as speaker, describing the adventures he experienced on a journey together with another freedman, Ascyltos, and their puer, called Giton. Adventures at Marseilles are indicated by Sidon. Apol. c. XXIII 155 sq., but the part we possess takes place in the South of Italy, most of it in a 'colonia' of Campania, perhaps Naples or (L. Friedländer in the Königsb. ind. lect. 1860 sq. p. 61 sq.) Puteoli, ch. 116 sqq. at Croton. The time of the events is laid under Tiberius (Bücheler p. VII), which agrees also with the mention made of (Mam. Aemilius) Scaurus (above 271, 2) c. 77; there are also interspersed allusions to persons of the time of Caligula and Nero (Bücheler p. VIII) The characters are capitally delineated, chiefly in their own words, but with a slight trace of irony. The diction of each character is always in strict conformity with their habits; Eucolpius himself using the speech of educated persons in the best age of Latin literature (C. Beck, the age etc. p. 135—152), maintaining of course the liberty of the conversational style and adding a number of constructions peculiar to the first century of the Christian era (an uncritical collection in Beck l. l. p. 152—157). Most of the occasional speakers use a plebeian diction, full of proverbial expressions, slang, exaggeration, solecisms and archaisms and also Grecisms (owing to the semi-Greek character of the place); see G. Studer, Rhein. Mus. II (1843) p. 75—85. C. Beck, the age etc. p. 106—184. Cf. n. 9. The versified passages are mostly attributed to the vain and tasteless poet Eumolpus; especially c. 89 the Troiae halosis in 65 senarii and c. 119—124 the bellum civile in 295 hexameters. But in other places also the diction easily passes into poetical form, e. g. c. 5, 83, 108, 127 sq., 131, 133 sq., 135 sq. 139 hexameters c. 14, 18, 80, 82, 109, 126, 132, 137 in distichs; c. 5 choliambics; hendecasyllabics c. 15, 79, 93, 109, fr. 20; logaoedi 132; Ionici 23; iambs fr. 19, 21. This feature turns the novel into a satira Menippea (above 24, 3).

4. As regards the different opinions on the age of this work we should mention Niebuhr's view (Trans. of the Academy at Berlin 1828. II. p. 250 sqq. = Minor Philological Writings p. 337 sqq.) that it belonged to the third century and the reign of Alexander Severus, a view caused by an inscription (Orelli 1175) erroneously assigned to that time and the persons of which were wrongly identified with those of Petronius; see W. Teuffel, Studies and Char. p. 391—393. Bücheler p. IV sq. not. On the other hand, C. Beck, the age of Petronius Arbiter, Cambridge (Mass.) 1856. 158 pp. 4, (esp. p. 100—104) places the work under Augustus or Tiberius, between A. D. 6 and 34; against him see Bücheler, Rh. Mus. XI p. 608 sq. In our days we may look upon that view as firmly established, according to which the work was written under Nero; see especially G. Studer, Rhein. Mus. II p. 50—92. 202 sq. F. Ritter ibid. p. 561—569; W. Teuffel ibid. IV p. 514 sq. Neque ho-

mines, res, mores, studia, cultus denique omnis humanus civilisque qualis describitur, neque genus sermonis arsque metrorum in aliud atque Neronianum tempus conveniunt. certum igitur et Senecae Petronium et Lucano fuisse aequalem (Bücheler, ed. p. V). Even in Nero's time the simple and natural style of this novel formed an exception, but at any later time it would have been an impossibility. For allusions to Seneca see E. Gottschlich, de parodiis Senecae apud Petronium, in the Miscell. philolog. for Fr. Haase's jubilee (Breslau 1863) p. 26—29. It is evident that the Troiae halosis alludes to a similar poem by Nero on the same subject (above 281, 8), and that the bellum civile is a parody of Lucan's poem whose manner is exaggerated, though he is not mentioned, as he was still living; see J. G. Mössler, de Petr. poemate de bello civili (Breslau 1842) and quaestionum Petron. spec. quo poema de bello civili cum Pharsalia Lucani comparatur, Hirschberg 1857; spec. II., Hirschberg 1865. 4. 1870. 4.

5. Tac. A. XVI 17: paucos intra dies eodem agmine Annaeus Mela, . . C. Petronius cecidere (a. 66 = 819 v. c.). 18: de C. Petronio pauca supra repetenda sunt. nam illi dies per somnum, nox officiis et oblectamentis vitae transigebatur; utque alios industria, ita hunc ignavia ad famam protulerat habebaturque non ganeo et profligator, . . sed erudito luxu. ac dicta factaque eius quanto solutiora et quandam sui neglegentiam praeferentia tanto gratius in spem simplicitatis accipiebantur. proconsul tamen Bithyniae et mox consul vigentem se ac parem negotiis ostendit. dein revolutus ad vitia seu vitiorum imitatione inter paucos familiarium Neroni adsumptus est, elegantiae arbiter, dum nihil amoenum et molle affluentia putat nisi quod ei Petronius adprobavisset. When sentenced to die, he audiebat referentes nihil de immortalitate animae et sapientium placitis, sed levia carmina et faciles versus. That the work of Petronius, mentioned ib. 19 sq., and in which he flagitia principis sub nominibus exoletorum feminarumque et novitatem cuiusque stupri perscripsit atque obsignata misit Neroni, has no connexion with the extant satirae, has been proved by Fr. Ritter (Rh. Mus. II p. 569—572) and is not refuted by C. Peter (Hist. of Rome III 1 p. 360 note). The character of C. Petronius does indeed suit the character of the satire, but the passage of Tacitus not only not indicates any literary activity, but even excludes it; see W. Teuffel, Studies and Char. p. 394 sq. It is true that a serious character, like Tacitus, might perhaps neglect a work which he was right in considering as dirty literature; but had it appeared under the name of the consul he characterized he still ought to have mentioned it as the most forcible indication of his character, and at all events he could not merely have stated: illi dies per somnum transigebatur. Even in case it was a work of his earlier years or published after his death, this peculiar silence and such a characteristic were incompatible. We should, therefore, either assume that the satirae were published anonymously and perhaps appeared at a different place (in Massilia? Ap. Sid XXIII 115), the work being subsequently attributed to the Petronius

mentioned by Tacitus owing to a combination caused by the affinity of time and spirit, and in which the designation of Petronius as elegentiarum arbiter may have caused the surname of Arbiter, or in case the author called himself Petronius Arbiter, we must assume that he is different from the one mentioned by Tacitus. The identity of the two is not, however, doubted by Borghesi, Oeuvres III p. 561 sq.

6. The earliest appearance of the name is in Terent. Maur. v. 2489 sqq. (Arbiter disertus) and 2852 sqq. (Petronius). Sidon. Apoll. carm. IX 268 mentions Petr. in a list of poets, XXIII 155 Arbiter among the famous writers eloquii latini. The judgment of Lyd. de mag. I 41 (above 24, 2), is destitute of authority. Macrob. comm. in somn. Sc. I 2, 8: fabulae . . auditum mulcent, velut comoediae . . vel argumenta fictis casibus amatorum referta (novels), quibus vel multum se Arbiter exercuit vel Apuleium nonnumquam lusisse miramur. Quotations of Petronius in Diomed (Arbiter), Servius, Priscian, Fulgentius (Petr. Arb.), Sergius and others, collected in Bücheler's ed. p. 206 sqq. The name of Petronius is not attested in the case of the poems nr. 31—40, 50—52 in Bücheler; A. Riese in Fleckeisen's Jahrb. 99, p. 281.

7. On the editions of the satirae see Bücheler p. XXXVII sqq. Among those published before the discovery of the cena Trim. (n. 2) we may mention those by J. Dousa (Lugd. 1585 and elsewhere), Goldast (Helenop. 1610. Frankf. 1611), Gonsalez de Salas (Francof. 1629. 4.); among the later editions especially those by P. Burmann (Utrecht 1709. 4. Amsterdam 1743. 4.; J. J. Reiske, libellus animadvers. ad alt. ed. Burmann., Lips. 4 parts), also C. G. Anton (Lips. 1781). Texts Lips. 1721, Bipont. 1790. The first critical edition ex recens. Fr. Bücheleri, Berol. 1862; the text (with the Priapeia) ib. 1862, and (with Varro's satires and Seneca's apocol.) 1871.

8. Contributions to the criticism of the text by J. C. Orelli (lectiones Petron., Zurich 1836. 4.), G. Studer (observat. critt. in Petr. cen. Trim., Bern 1839. 4.), W. Wehle (observat. critt. in Petr., Bonn 1861), O. Keller (Rhein. Mus. XVI p. 532—551), C. Beck (above n. 2).

9, On Petronius and his work see also W. Teuffel in Pauly's Enc. V p. 1402—1406. Fr. Bücheler, New Swiss Mus. III (Bern 1863) p. 17—31. E. Ludwig, de Petr. sermone plebeio, Lips. 1870. 39 pp.

301. About the commencement of Nero's reign, Calpurnius wrote seven eclogues with strict technical elaboration and in imitation of the manner and subjects of Theocritus and Virgil, in pretty good taste, but with much servility. To the same time belong two other extensive fragments of bucolic poems in an Einsiedeln ms. Two centuries afterwards Calpurnius himself was imitated and exaggerated by Nemesianus, whose garrulous four eclogues differ from Calpurnius both in

prosody and metre, but were long mixed up with those of Calpurnius, owing to their outward and casual connexion.

1. In the ms. of Thaddaeus Ugoletus of uncertain age, from which the edition of Angelus Ugoletus (Parma c. 1490) was made, the property of the two poets is carefully distinguished (in the edition: Titi Calphurnii Siculi bucolicum carmen . . incipit; Aurelii Nemesiani poetae Carthaginiensis ecloga prima incipit; according to Nic. Augelius: finis bucolicorum Calphurnii. Aurelii Nemesiani p. carth. ecloga prima etc., see M. Haupt, p. 11 sq.) and even the cod. Neapol. has at the end of ecl. 11 the subscription: Aureliani Nemesiani Carthag. buc. explicit (Haupt p. 13). The signal difference of technical treatment has been pointed out by M. Haupt, de carminibus bucolicis Calpurnii et Nemesiani, Berlin 1854. 4., p. 1—5. In the poems of Calpurnius a final o is used short only in agreement with the strictest poets, in those of Nemesianus we find mulcendŏ, laudandŏ, ambŏ and other shortenings; in the first, synaloephe is extremely scarce (in 758 lines we find, besides three doubtful instances of synaloephe of q u e in subsequent feet, only eight certain instances and these always in the first foot, six examples of e, and one each of a and u m. Five of these instances occur in ecl. 3 which is perhaps the earliest of all, one each in ecl. 1, 2, 5, none at all in ecl. 4, 6, 7; but in the 319 hexameters of Nemesianus we have 39 instances of synaloephe, three of which (8, 21. 9, 14. 32) concern a long vowel and only about half of them the first foot. To terminate a line with montivagus Pan (ecl. 10, 17), or to take futuri (perhaps venturi) as a molossus (ecl. 10, 23), is never found in Calpurnius. The caesura consists in Calpurnius in more than 70 instances in the combination of *κατὰ τρίτον τροχαῖον*, *τριθημιμερὴς* and *ἑφθημιμερὴς*, in Nemesianus it is almost limited to the *πενθημιμερὴς*, that other combination occurring only 6 times. But the technical treatment of the last four eclogues agrees with that of Nemesianus' Cynegetica (Haupt p. 9 sq.). The identity of the author of all the eleven eclogues is also excluded by the numerous repetitions of complete lines and the variation of thoughts and phrases which occur in the last four as compared with the first seven; especially ecl. 9 (Nemes. 2) is almost entirely a compilation from ecl. 2, 3 and 7; but also in ecl. 8 (Nem. 1) ecl. 1, 4 and 6 are much used, and 10 (Nem. 3), 2 is identical with (Calp.) 5, 2. Statius is never imitated in ecl. 1—7, but in 8—11, and also in Nemesianus' Cyneg. (Haupt p. 10 sq.). A certain fondness of a parenthetic use of memini, fateor appears only in the first seven, but not in the last four pieces.

2. The time in which the first seven eclogues were written appears with certainty from the numerous allusions contained in them, especially in ecl. 1, 4 and 7 (Haupt p. 16—26). The prince (deus) is styled iuvenis (1, 44. 4, 85. 137. 7, 7) of youthful beauty (7, 84), maternis causas qui lusit in ulnis (1, 44 see above 281, 7) who exhibits splendid games, composed with which vilia sunt quaecunque prioribus

annis vidimus et sordet quidquid spectavimus olim (7, 44 sq.), with whose accession begins an era of peace, liberty and clementia (1, 42—88. 4 passim). All this agrees with Nero's reign and its prosperous commencement, just as the comet which appears in autumn (1, 77 sqq.) suits the comet which made its appearance shortly before the death of Claudius (a. 807). The diction and metre of these seven eclogues would also suit this period, or at least nothing would force us beyond it. The writer complains of his poverty (4, 156 sqq.) and endeavours through Meliboeus (according to Sarpe, quaest. phil. Rostock 1819. 4. = Seneca, according to Haupt p. 26 sq. = Calpurnius Piso) to bring his panegyric poems under the notice of the prince. It cannot be decided whether 'Siculus' denotes his native country or he is called so merely on account of writing in the style of Theocritus.

3. Even in the portion belonging to Calpurnius thoughts and subjects are imitated from Theocritus and Virgil, in the sentimental and rhetorical style of the first century and with an exaggeration of the colours of the original (e. g. 2, 15). Nemesianus in his turn exaggerates the ideas and phrases of Calpurnius, especially the erotic traits, and the rhetorical execution is very lengthy and tiresome. On the whole, the last four poems attest much less poetical talent than the first four.

4. The best ms. of the eleven poems is the Neapolitan of the beginning of saec. XV; the Paris ms. 8049 saec. XIII (= Heinsii cod. ap. Burmann?) contains only ecl. 1, 2, 3, and 4. 1—12, A copy of the cod. of Th. Ugoletus (see n. 1) is in the Riccardian library. None of the mss. which attribute all the eleven eclogues to Calpurnius goes beyond saec. XV.

5. Editio princeps Rom. 1471 fol. (with Silius It.). Then often together with Gratius' (above 148, 1) and Nemesianus' Cynegetica. In Wernsdorf's poetae lat. min. II p. 73—214. Recognovit, annotatione et glossario instruxit Chr. D. Beck, Lips. 1803. In W. E. Weber's Corp. poetar. lat. p. 662—671. Recens. et annott. critt. instr. C. E. Glaeser, Gotting. 1842.

6. Contributions to the criticism of Calpurnius by M. Haupt (see n. 1) p. 27—32, on Nemesianus' ecl. ib. p. 32—35, on his Cyneg. ib. p. 35—37; on Calp. and Nemes. see also J. Mähly, on Soph. O. C. (Basle 1868) p. 101—118.

7. The Einsiedeln poems were first published (from a ms. saec. X) by H. Hagen, Philol. XXVIII p. 338—341, and by A. Riese, Anthol. lat. 725 sq. (II p. 180—183). Contributions to their criticism and estimation by R. Peiper (praef. in Sen. tragg. suppl., Breslau 1870. 4. p. 27—32), Bücheler, Rhein. Mus. XXVI p. 235—240, Ribbeck ibid. p. 406—410, cf. p. 491—493, H. Hagen in Fleckeisen's Jahrb. 103, p. 239—152. The first consists of 49, the second of 39 hexameters; the first is a poetical contest between Ladas and Thamyras (iudice Mida), the second

a dialogue between Glyceranus and Mystes. The second surpasses the first in talent, truth of sentiment, wit and poetical depth, though this should not be used to infer difference of authorship, as H. Hagen does. The author of the first poem is in a more favourable position than Calpurnius; cf. v. 18: et me . . Cynthius . . laudatam chelyn, iussit variare canendo. The beginning of the second (quid tacitus, Mystes?) agrees curiously with that of Calpurn. ecl. 4, Bücheler p. 239 sq. thinking Calpurnius the imitator. Nero is belauded in the usual manner, nr. 725 praising Nero's public appearance as citharoedus, and nr. 726 the return of the golden age under Nero. A long vowel is elided only once 725, 45 (ergo ut), and only puto (725, 11) is shortened. Besides the *πενθημιμερείς*, only the combination of *τρίτ. τροχ.* with *ἑφθ.* occurs (n. 1) five times in nr. 725 (v. 6, 8, 26 sq. 40), six times in nr. 726 (v. 7, 10, 24, 31, 36, 39).

302. To the time of Nero we should probably attribute the didactic poem entitled Aetna, containing 645 correct hexameters, most of them in rather a dry style and with zealous opposition to current opinions. The author of it is probably Seneca's friend, Lucilius Junior, a man of literary culture.

1. That the work was written before the great eruption of Vesuvius a. 69, appears from the complete absence of any mention of it (e. g. 429 sqq., cf. 605 sqq.). It begins with a lengthy impugnation of the mythical opinions caused by the poets in reference to the causes of volcanic activity (fallacia vatum 29 sqq.; stolidi mendacia vulgi 366; fabula mendax 511), and general opposition to anthropopathic suppositions (32 sq. 370). The poem often alludes to Epicurean (32 sq.) and Stoic tenets (173 sq. 537 sqq.). Debita carminibus libertas ista, sed omnis in vero mihi cura, 91 sq. Didactic expressions are frequently met with, see 116 sq. 143 sq. 158 sqq. 175. 188 sqq. 219 sqq. 306 sq. 329 sq. 348. 387 sq. 391 sq. 399 sq. 415 sq. 425 sqq. 448 sq. 510 sq. 529. 536 sq. The same words and structures occur repeatedly. The real didactic parts are characterized by a great want of variety and life; very conspicuous in them is the lava (lapis molaris). On the other hand, the diction improves and becomes more sympathetic when the beauty and human dignity of the study of nature are contrasted with small pursuits (224—281) and distant branches of activity (568—598). In the same way, the description of an eruption of Etna (608 sqq.) is very vivid. Did the author use Seneca's nat. quaest. (e. g. 119 sqq. 282 sqq.)? Cf. Jacob p. XVIII sq. The allusions to Lucretius are more evident; but on the whole the diction follows the style established especially by Virgil. The metrical peculiarities attest the fluctuation and uncertainty peculiar to the fifty years subsequent to the death of Augustus. Though in the main agreeing with Ovid, the metre retains, chiefly in the treat-

ment of caesura, some harshnesses of Virgil's, just as we find it in Manilius and Statius (L. Müller).

2. Sen. nat. quaest. IV praef. 9 to Lucilius: ita est, mi Iunior. He was born perhaps ten years later than Seneca (ib. III 1, 1: apud te, iuvenis carissime, invenio: followed by a hexameter. Epist. 26, 7: iuvenior es), at Pompeji or Naples (Sen. Epist. 49, 1, 55, 1. 70, 1), in modest circumstances (nat. quaest. IV praef. 15: eluctatus natalium angustias; cf. Epist. 19, 5. 44), out of which he worked his way by assiduous exertion; Sen. Epist. 44, 2: eques rom. es et ad hunc ordinem tua te perduxit industria. Cf. ib. 19, 3: in medium te protulit ingenii vigor, scriptorum elegantia, clarae et nobiles amicitiae. iam notitia te invasit. Nat. quaest. IV praef. 15—17 Seneca lets him say: non mihi in amicitia Gaetulici (above 286, 1) vel Caius fidem eripuit, non . . Messala et Narcissus. . . videbam apud Caium tormenta, . . non tamen ferro incubui etc. He held various official appointments in Germany, Illyria and Africa (Sen. Ep. 31, 9), and was finally for some time Imperial intendant (procurator) in Sicily (nat. quaest. IV praef. 1. Epist. 19, 5. 31, 9. 43, 3 and often).

3. The interest Lucilius Junior took in literature. Sen. nat. q. IV praef. 1. Epist. 45, 1. ib. 2, 2: vide ne ista lectio auctorum multorum et omnis generis voluminum habeat aliquid vagum et instabile. Seneca exercised a favourable influence upon him (Epist. 34, 2: adsero te mihi, meum opus es. ego cum vidissem indolem tuam inieci manum etc.). Lucilius' correspondence with Seneca is often mentioned by the latter, e. g. Epist. 59, 4: audi quid me in epistula tua delectaverit: habes verba in potestate. non effert te oratio nec longius quam destinasti trahit. (5.) . . pressa sunt omnia et rei aptata. loqueris quantum vis et plus significas quam loqueris. . . (6.) invenio tamen translationes verborum, . . invenio imagines etc. His literary occupations. In Seneca nat. quaest. IV. praef. 14, Lucilius says: liberalius me studiis tradidi quamquam paupertas alia suaderet et ingenium eo duceret ubi praesens studii pretium est, ad gratuita carmina me deflexi et ad salutare studium philosophiae me contuli. To the latter department seems to have belonged the work mentioned by Sen. Epist. 46: librum tuum, quem mihi promiseras, accepi. . . qui quam disertus fuerit ex hoc intellegas licet: levis mihi visus est, cum esset nec mei nec tui corporis, sed qui primo adspectu aut T. Livii aut Epicuri posset videri. Cf. ib. 23, 9: Epicuri tui. Lucilius was, however, just as much or little of a real Epicurean as Seneca was of a Stoic; cf. ib. 107, 1 (Epicurus noster). Nat. quaest. IV 2, 2: quare non cum poeta meo (Lucil.) iocor et illi Ovidium suum impingo? He had chiefly written poetry on Sicilian subjects; ib. III 26, 6 (hoc, the legend of Arethusa, et a te traditum est ut in poemate, Lucili carissime),) cf. the hexameter ib. 1, 1. He dressed up philosophical ideas in epic metre, Sen. Epist. 24, 19—21. Sentences as senarii ib. 8, 10. Ibid. 79, 1: exspecto epistulas tuas quibus indices mihi circumitus Siciliae totius quid tibi novi ostenderit. ib. 5: Aetnam describas in tuo carmine et hunc solemnem omnibus

poetis locum attingas. quem quo minus Ovidius tractaret nihil obstitit quod iam Vergilius (occasionally) impleverat. ne Severum quidem Cornelium uterque deterruit. 7: aut ego te non novi aut Aetna tibi salivam movet. iam cupis grande aliquid et par prioribus scribere.

4. As, therefore, both the period (n. 2) and the philosophical (Epicurean) and literary (Ovid, Seneca) tendencies of Lucilius and his intention of choosing Etna as the subject of a poem (n. 3) agree with this work, it is very probable that he wrote it, and we want only the confirmation of the mss. The poem has come down to us in the appendix of the poems of Virgil and as one of his works; see above 225, 1 n. 1 sq. To attribute this poem to Cornelius Severus (above 247, 5) was an inference drawn from Sen. Epist. 79, 5 (see n. 3 fin.) which is quite devoid of further support.

5. The poem on Etna has come down to us with several gaps. The best ms. is the lost Florentine ms. (β in Munro's edition), which contained, however, only v. 138—286 (see Munro p. 30—32); the most complete ms. and which is far superior to all the others is the Cambridge ms. (α) collated by Munro (see p. 29 sq.). With this agrees most of all the fragmentum Stabulense (from the abbey of Stavelot); see Bormans, collation des 167 premiers vers de l'Aetne de L. J. avec un fragment mscr. du XI^me^ siècle, Brussels 1854. 124 pp. (Bulletin p. 258—379); cf. F. W. Schneidewin, Götti. Gel. Anz. 1855. The interpolated class, saec. XIV sq., is represented by Munro's γ (British Museum, Arundel 133), δ (Jacob's Helmstad.), ε (Jacob's ms. 3 = Vratisl.), ζ (in the British Mus.)

6. The poem was originally published with Virgil's works, e. g. Ald. 1517. 1534, by Scaliger, Lyons 1572 or 1573, Leyden 1595; see Munro p. 26 sq.; separately by Th. Gorallus (= John Leclerc), Amsterdam 1703. 1715; in Wernsdorf's poetae lat. min. IV p. (79) 87—214 (216); cf. p. 3—25. In W. E. Weber's corpus poet. lat. p. 1405—1410. With a German translation by Schmid (Brunswick 1769) and J. H. F. Meineke (Quedlinburg 1818). Rec. notasque los. Scaligeri, Fr. Lindenbruchii et suas adiecit (also a metrical translation) Fr. Jacob, Lips. 1826. XXIV and 270 pp. Revised, emended and explained by H. A. J. Munro, Cambridge 1867. 84 pp.

7. Critical contributions by M. Haupt (Quaest. Catull. 1841, p. 54—68, in the Berlin list of lectures 1854. 20 pp. 4. and 1859. 11 pp. 4. also in Hermes III p. 338—341, and J. Mähly, contributions to the criticism of the poem on Etna, Basle 1862. 32 pp. 4., E. Bährens (lectiones latt., Bonn 1870. p. 36—40).

303. In the first century and under the Julian Dynasty was composed a metrical version on the subject-matter of the Iliad for school-purposes. Though at first a mere translation, the work assumes gradually the character of an abridg-

ment. The author does not show any original talent, but makes much use of the Aeneid and the Metamorphoses; he is, however, correct and accurate in all technical peculiarities.

1. Of the 1075 (1070) hexameters contained in this work, 537 correspond to the first five books of the Iliad. The catalogue of the ships is rendered with much accuracy and the numerous and frequently difficult names are brought in without a single mistake. The books XIX to XXII are treated very superficially. In a few instances the author has permitted himself some extensions, chiefly by adding comparisons or descriptions. He may, perhaps, have availed himself of a prose-abridgment of the Iliad. He made extensive use of Ovid and Virgil, and is often put to straits by metrical necessities. His horizon does not extend beyond the Augustan poets, though a few weak traces seem to point to Lucretius. The metre is treated with a strictness almost pedantic. That the work was composed under the Julian Dynasty, at the very latest under Nero, appears from v. 904—907 W. = 899—902 M.: quem (Aeneas) nisi servasset magnarum rector aquarum, ut profugus latiis Troiam repararet in arvis augustumque genus caeli submitteret astris, non clarae gentis nobis mansisset origo. Cf. 235 (sacer Aeneas). 483 (Veneris pulcerrima proles). C. Lachmann, Monthly Trans. of the Academy at Berlin, January 1841 (before the death of Tiberius); see his note on Iwein p. 527 and on Lucr. III 11. L. Müller on the abridgment etc. p. 15, and Philol. XV p. 479—482. 502.

2. The epitome was much used in the Middle Ages and generally styled Homerus. But as early as the 11th century (the first time in the abbot Benzo, before 1106, see Phil. XV p. 475) the name of Pindarus (Thebanus) occurs for this author; this must be due to some mistake; as L. Müller, Rh. Mus. XXIV p. 492 sq., supposes, to some misconception of Horace O. IV 9, 5 sqq. On subsequent employment by Albert of Stade, Guido de Columna and the Trojumanna saga see H. Dunger, on the Legend of the Trojan war, Dresden 1869, p. 28. 63 sq. 78.

3. As regards the numerous mss., only few (e. g. the Florentine ms.) go beyond saec. XI; the best (i. e. least interpolated) are one of Burmann (v. 1—644), an Erfurd ms. (Ritschl, Rh. Mus. I p. 137—140) and the second Leyden ms. After the 11th century, when this abridgment was frequently read in schools, it underwent many interpolations and changes. L. Müller, on the abr. etc. p. 11—14, and on the second Leyden ms. of Homer. lat., in Fleckeisen's Jahrb. 85, p. 729—732. On a Brussels ms. see Reiffenberg Annuaire III p. 189 sqq.

4. Editions of the epitome. The first dated ed., Parm. 1492; but one s. l. et a. seems to be earlier. Of the later editions we mention especially Wernsdorf's in his poetae latini minores IV p. 617—752, cf. ib p. 546—567. 598—604. 608—616. Incerti auctoris, vulgo Pindari Theb. epitome Iliadis homericae e rec. et cum notis Th. van Kooten; edidit . . H. Weytingh, Lugd. Bat. et Amstelod. 1809. L. Müller, on the

abridgment of the Iliad by the so-called Pindarus Theb. (Berlin 1857) p. 16—46, and supplements Philologus XV p. 483—509.

5. Th. Bergk, Philologus XIV p. 184, conjectures that the author was Attius who is mentioned by Persius I 50 (Ilias Atti ebria veratri) as the author of a prose Iliad, a person frequently called Attius Labeo owing to a combination with ib. 4 (ne mihi . . Labeonem praetulerint). Against this see L. Müller, Fleckeisen's Jahrb. 83, p. 652 sq. M. Haupt, Berlin ind. lect. 1859 sq. p. 4. Schol. Pers. I 4 (p. 248 J.): quia Labeo transtulit Iliada et Odysseam, verbum ex verbo, ridicule satis, quod verba potius quam sensum secutus sit. eius est ille versus: crudum manduces Priamum Priamique pisinnos. Not identical with him and therefore scarcely to be considered as the source of that Scholion is the version (ib. not. 5): Labeo poeta latinus fuit, ut Fulgentius in libro etymologiarum ait, qui carmen et opus homericum convertit in latinum et placuit non magis auditoribus quam lectoribus; eius versus est crudum etc. It is not very credible that this line should have been made up by Fulgentius, as O. Jahn supposes, Trans. of the Saxon Society 1856, p. 301 sq., cf. his edition of Persius p. LXXII sq. Both names appear combined as early as the Schol. Pers. I 50 (p. 259 J.): Attius Labeo poeta indoctus fuit illorum temporum, qui Iliada Homeri versibus foedissime composuit.

304. We may also consider as productions of the first century (with a few exceptions) the poems contained in the codex Vossianus 86, both on account of their range of subjects and for their technical elegance.

1. The poems of the cod. Voss. saec. IX (in.) have been chiefly edited by Riese, Anthol. lat. nr. 392—480 (I p. 257—295; cf. ib. p. XXXVIII —XLI. II p. LXIV). The first (nr. 392—395) belong to a later period, perhaps the time of Trajan, and some even to that of Ausonius. But no doubt all those are of the first century which turn on subjects of the close of the Republican period. Most of them bear the colouring of oppositional tendencies, e. g. the praise of Cato of Utica, Pompey and his sons, the caution against Court-life, the praise of simplicity and retirement. But monarchical tendencies appear in the poems in praise of Caesar, especially his expedition to Britain, and on the death of the brothers Maevii in the Civil War between Antony and Octavianus (nr. 462 sq.; in Wernsdorf III p. 199—205, cf. p. 134—136), probably from the time of Claudius. The poem on the death of the two Cascae is destitute of distinct colouring (nr. 457). The rhetorical character of all these poems is strongly pronounced, especially in tha Chria on spes (nr. 415; in Wernsdorf III p. 226—234; cf. p. 141 sq.) and in the two elegies on Maevii fratres. Part of these poems are put to the name of Petronius; see above 300, 6.

2. For the elegies on Maecenas see above 225, 6.

2. The time of the Flavian Dynasty, A. D. 69—96.

305. After the Julian and Claudian Dynasty had terminated with Nero and hereditary monarchy had become extinct and when the wars for the succession had shaken the Empire for more than a year in all its parts and exhausted the last remnants of Roman vigour, Vespasian (a. 69 — 79), the most distinguished of the competitors, ascended the throne. Aristocratic encroachment and luxury now gave way to sober economy. The Empire could now regain its strength after the excitement and exhaustion of the recent events. The succession of Titus was entirely undisputed; in his short reign (a. 79 — 81) he endeavoured to combine kindness and good government. But in its third member already the dynasty degenerated, as the wickedness of Domitian, Titus' brother, vied with the worst princes of the Claudian family. Literature which had been benefited under Vespasian by the blessings of peace, suffered under Domitian no less by his vanity than by his cruelty.

1. See the accounts of this dynasty by Tillemont, E. v. Wietersheim (History of the Migration of tribes I, c. VIII), Merivale, C. Peter (Hist. of Rome III 2. Halle 1869. p. 1—140). E. Beulé, Titus et sa dynastie, Paris 1870.

2. C. E. Peter, de fontibus historiae imperatorum Flaviorum, Halle 1866.

3. Tac. Hist. II 101: scriptores temporum qui potiente rerum Flavia domo monimenta belli huiusce (of a. 69) composuerunt . . corruptas in adulationem causas tradidere. Mommsen understands these words especially of Cluvius Rufus (below 309, 2), Nissen more justly of the History of Pliny (below 307, 5).

306. Though chiefly a practical man and governed by the endeavour to replenish the treasury which had been exhausted by the mad dissipation of the preceding thirty or forty years, Vespasian still possessed and manifested literary culture, nay even wrote Memoirs. He and his son Titus patronised Pliny the Elder, Valerius Flaccus, Saleius Bassus, Curiatius Maternus, Silius Italicus, Turnus. The most eminent rhetorician of this time was Julius Gabinianus, and even Quin-

tilian's professional career belongs for the greater part to this period. Historical composition is chiefly represented by the Jewish writer Josephus, who however wrote in Greek and frequently adulterated truth intentionally.

1. T. Flavius Vespasianus was born 17 Nov. 762 (9 A. D.), Cos. 804 = 51, Procos. of Judaea a. 67 sqq. where especially since July 69 Mucianus (below 309, 1) won the throne for him. After the death of Vitellius (Dec. 22, 69) he was undisputed ruler. He died June 23, 79 = 832; see W. Teuffel in Pauly's Encycl. VI 2 p. 2478—2487.

2. Richter, on the relation of the Emperor Vespasian to literature, Plauen 1866. 4. Tac. Hist. II 80: concurrentes (Antiochenses) . . adloquitur (Vesp.), satis decorus etiam graeca facundia. From a speech made by Vesp. in the Senate is Orelli Inscr. 720. Joseph. vit. 65 (p. 340, 18 sq. Bk.): *ἐν τοῖς Οὐεσπασιανοῦ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ὑπομνήμασιν οὕτω γέγραπται.* (p. 343, 9:) *τοῖς Καίσαρος ὑπομνήμασιν ἐναντίαν πεποίησαι τὴν γραφήν.* Cf. c. Apion. I 10: *τοῖς τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων* (Vesp. and Titus?) *ὑπομνήμασιν.* Suet. Vesp. 18: primus e fisco latinis graecisque rhetoribus annua centena constituit. praestantis poetas (such as Saleius Bassus, below 313, 2) nec non artifices . . magna mercede donavit. That he treated the philosophers differently and drove them as well as the astrologers from Rome, was a measure due to the advice of Mucianus, because the philosophers of that age were quite immoderate and necessarily appeared as a dangerous element of political discontent and disorder. Dio LXVI 13 (a. 71): *ὡς οὐ καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ ἐκ τῶν στωικῶν καλουμένων λόγων προαχθέντες, μεθ' ὧν καὶ Δημήτριος ὁ κυνικός, συχνὰ καὶ οὐκ ἐπιτήδεια τοῖς παροῦσι δημοσίᾳ, τῷ τῆς φιλοσοφίας προσχήματι καταχρώμενοι, διελέγοντο . . ἔπεισεν ὁ Μουκιανὸς τὸν Οὐεσπασιανὸν πάντας τοὺς τοιούτους ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐκβαλεῖν. . . καὶ πάντας αὐτίκα τοὺς φιλοσόφους ὁ Οὐεσπασιανός, πλὴν τοῦ Μουσωνίου* (above 294, 3), *ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐξέβαλεν, τὸν δὲ δὴ Δημήτριον καὶ τὸν Ὀστίλιον καὶ ἐς νήσους κατέκλεισεν. καὶ ὁ μὲν Ὀστίλιος, εἰ καὶ . . πολλῷ πλείω κατὰ τῆς μοναρχίας κατέδραμεν, ὅμως παραχρῆμα μετέστη. τῷ δὲ Δημητρίῳ μηδ' ὡς ὑπείκοντι ἐκέλευσεν ὁ Οὐεσπασιανὸς λεχθῆναι ὅτι σὺ πὲν πάντα ποιεῖς ἵνα σε ἀποκτείνω, ἐγὼ δὲ κύνα ὑλακτοῦντα οὐ φονεύω.* See above 294, 12.

3. Titus Vespasianus, born Dec. 30, 40 or 41 (793 or 794), conquered Jerusalem Sept. 8, 70, was allowed a share in the reign by his father 71, Emperor 79, died Sept. 13, 81 = 834. Heimbrod, Titi . . vita, in Jahn's Archiv VIII (1842). p. 383—399. W. Teuffel in Pauly's Enc. VI 2. p. 2487—2493. The elder Pliny's preface to his h. n. is addressed to Titus, where we read e. g. 11: te quidem in excelsissimo generis humani fastigio positum, summa eloquentia, summa eruditione praeditum etc. Cf. ib. 5: fulgurat in nullo umquam verius dicta vis eloquentiae, tribunicia postestas facundiae. quanto tu ore patris laudes tonas, quanto fratris amas (famas Detl.)! quanto in poetica es! Ibid·

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II 25, 89: ocissimo significatu haec fuit (stella crinita, a comet) de qua quinto consulatu suo (a. 76 = 829) Titus imperator Caesar praeclaro carmine perscripsit.

307. Pliny the Elder, C. Plinius Secundus of Upper Italy (A. D. 23—79), succeeded by extreme diligence and the most grudging use of time in combining an extensive official occupation as officer and inspector of finances in various parts of the Empire with the most comprehensive and and many-sided studies and fertile literary activity in the departments of tactics, history, grammar, rhetoric, and natural science. Though his literary exertion partook in most branches more of the nature of a compilation, voluntarily resigning all claim to symmetry or even beauty of form, it still deserves admiration for its extent, and the death of Pliny (on the occasion of an eruption of Vesuvius) proves that it was the result of the most genuine thirst for knowledge.

1. Suet. ed. Reiffsch. p. 92 sq.: Plinius Secundus Novocomensis (praef. 1 he calls Catullus his conterraneus) equestribus militiis industrie functus (chiefly in Germany, where he seems also to have had his castrense contubernium with Titus, see n. h. praef. 3) procurationes quoque (in Gallia Narbonensis, Hispania Tarraconensis, under Vespasian as procurator Caesaris) splendidissimas et continuas summa integritate administravit et tamen liberalibus studiis tantam operam dedit ut non temere quis plura in otio scripserit. itaque bella omnia quae umquam cum Germanis gesta sunt XX voluminibus comprehendit, item naturalis historiae XXXVII libros absolvit. periit clade Campaniae; cum enim Misenensi classi praeesset et flagrante Vesuvio ad explorandas propius causas liburnica pertendisset . . vi pulveris ac favillae oppressus est, vel, ut quidam existimant, a servo suo occisus, quem aestu deficiens ut necem sibi maturaret oraverit. The latter catastrophe (IX kal. sept.) is described by the younger Pliny in a letter addressed to Tacitus, Ep. VI 16 (petis ut tibi avunculi mei exitum scribam, quo verius tradere posteris possis etc.) cf. VI 20 (ais te adductum litteris quas exigenti tibi de morte avunculi mei scripsi cupere cognoscere quos ego Miseni relictus . . casus pertulerim etc.).

2. Plin. Epist. III 5, 1 sqq. (to Baebius Macer): pergratum est mihi quod tam diligenter libros avunculi mei lectitas ut habere omnes velis quaerasque qui sint omnes. (2.) fungar indicis partibus atque etiam quo sint ordine scripti notum tibi faciam. . . (3.) 'De iaculatione equestri unus' (cf. n. hist. VIII 162: nos diximus in libro de iaculatione equestri condito). hunc cum praefectus alae militaret (in Germany) pari ingenio curaque composuit. 'De vita Pomponi Secundi duo,' a quo (above 279, 7) singulariter amatus hoc memoriae amici quasi debitum munus exsolvit.

(4.) 'Bellorum Germaniae XX', quibus omnia quae cum Germanis gessimus bella collegit (cf. n. 1 and 5, Tac. A. I 69: tradit C. Plinius, germanicorum bellorum scriptor). inchoavit cum in Germania militaret, somnio monitus. . . (5.) 'Studiosi III', in VI volumina propter amplitudinem divisi, quibus oratorem ab incunabulis instituit et perficit (cf. n. 3). 'Dubii sermonis VIII' (cf. n. 4). scripsit sub Nerone novissimis annis, cum omne studiorum genus paulo liberius et erectius periculosum servitus fecisset. (6.) 'A fine Aufidii Bassi XXXI' (cf. note 5). 'Naturae historiarum XXXVII', opus diffusum, eruditum nec minus varium quam ipsa natura. (7.) miraris quod tot volumina multaque in his tam scrupulosa homo occupatus absolverit? magis miraberis si scieris illum aliquamdiu causas actitasse, decessisse anno sexto et quinquagesimo, medium tempus distentum impeditumque qua officiis maximis qua amicitia principum egisse. (8.) sed erat acre ingenium, incredibile studium summa vigilantia. . . (9.) ante lucem ibat ad Vespasianum imperatorem (nam ille quoque noctibus utebatur), inde ad delegatum sibi officium. reversus domum quod relicum temporis studiis reddebat. (10.) post cibum saepe . . liber legebatur, adnotabat excerpebatque. nihil enim legit quod non excerperet. . . (11.) . . super hanc (cenam) liber legebatur, adnotabatur, et quidem cursim. . . (13.) tanta erat parsimonia temporis. . . (14.) . . dum destringitur tergiturque (in the bath) audiebat aliquid aut dictabat. (15.) in itinere . . huic uni vacabat: ad latus notarius cum libro et pugillaribus, cuius manus hieme manicis muniebantur. . . (16.) . . perire omne tempus arbitrabatur quod studiis non impenderetur. (17.) hac intentione tot ista volumina peregit electorumque commentarios CLX mihi reliquit, opisthographos quidem et minutissime scriptos. . . referebat ipse potuisse se, cum procuraret in Hispania, vendere hos commentarios Largio Licino CCCC milibus nummum, et tunc aliquanto pauciores erant.

3. Gellius IX 16, 1 sqq.: Plinius Secundus existimatus est esse aetatis suae doctissimus. is libros reliquit quos Studiosorum inscripsit, non mediusfidius usquequaque aspernandos. in his libris multa varie ad oblectandas eruditorum hominum aures ponit. refert etiam plerasque sententias quas in declamandis controversiis lepide arguteque dictas putat. It appears, therefore, to have been a treatise on rhetoric with examples. Quintil. III 1, 21: scripsit de eadem materia (rhetoric) . . accuratius . . aetatis nostrae Verginius, Plinius, Tutilius. XI 3, 143: qui de gestu scripserunt. . . quo magis miror Plinii Secundi, docti hominis et in hoc utique libro paene etiam nimium curiosi, persuasionem etc. ib. 148: quo magis miror hanc quoque succurrisse Plinio curam etc. It would thus be due to his general celebrity as writer, if he should be meant ib. III 4, 2: nunc maximo temporum nostrorum auctore prope impulsum (est).

4. Plin. n. h. praef. 28: ego plane meis iudici posse multa confiteor, nec his solis sed et omnibus quos edidi, ut obiter caveam istos Homeromastigas . ., quoniam audio et stoicos et dialecticos, Epicureos quoque (nam de grammaticis semper expectavi) parturire adversus

libellos quos de grammatica edidi. His work treated of the dubious formations in declension, conjugation, and word-formation, but besides phonology and flexion embraced also etymology and the parts of speech, and was used and quoted by the grammarians down to the Middle Ages. Especially Charisius quotes it frequently, in the parts derived from Julius Romanus; Priscian VI 44 (p. 233, 13 H.: Plinius Secundus in I artium) and 78 (p. 262, 18 H.: Plinius Secundus in I artis grammaticae) reproduces the title inaccurately. Lersch, Linguistic Philosophy of the Ancients, I p. 150 sqq. Alfr. Schottmüller, de C. Plini Secundi libris grammaticis particula prima, Bonn Diss., 1858. 44 pp. D. Detlefsen, on the flexions of Pliny the Elder, Symb. phil. Bonn. p. 697—714. W. Brambach, on Latin Orthography, p. 37 sq.

5. Plin. Epist. V 8, 5: avunculus meus idemque per adoptionem pater historias, et quidem religiosissime, scripsit. The praise of conscientious investigation of the sources and balancing of discrepant accounts is fully justified; in many cases the author's judgment remained even quite undecided. Cf. Nissen, Rhein. Mus. XXVI p. 533 sq. The work extended to 31 books; see n. 2. Plin. n. h. praef. 20: vos quidem omnes, patrem (Vespasian), te (Titus) fratremque, diximus opere iusto temporum nostrorum historiam orsi a fine Aufidii Bassi (above 272, 2). ubi sit ea quaeres? iam pridem per acta sancitum et alioqui statutum erat heredi mandare, ne quid ambitioni dedisse vita iudicaretur. (Cf. below 336, 12) proinde occupantibus locum faveo, ego vero et posteris, quos scio nobiscum decertaturos, sicut ipsi fecimus cum prioribus. II 199: anno Neronis principis supremo, sicut in rebus eius exposuimus. ib. 232: Neronis principis supremis, sicut in rebus retulimus. The work was employed (and surpassed) by Tacitus; see Hist. III 28: Hormine id (the sack of Cremona) ingenium, ut Messala (below 309, 3) tradit, an potior auctor sit C. Plinius, qui Antonium (Primum) incusat, haud facile discreverim. Cf. A. XIII 20 (Plinius et Cluvius . . referunt). XV 53 (quod C. Plinius memorat), both in the time of Nero. See H. Nissen, Rh. Mus. XXVI p. 497—548, especially p. 524 sqq. 532—544. Suetonius no doubt used (though he never names) the work of Pliny in his biographies of Nero, Galba, Otho, Vitellius, Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian, though it does not appear to have been his chief authority. The criticism in Calig. 8 (cf. above 287, 1) relates to the Bella Germanica. Plutarch (in Galba and Otho) may be supposed to reproduce Pliny very faithfully. See below 332, 4.

308. We possess of the works of Pliny only his naturalis historia in 37 books, a work presented a. 77 to Titus, but incessantly enriched and enlarged by the author until his death. It is a kind of encyclopedia of natural science, though chiefly so far as regards its employment in the life and art of man, and hence it also contains geography, medicine and history of art. The materials are compiled from a

great number of works, frequently very hastily and without sufficient knowledge and criticism, hence unequal in value. The style also is uneven: sometimes only bent upon the subject-matter and thus satisfied with the first expression that offers, sometimes mannered and rhetorical. On the whole, the work is an inexhaustible store-house of information and a monument of the serious, studious and patriotic mind of the author. It long exercised great influence both in its original shape and in various abridgments.

1. Plin. n. h. praef. 1: libros naturalis historiae, novicium Camenis Quiritium tuorum opus, natos apud me proxima fetura, licentiore epistula narrare constitui tibi, iucundissime imperator. . . (3.) censorius tu sexiesque consul (a. 77 = 830). (12.) levioris operae hos tibi dedicavi libellos. nam nec ingenii sunt capaces . . neque admittunt excessus aut orationes sermonesve aut casus mirabiles vel eventus varios, iucunda dictu aut legentibus blanda. (13.) sterilis materia, rerum natura h. e. vita, narratur, et haec sordidissima sui parte, ut plurimarum rerum aut rusticis vocabulis aut externis, immo barbaris. . . (14.) praeterea iter est non trita auctoribus via nec qua peregrinari animus expetat. nemo apud nos qui idem temptaverit, nemo apud Graecos qui unus omnia ea tractaverit. . . iam omnia attingenda quae Graeci *τῆς ἐγκυκλοπαιδείας* vocant. . . (16) equidem ita sentio peculiarem in studiis causam eorum esse qui difficultatibus victis utilitatem iuvandi praetulerunt gratiae placendi, idque iam et in aliis operibus ipse feci. . . (17.) viginti milia rerum dignarum cura . . lectione voluminum circiter duum milium . . ex exquisitis auctoribus centum inclusimus XXXVI voluminibus, adiectis rebus plurimis quas aut ignoraverant priores aut postea invenerat vita. (18.) nec dubitamus multa esse quae et nos praeterierint. homines enim sumus et occupati officiis, subsicivisque temporibus ista curamus, i. e. nocturnis. . . (21.) in his voluminibus auctorum nomina praetexui. . . (32.) quid singulis contineretur libris huic epistulae subiunxi. . . His nephew, in editing the work after the death of the author, united the list of sources formerly prefixed to each book (cf. XVIII § 23) with the table of contents as book I, and thus raised the number of books to 39. That the author himself published only the first decade, Urlichs (Vindic. I p. 19 and Chrestom. Plin. p. XIV note) concluded from the repetition of restant immensae subtilitatis animalia X extr. and XI in., and also from the subscription of XI and XII in the Riccard.: editus post mortem. We find altogether in this work many traces of want of perfection, citations not filled up, marginal notes without definite reference, etc. See Th. Bergk, exercitationes Plin., Marburg 1847. 1851. 4. D. Noltenius, quaestiones Plinianae, Bonn 1866, with v. Jan in Fleckeisen's Jahrb. 1866, p. 698 sqq.

2. Contents and arrangement of the work. I: Table of contents and list of sources. II: Mathematical and physical description of the

world. III—VI: Geography. VII: Anthropology and physiology of man. VIII—XI: Zoology (VIII Mammalia; IX fishes; X birds; XI insects and beetles; comparative anatomy and physiology). XII—VII: Botany (XII and XIII exotic trees and shrubs; XIV and XV fruit-trees; XVI wild trees; general botany; XVII cultivation of trees; XVIII and XIX corn, vegetables, theory of agriculture and horticulture; XX—XXVII medicinal botany). XXVIII—XXXII: Medicinal zoology. XXXIII—XXXVII: Mineralogy especially as applied to life and art (b. XXXIV sq. history of art). The execution is very arbitrary in details, probably owing to the influence of the work chiefly excerpted. Thus XXVII all plants not treated previously are additionally given in an alphabetical list. On XXXI sq. see Noltenius p. 25 sq.

3. Pliny intends to state his sources almost completely: est enim benignum . . et plenum ingenui pudoris fateri per quos profeceris, non ut plerique ex his quos attigi fecerunt (praef. 21). He even seems to have among his 146 Roman and 327 foreign writers several known to himself only from compilations or citations. If therefore he does not mention Dioscorides and yet agrees with him, we should explain this from the agreement of the mutual sources of the two writers. The order of enumeration in the list of sources generally coincides with the order in which the writers in question are made use of in the book, though subsequent additions and changes have caused some deviations; H. Brunn, de auctorum indicibus Plinianis disputatio isagogica, Bonn 1856. 60 pp. See D. Detlefsen, Philologus XXVIII p. 701—716. The name of Varro appears most frequently, among the externi we chiefly meet with the names of Aristotle, Theophrastus and other peripatetic philosophers. Pliny is fond of following Roman authorities, e. g. on bees Hyginus, on medicine Pompeius Lenaeus, on botany Sextius Niger. He does not appear to have formed a just estimation of his sources, and above all he credits the collectors of curious information just as much as the most weighty investigators. E. Meyer, Hist. of Botany II p. 127—133. G. Montigny, quaest. in Plin. n. h. de animalibus libros, Bonn 1844. 74 pp. Detlefsen, Vitruvius as a source of Pliny, Phil. XXXI p. 385—434. On slips in the history of art see L. Ross, Archaeological Essays II (Leipzig 1861) p. 352—377. Cf. O. Jahn, on the art-criticisms of Pliny, in the Trans. of the Saxon Society of Literature, 1850, p. 105—142. A. Brieger, de fontibus librorum Plinii XXXIII—XXXVI quatenus ad rem plasticam pertinent, Greifswald 1857. 78 pp. 8. G. Wustmann, on Pliny's history of art, Rh. Mus. XXII p. 1—24. J. C. Elster, prolegomena ad excerpta plin. ex libr. XXXV, Helmstedt 1838. H. E. Dirksen, the sources of the h. n. of Pliny, especially those on Roman law, Posthumous Writings I p. 133—148.

4. Pliny's general views on the universe appear chiefly from b. II. Hence he was openly opposed to popular belief, without however altogether adhering to a definite philosophical system. In his religious and philosophical views he mostly inclined to Stoicism. He complains of the dereliction of nature and the depravation of manners as fre-

quently as Columella and Seneca. Urlichs, Chrestom. Plin. p. XV sq. O. Vorhauser, on the religious and moral views of Pliny the Elder, Inspruck 1860. 32 pp. 4. L. Rummler, C. Plini Sec. philosophumena, Stettin 1862. 66 pp. Friese, the Cosmology of Pliny, I (with 2 plates), Breslau 1862. 44 pp. 4.

5. On the diction of Pliny see Wannowski, Pliniana, Posen 1847. 4. On the poetical elements of it see E. Opitz, Quaestiones plinianae, Naumburg 1861. 32 pp. 4.

6. 'The style of Pliny is very different in the different parts of his work. His praefatio abounds in strange expressions, far-fetched phrases, and brilliant thoughts. Many of the introductions to the single books are poetical, but penetrated with seriousness; there is in them an energetic pathos, the thoughts being forcibly expressed in few words. These parts are treated with great care, being instances of gravitas. But in the descriptive parts which form the body of the great work itself, Pliny generally heaps one excerpt upon the other; in many departments, especially those of botany, medicine, mineralogy, he has not completely mastered his hard subject-matter, and as a rule contents himself with dry nomenclature and description. As he feels the want of scientific classification he endeavours to enliven his subject by rhetorical helps, especially by studying variety and novelty in his phrases and sentences.' D. Detlefsen, Philol. XXVIII p. 317 sq. L. Grasberger, de uso pliniano, Würzburg 1860. 128 pp. (especially de brevitate dicendi, and de dictionis varietate). Wannowski (see n. 5) p. 27—36. E. Opitz, p. 2—16.

7. The work was much read from the very beginning (cf. Symmach. epist. I 24) and abridged at an early time. As early as under Adrian, a Chorographia was compiled from it and enlarged with additions from Pomponius Mela and other works of this kind. This Chorographia pliniana was known to and employed by Apuleius. Ammianus Marcellinus too did not employ Pliny at first hand, but rather used this abridgment. It forms also the basis of the works of Solinus and Martianus Capella. Th. Mommsen, Solini collectanea etc. (Berlin 1864) p. XXI sqq. Medical and diaetetic excerpts from Pliny, but with additions from other sources, form b. I—IV of the so-called Plinius Valerianus.

8. We possess nearly 200 mss. of Pliny, most of them however of saec. XIV and XV and without value concerning the constitution of the text. Those which are of importance may be divided into earlier mss. which are incomplete, and later ones which are complete. The first class are free from the transpositions, repetitions, and gaps of the later mss., but they are fragmentary; the Bamberg ms. (saec. X.) which is relatively speaking complete, contains only six books (32—37). Other representatives of this earlier class are the Nonantulanus or Sessorianus (saec. V), Mone's leaves (saec. VI), the Paris ms. 10318 (saec. VII or VIII), Leidensis Voss. (saec. IX), Paris 4860 (saec. X),

and the ms. from which the most important mss. of the later class were corrected and supplemented. The mss. of the later class are all derived from an archetype (now lost) in which II 187 — IV 67 had changed places with IV 67 — V 34. From this, two classes of mss. were derived: the first adopting this transposition without any change, the second attempting to rectify it, though in an unsatisfactory manner. To the first division belong Leidensis Lipsii = Vesontinus = Chiffletianus Dalecampii = F (saec. XI; copies of it the Toletanus, Parisinus 6797, Vaticanus 1953, Laurentianus, saec. XIII sq. in Sillig T, d, x, L), Vaticanus 3861 = D saec. XI, Paris. 6796 = G (Sillig: c), Riccardianus = R (c. a. 1100), and probably some old excerpts, e. g. the Lucensis = H (saec. VIII), Monacensis-Frisingensis (saec. VIII or IX), Bernensis 347 and 265 (saec. X). The second division is chiefly represented by Paris. 6795 = E (Sillig a) saec. X or XI, which was copied in a number of mss. (e. g. Paris. 6798 and the Luxemburgensis of M. A. Namur and M. Michel, Luxemb. 1865. 4), also Vindobon. (a, in Sillig w) saec. XIII, and Leopoldo-Laurentianus (of a. 1433). See the detailed discussions by D. Detlefsen, Philologus XXVIII p. 284—309, cf. Rhein. Mus. XV p. 265—288. 366—390. XVIII p. 227—240. 327 sq. A. Fels, de codicum antiquorum in quibus Plini n. h. ad nostra tempora propagata est fatis, fide atque auctoritate, Gotting. 1861. 114 pp. 4. L. v. Jan, de auctoritate codicum plin., 1858. 4. and in the Reports of the meetings of the historical and phil. Section of the Munich Academy 1862, p. 1862, p. 221—260. L. Urlichs, Rhein. Mus. XVIII. p. 527—536, Eos 1865, p. 353 sqq. and Vindiciae plinianae II. C. Mayhoff, lucubrationum plinianarum capita III. Neustrelitz 1865. 136 pp. 8.

9. Contributions to the criticism of the text. Th. Bergk, exercitationes plinianae, I. (Marburg 1847. 4.). II. (ib. 1851. 4.). L. v. Jan, Münchner Gel. Anz. 1852, Nr. 70—73, and elsewhere. C. L. Urlichs, Vindiciae plinianae I. (Greifswald 1853. 192 pp.). II. (Erlangen 1866); de numeris et nominibus propriis in Plini n. h., Würzburg 1857. 4.; Rhein. Mus. XIV p. 599—612 and others (n. 8.) C. Mayhoff (see n. 8). Detlefsen, Philologus XXXI p. 336—342.

10. Of the numerous complete editions only the following are still deserving of notice. Ed. princeps Ven. 1469 fol. Cum castigationibus Hermol. Barbari. Rom. 1492 fol. Rec. I. Dalecampius, Lyons 1587 fol. Cum notis I. Fr. Gronovii, Lugd. Bat. 1669- 3 vols. (the notae .. emendatius editae, Gotha 1855 = Sillig vol. VI). Illustr. I. Harduin, Paris 1685, 5 vols. 4. 1723 sqq., 3 vols. fol. (Lips. 1778—1788, 10 vols. 8.) Recogn. cum var. lect. Iul. Sillig, Lips. 1831—1836, 5 vols., and especially recens. et cum comm. criticis instruxit, Gotha 1853—1855 5 vols. with Suppl. VI; Indices, composuit O. Schneider, = vol. VII and VIII, 1857 sq.). An edition of the text by L. v. Jan, Lips. Teubner 1854—1865, 6 vols. (vol. 6 indices). D. Detlefsen recensuit, Berol. 1866 sqq.

11. Chrestomathia Pliniana by J. M. Gesner (Lips. 1722. 1776), F. A. Beck (Hadamar 1828), L. Urlichs (with explanatory notes, Berlin

1857). Excerpta ex Plin. I. XXXV comm. crit. et exeget. instr. etc. J. C. Elster, Helmstedt 1851—1853, 3 parts, 74 pp. 4.

12. Recent literature on Pliny reviewed by L. v. Jan, Philologus III, XII, XXI, by D. Detlefsen in Fleckeisen's Jahrb. 77, p. 481—493. 653—672, and Philologus XXVIII 2.

309. Pliny already used the uncritical description of a journey to the East by Vespasian's partisan Licinius Mucianus, who exerted himself also in collecting historical documents. Two excellent men of this time, the orator and consular M. Cluvius Rufus, whose work embraced the time of Nero and the events of a. 69 and seems to have aimed at historical truth, and Vipstanus Messala, an orator of the same tendency as Quintilian, but altogether a man of varied culture and who frequently gave offence by his independence of thought, made events they had witnessed the subjects of their historical works. The history, too, of Fabius Rusticus, a younger friend of Seneca's, seems to belong to this period.

1. M. Licinius Crassus Mucianus, vir secundis adversisque iuxta famosus. insignes amicitias iuvenis ambitiose coluerat, mox atteritis opibus, . . suspecta etiam Claudii iracundia, in secretum Asiae sepositus (as praeses Syriae). . . luxuria, industria, . . nimiae voluptates, cum vacaret; quotiens expedierat, magnae virtutes. palam laudares, secreta male audiebant; Tac. hist. I 10 cf. II 5. W. Teuffel in Pauly's Enc. IV p. 1079 sq. Nr. 37. He took part in Corbulo's first expedition to Armenia (Pliny mentions him ten times 55 and 60), and governed Syria (Plin. n. h. XII 9. XIII 88) and (a. 67) Syria. n. h. III 6. XIX 12. XXVIII 5) ter consul (before 67, a. 70, 72; † before 77; Borghesi Oeuvres IV p. 345—353). L. Braun p. 12—18. Tac. dial. 37: haec vetera (speeches from the Republican period), quae et in antiquariorum bybliothecis adhuc manent et cum maxime a Muciano contrahuntur ac iam undecim (at present), ut opinor, actorum (see above 213, 2) libris et tribus epistolarum composita et edita sunt. Different from this compilation and written at an earlier time was the one from which Pliny (and perhaps also Josephus, see Nissen Rh. Mus. XXVI p. 541—543) derived statements on the East, chiefly concerning natural history and geography, with frequent appeals to his being an eye-witness cf. Plin. n. h. VII 36 (Licinius Mucianus prodidit visum a se Argis etc. . . eiusdem sortis et Zmyrnae puerum a se visum). 159 (Tmolus). XIX 12 and XXXIV 36 (Rhodus; whence Brieger de fontibus p. 60 refers also the other statements of Pliny on Rhodus to Muc.). In his list of sources Pliny quotes the work repeatedly, ex Licinio Muciano on book 3, 4, 5, 6, 7; ex Muciano on book 2, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 16, 19, 31, 33, 35, 36. He is also quoted in b. 14, 21, 28, 32,

34. The passages are collected by L. Brunn p. 18—45. As man superstitious (Plin. n. h. XVIII 5), Muc. appears to have been credulous as writer, and to him Pliny owes many incredible and fantastical statements. H. Peter, hist. lat. p. CCCL sq. L. Brunn, de C. Lic. Muc., Lips. 1870. Diss.

2. Tac. hist. IV 43: a laude Cluvii Rufi orsus, qui perinde (like Eprius Marcellus, above 292, 3) dives et eloquentia clarus nulli umquam sub Nerone periculum facessisset. Cf. ib. I 8: Hispaniae praeerat (a. 69) Cluvius Rufus, vir facundus et pacis artibus, bellis inexpertus. ib. 76. II 58. 65. III 65. IV 39. Consul (I. R. N. 2224) already under Caligula, as he is called consularis at his assasination a. 41; see Joseph. antiq. XIX 1, 13: *Οὐατίνιός τις τῶν συγκλητικῶν . . ἤρετο Κλούουιον παρεζόμενον αὐτῷ, κἀπὶ τοῦτον ὑπατικόν* etc. Suet. Ner. 21 (per Cluvium consularem) and (from him?) Dio LXIII 14 (*Κλουουίῳ Ῥούφῳ, ἀνδρὶ ὑπατευκότι, χρησάμενος*). His identity with the historian appears from Plut. Oth. 3: *Κλούβιος δὲ Ῥοῦφος εἰς Ἰβηρίαν* (which he governed) *φησὶ κομισθῆναι διπλώματα* in which Otho styled himself Nero; cf. Suet. Oth. 7. In Plut. quaest. rom. 107 he is quoted as an authority for the derivation of histrio. Cluvius would seem to have written his historical work in his later years (after a. 70), when he had retired from politics. Tac. A. XIII 20 (above 307, 5). XIV 2 (tradit Cluvius etc.), Cluvius being in either case opposed to Fabius Rusticus who protected Seneca. Plin. Epist. IX 19, 5 (Verginius Rufus related): ita secum aliquando Cluvium locutum: scis, Vergini quae historiae fides debetur; proinde si quid in historiis meis legis aliter ac velis (on himself), rogo ignoscas. H. Peter (on Plutarch's sources p. 40—44) and Th. Mommsen (Hermes IV p. 318—325) consider his historical work the principal source of Plutarch in his Galba and Otho, and of Tac. Hist. I and II (also of Sueton. in Galba, Otho and Vitell., though he never mentions him: comp. Suet. Galb. 17 with Plut. Galb. 19). But see O. Clason, Plut and Tacitus (Berlin 1870) p. 12—14, Tac. and Suet. p. 76 sqq., and especially H. Nissen, Rh. Mus. XXVI p. 507 sq. 530—532. See also above 305, 3. 307, 5.

3. Tac. hist. III 9: legioni tribunus Vipstanus Messala praeerat, claris maioribus (cf. dial. 27, where the orator Valerius Messala — above 218, 8 sqq. — is numbered among his maiores), egregius ipse et qui solus ad id bellum (of a. 69) artes bonas attulisset. ib. III 25: rem nominaque auctore Vipstano Messala tradam. 28 (above 307, 5). IV 42: magnam eo die (a. 70) pietatis eloquentiaeque famam Vipstanus Messala adeptus est, nondum senatoria aetate (i. e. beginning of twenty) ausus pro fratre Aquilio Regulo (see below 321, 3) deprecari. He was a friend of Tacitus' youth, but seems to have died early, as he is never mentioned in Pliny's letters. His historical work seems to have treated of the events of his time only so far as he was personally concerned in them in the character of Memoirs or a historical and political pamphlet. H. Nissen, Rh. Mus. XXVI p. 529, cf. ibid. p. 536 sq. Tacitus has commemorated him in his dialogus, see ib. 15. non desinis, Messala,

vetera tantum et antiqua mirari, nostrorum autem temporum studia irridere et contemnere? nam hunc tuum sermonem saepe excepi, cum oblitus et tuae et fratris tui eloquentiae neminem hoc tempore oratorem esse contenderes prae antiquis. ib. 32 Tacitus makes him blame the 'diserti' of his time because they ignorent leges nec teneant senatusconsulta, ius civitatis ultro derideant, sapientiae vero studium et praecepta prudentium penitus reformident, with the addition: quodsi forte haece audierint, certum habeo dicturos me, dum iuris et philosophiae scientiam tamquam oratori necessariam laudo, ineptiis meis plausisse. He also says ib.: ego iam meum munus explevi et, quod mihi in consuetudine est satis multos offendi. F. A. Eckstein, prolegomena ad dialog. de orat. p. 14—19.

4. On the history of Julius Secundus see 310, 4; on that of Curtius Rufus above 287.

5. The seven books *τοῦ ἰουδαϊκοῦ πολέμου* of Josephus were still written under Vespasian, about A. D. 75; see H. Paret's introduction to his translation (Stuttgart, Metzler 1855) p. 18 sq.

6. Tac. Agr. 10: formam Britanniae Livius veterum, Fabius Rusticus recentium eloquentissimi auctores, . . adsimulavere. Ann. XIII 20: Fabius Rusticus auctor est etc. . . sane Fabius inclinat ad laudes Senecae, cuius amicitia floruit. XIV 2 (F. R. memorat), XV 61 (tradit E. R.). He is made heir with Tacitus and Pliny in the will of Dasumius, whence we learn that he was still alive a. 108 or 109. To him addressed is perhaps Plin. Ep. IX 29 (Rustico), and we should perhaps refer to him Quintit. X 1, 104: superest adhuc et ornat aetatis nostrae gloriam vir saeculorum memoria dignus, qui olim nominabitur, nunc intellegitur. See A. Haakh in Pauly's Encycl. VII 2 p. 2921 sq. nr. 76. Mommsen, Hermes III p. 51, n. 4.

7. Minuc. Fel. Oct. 33, 4: si Romanis magis gaudes, ut transeamus veteres, Antonii Juliani de Judaeis require: iam nequitia sua hanc eos (the Jews) meruisse fortunam. Probably the *Μάρκος Ἀντώνιος Ἰουλιανός, ὁ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐπίτροπος* (Joseph b. iud. VI 4, 3), who participated in the siege of Jerusalem by Titus and as a member of the council of war voted for the destruction of the City (Jos. l. l.) J. Bernays, Sulpic. Sev. p. 56, conjectures that Tacitus' account in the Hist. is derived from his work.

310. Like these historians, we find in the time of Vespasian the poet Curiatius Maternus as orator; others devoted themselves chiefly to rhetoric and oratorical instruction, e. g. the rhetorician Sex. Julius Gabinianus in Gaul. A native of Gaul was also M. Aper who pleaded and declaimed at Rome, and also held appointments there. Julius Secundus,

who died very early, was a friend of Quintilian, but in eloquence, though not so much as Aper, shared the general tendency of his age to elegance and artifice of form.

1. On Curatius Maternus see 313, 1. Salvius Liberalis (see 336, 3) was also known as early as under Vespasian.

2. In the list of rhetoricians treated of by Suetonius (p. 99 Rffsch.) we find immediately before Quintilian Sex. Julius Gabinianus. From Suetonius is derived Hieronym. on Euseb. chron. a. Abr. 2092 = Ol. 213, 4 = Vesp. 8: Gabinianus celeberrimi nominis rhetor in Gallia docuit. Cf. on Isaj. VIII praef. (T. IV p. 329 Vall.): qui flumen eloquentiae et concinnas declamationes desiderant legant Tullium, Quintilianum, Gallionem, Gabinianum. Tac. dial. 26 extr.: quotus quisque scholasticorum non hac sua persuasione fruitur ut se ante Ciceronem numeret, sed plane post Gabinianum?

3. In Tacitus' dialogus M. Aper (c. 5—10. 16—23) defends the modern style of eloquence, though rather in a sophistical manner and more with glittering words than solid arguments. Ib. 2: M. Aper et Iulius Secundus, celeberrima tum (under Vespasian) ingenia fori nostri, quos ego in iudiciis . . studiose audiebam, . . quamvis maligne plerique opinarentur nec Secundo promptum esse sermonem et Aprum ingenio potius et vi naturae quam institutione et litteris famam eloquentiae consecutum. nam et Secundo purus et pressus et in quantum satis erat profluens sermo non defuit et Aper omni eruditione imbutus contemnebat potius litteras quam nesciebat. 11: cum dixisset Aper acrius, ut solebat, et intento ore. 7: equidem (Aper) non eum diem laetiorem egi quo mihi latus clavus oblatus est vel quo homo novus et in civitate minime favorabili natus quaesturam aut tribunatum aut praeturam accepi quam eos quibus mihi datur to conduct the law-suit successfully. 10: ne quid de Gallis nostris (cf. Aper) loquar, and 17: ipse ego in Britannia vidi senem.

4. Quintil. X 3, 12: memini narrasse mihi Iulium Secundum illum, aequalem meum atque a me, ut notum est, familiariter amatum, mirae facundiae virum, infinitae tamen curae. ib. 1, 120: Iulio Secundo si longior contigisset aetas clarissimum profecto nomen oratoris apud posteros foret. adiecisset enim atque adiciebat ceteris virtutibus suis quod desiderari potest. id est autem ut esset multo magis pugnans et saepius ad curam rerum ab elocutione respiceret. (121) ceterum interceptus quoque magnum sibi vindicat locum. ea est facundia etc. Cf. XII 10, 11: elegantiam Secundi. Cf. n. 3. In his dialogus Tacitus (c. 4 sq.) invests him with the power of umpire between the representatives of opposite directions, the Republican and the Imperial eloquence. Ib. 14: probari video in te, Secunde, quod Iuli Asiatici (Africani Nipperdey, see above 292, 4) vitam componendo spem hominibus fecisti plurium eiusmodi librorum. Plut. Oth. 9: *τοῦτο μὲν διηγεῖτο* (used to relate) *Σεκοῦνδος ὁ ῥήτωρ, ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν γενόμενος τοῦ Ὄθωνος. ἑτέρων δ' ἦν ἀκούειν* etc.

5. Quintil. IV, 1, 19: fuerunt etiam quidam rerum suarum iudices, nam et in libris Observationum a Septimio editis affuisse Ciceronem tali causae invenio et ego etc. This would lead us to think Sept. a writer in rhetoric. He is possibly identical with Septimius Severus, the condiscipulus of Victorius Marcellus (Stat. Silv. IV praef.), to whom Statius addresses Silv. IV 5 (v. 3: fortem atque facundum Severum). See below 321, 8.

6. On Pliny's treatise on rhetoric see above 307, 3; on Verginius and Tutilius above 275, 1.

311. The most influential jurists of the age of Vespasian were the Sabinian Caelius Sabinus and the Proculeian Pegasus. Urseius Ferox and Juventius Celsus the Elder as well as a certain Plautius, whose work was much commented on at a later time, seem to belong to this period.

1. Pompon. Dig. I 2, 2, 53: Cassio (above 293, 3) (C. Arulenus) Caelius Sabinus successit, qui plurimum temporibus Vespasiani potuit (he was, however, cons. suff. already 69 = 822, Tac. Hist. I 77); Proculo (above 293, 1) Pegasus (n. 2) qui temporibus Vespasiani praefectus urbi fuit; Caelio Sabino Priscus Iavolenus; Pegaso Celsus (the father). Gell. IV 2, 3: Caelius Sabinus in libro quem de edicto aedilium curulium composuit. From this Gell. VI 4, 1 (Caelius Sabinus iuris peritus) — 3. Dig. XXI 1 (de aedil. ed.) 14 (pr. n. 3. 10.) 17 § 1. 6. 8. 12 sqq.) 20. 65 (2). From other works of the same author Gai. Inst. III 70 and 141. Dig. XXXV 1 (de cond. et demonstr.), 72, 7.

2. Juv. 4, 77 sqq.: properabat Pegasus (cf. n. 1) attonitae positus modo vilicus urbi, . . interpres legum sanctissimus, omnia quamquam temporibus diris (of Domitian) tractanda putabat inermi iustitia. On this the Schol. (p. 223 J.) says: filius trierarchi, ex cuius liburnae parasemo nomen accepit. iuris studio gloriam memoriae meruit, ut liber vulgo, non homo, diceretur. hic functus omni honore, cum provinciis plurimis praefuisset, urbis curam administravit. hinc est Pegasianum SCtum. Inst. II 23, 5: postea Vespasiani Aug. temporibus, Pegaso et Pusione consulibus, senatus censuit etc. Cf. Gai. I 31: SCto quod Pegaso et Pusione consulibus factum est. III 64 (idque maxime Pegaso placuit; quae sententia aperte falsa est). In the Digest his name occurs repeatedly, but fragments are not quoted.

3. Ulpian in the Collat. eleg. mos. XII 7, 9: libro X Urseius refert Sabinum (n. 1) respondisse. Proculus (above 293, 1) had also been quoted in his writings (Dig. IX 2, 27, 1. XXXIX 3, 11, 2). On the other hand, Salvius Iulianus wrote libri IV Ad Urseium Ferocem. It does not agree with the period we should hence assume for Urseius that Cassius (above 293, 3) existimasse Urseium refert (Dig. XLIV 5, 1, 10, cf. VII 4, 10, 5: Cassius apud Urseium scribit), for which reason

Bertrand and Viertel would reverse the reading by substituting Urseius apud Cassium. Cf. K. Viertel, de vitis ictorum p. 16—20.

4. Celsus Dig. XXXI 20: et Proculo placebat et a patre sic accepi; and 29 pr.: pater meus referebat, cum esset in consilio Duceni Veri consulis itum in sententiam suam. Cf. ib. XII 4, 3, 7: refert (Celsus) patrem suum existimasse etc. XVII 1, 39: et Aristoni et Celso patri placuit etc.

5. The time of Plautius is fixed by his quoting Cassius and Proculus (Dig. XXXIV 2, 8: Plautius: . . Cassius ait. XXXV 1, 43 pr.: Plautius: . . Proculus, Cassius . . aiunt), and by his being commented on by Neratius Priscus, Javolenus, Pomponius and Paulus, all of whom composed libri ex Plautio or ad Plautium.

312. The only poet of the time of Vespasian that has come down to us is Valerius Flaccus, of whom we possess ten books of Argonautica, a free imitation of Apollonius of Rhodes, the traces of Alexandrine learning being effaced and effective scenes dwelt on to greater length, besides which the characters are delineated with much care and the psychological motives fully developed. The diction is rhetorical and full. The phraseology of this author is for the most part derived from Virgil, but owing to bold figures and combinations of words and an artificial compression of diction it has lost both lucidity and symmetry. It is, however, highly probable that the work, such as we have it, is a torso.

1. The name is given in the subscription of the Vatican ms. 3277 (saec. IX) to b. II: G. Valerius Flaccus Balbus Setinus, i. e. with two cognomina and the addition of his native town (Setia). He died before A. D. 90; cf. Quintil. X 1, 90: multum nuper in Valerio Flacco amisimus. It does not appear from these words that he died young. His introduction was written under Vespasian, probably not long after the capture of Jerusalem by Titus (a. 70); see Argon. I 7 sqq. tuque o, pelagi cui maior aperti fama, Caledonius postquam tua carbasa vexit oceanus (cf. Tac. Agr. 13), phrygios prius indignatus Iulos, eripe me populis . . sancte pater, veterumque fave veneranda canenti facta virum. versam proles tua pandet Idumen (namque potest), Solymo nigrantem pulvere fratrem etc. From I 5 sq. we may infer that the poet held the position of XV vir sacr. fac.: Phoebe, mone, si Cymaeae mihi conscia vatis stat casta cortina domo, si laurea digna fronte viret. Martial's friend Flaccus, from Patavium (Mart. I 61, 3 sq. 76, 1 sq.) who is likewise described as poet, though not of Argonautica (ib. 76, 3 sqq. pierios differ cantus citharamque sororum. . . quid petis a Phoebo? . . quid possunt hederae Bacchi dare? . . quid tibi cum Cirrha, quid cum Permesside nuda? Cf. ib. IV 49, 3 sqq.) and as living in poverty

(ib. I 76, 4 sqq. VIII 56) is no doubt a different person and lived somewhat later than the author of the extant poem (Thilo prolegg. p. V—VII).

2. See the comparison of Val. Fl. with Apollonius in Weichert's work on the life and poem of Apollonius (Meissen 1821) p. 270 sqq., and G. Thilo, Prolegg. p. VIII—XIII. The Roman poet surpasses the Greek in his uniform design and the bolder characters of Jason and Aeetes, but he has also stretched the subject-matter (which is of itself not very favourable to poetry (too much by rhetorical treatment. Did he avail himself of Diodorus? G. Thilo p. VIII note 2. The usual machinery of gods is fully made use of (especially Juno and Minerva appearing very often) and psychological description is applied even to the Gods. Pedantic learning is very much kept back bv the prevalence of pathetic and sentimental rhetoric, but still there is a considerable residue of it left. Anachronisms (such as Lagus and Arsinoe) are noticed by Thilo p. XXVIII. He alludes to his predecessors, e. g. I 17 sq. to Germanic. Arat. 40 sq. With regard to poetical diction and the technical elaboration of metre Valerius holds the same position to Virgil as Persius to Horace; in both the artificial element is increased and the style often degenerates into bombast and obscurity (cf. Thilo p. XIII—XXV); the technical part showing the accuracy peculiar to the silver age. A strict censure on the poeticel value of Val. Fl. is found in the supplements to Sulzer VIII p. 305 sqq.

3. The close of b. VIII being rather abrupt and essential parts of the legend, such as the death of Absyrtus and the homeward journey of the Argonauts not being treated in the extant poem, we may safely conclude that more was intended to come; what remains, might have furnished enough for two to four books. It is, however, doubtful, whether this last part had actually been executed by the poet and was subsequently lost, as N. Heinsius supposed, or the poet was by death or other circumstances prevented from carrying it further, which is the view taken by G. Thilo and C. Schenkl. The latter view is not supported by the length of time spent by Val. over his work (n. 1). It would be supported by other traces of the want of final perfection, if they were more trustworthy than those mentioned by Thilo p. XXVI —XXXIX, as the assumption that 'Valerius, si carmen emendare potuisset, ad usum ceterorum poetarum et scriptorum magis se accommodaturus fuerit' (p. XXXIII) is not only not proved, but even improbable. A certain validity attaches only to a number of discrepancies which are not removed (ib. p. XXVII sq.), and also to the fact that blemishes are most frequent in b. VIII (Schenkl p. III). On the other hand, some parallel lines (e. g. V 565 sq. VII 201 sq.) may be easily explained from the state of the original ms. But artistic blemishes scarcely prove want of completion in a poet of the first rank, not to speak of Valerius Flaccus.

This poet and his work are not mentioned by any other ancient

writer but Quintilian (n. 1), not even by grammarians. But we find imitations of him in Statius (Theb. and Ach.) and Silius, subsequently also in Claudian and C. Marius Victorinus. The poem has been preserved in the Vatican ms. 3277 (V in Thilo and Schenkl) saec. IX, from which all other mss. appear to have been copied, even the St. Gall ms. (P) discovered by Poggio a. 1417 and which contains only the first three books and the first half of b. IV. It has been lost after that time, but we possess four copies of it made saec. XV, three of which are at Rome in the Vatican library, and one at Oxford. The Vatican ms. 3277 is disfigured by many gaps and bad readings, corrections of which are frequently attempted in the Italian copies of it (e. g. in the one employed by Carrio and in the Monacensis lat. 802, saec. XV), sometimes successfully, but generally in a very arbitrary manner. G. Thilo prolegg. p. XL—LXXXVI.

5. Ed. princeps Bonon. 1474 fol. Cum comm. ed. J. B. Pius, Bonon. 1519 fol. Ed. L. Carrio, Antverp. 1565 sq. Ad fidem codd. emend. N. Heinsius, Amstelod. 1680. Cur. P. Burmann., Utrecht 1702. Leyden 1724. 4. Ed. Th. Ch. Harles, Altenb. 1781, 2 Tomi. Cum comm. perp. ed. J. A. Wagner, Gotting. 1805. The text with traduction etc. par Dureau de la Malle, Paris 1811, 3 vols. Cum comm. ed. N. E. Lemaire, Paris 1824, 2 vols. Book VIII cum notis criticis etc. ed. A. Weichert, Meisen 1817. Recensuit Georg. Thilo, Halle 1863. CII and 256 pp. Ed. C. Schenkl, Berol. 1871.

6. Contributions to the criticism of the text by C. Förtsch (Emendationes Valerianae, part. I Naumburg 1855. 4. II 1864. 4.), F. Eyssenhardt (Rhein. Mus. XVII p. 378—392), Koch (ibid. XVIII p. 163 sq.), Ph. Wagner (Philologus XX p. 617—647), G. Thilo (Prolegg., especially c. 3), G. Meyncke (Quaestiones Val.. Bonn 1865, and Rhein. Mus. XXII p. 362—376), M. Haupt (Hermes III p. 212—215). R. Löhbach (Observ. critt. in . . Arg., Andernach 1869. 4.), P. Braun (Obs. critt. et exeg., Marburg 1869), Br. Hirschwälder (Curae crit. in . . Arg. P. I, Breslau 1870. 35 p.), C. Schenkl (Studies on the Arg. of. Val. Fl., in the Trans. of the Academy of Vienna, 1872).

313. Curiatius Maternus, whom Tacitus has commemorated in a highly honourable manner, a man of refined oratorical training, wrote tragedies under Nero (e. g. Medea) and praetextae under Vespasian (Domitius, Cato) and also a tragedy on the subject of Thyestes. Saleius Bassus, a poet lauded by his friends, and noticed also by Vespasian, seems to have written chiefly epic poems, perhapslike Valerius Flaccus on mythical subjects. During his father's reign, Domitian seems also to have attempted epic poetry.

1. Tac. dial. 11 assigns these words to Curiatius Maternus: sicut in causis agendis efficere aliquid et eniti fortasse possum, ita recitatione tragoediarum et ingredi famam auspicatus sum, cum quidem

imperante Nerone (so L. Müller; see Fleckeisen's Jahrb. 97, p. 417—420, the mss. in Nerone) improbam et studiorum quoque sacra profanantem Vatinii (? Gronovius, the mss. vaticinii) potentiam fregi (perhaps by lashing him in the character of Thersites, as L. Müller supposes), et hodie si quid nobis notitiae ac nominis est magis arbitror carminum quam orationum gloria partum. ac iam (A. D. 75) me deiungere a forensi labore constitui. Cf. ib. 5: natus ad eloquentiam virilem et oratoriam . . omittit studium. ib. 2: postero die quam Curiatius Maternus Catonem recitaverat, cum offendisse potentium animos diceretur tanquam in eo tragoediae (see above 14, 2) argumento sui oblitus tantum Catonem cogitasset, aeque de re per urbem frequens sermo haberetur etc. 3: si qua omisit Cato, sequenti recitatione Thyestes dicet; hanc enim tragoediam disposui iam (Maternus speaks) et intra me ipse formavi. Then Aper observes: adeo te tragoediae istae non satiant quo minus omissis orationum et causarum studiis omne tempus modo circa Medeam, ecce nunc circa Thyesten consumas: . . etiam si non novum tibi ipse negotium importasses, Domitium (perhaps the pugnax Domitius in Lucan VII 601, i. e. Caesar's enemy, L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, Cons. 700; see A. Haakh in Pauly's Encycl. II p. 1210—1215) et Catonem, id est nostras quoque historias et romana nomina, Graeculorum fabulis aggregare. The chronological order would, therefore, be: the tragedy against Vatinius, then Medea, Domitius, Cato, Thyestes. It is probable that we should of him understand Dio LXVII 12: *Μάτερνον σοφιστήν, ὅτι κατὰ τυράννων εἰπέ τι ἀσκῶν* (as might be the case in his recitation of Thyestes), *ἀπέκτεινεν* (Domitian, A. D. 91). Different from him is Maternus, iuris et aequarum cultor sanctissimus legum in Martial X 37.

2. Tac. dial. 5: quis nescit neminem mihi (i. e. Iulius Secundus, above 310, 4) coniunctiorem esse et usu amicitiae et assiduitate contubernii quam Saleium Bassum, cum optimum virum tum absolutissimum poetam (the exaggeration of a friend)? Aper ib.: Saleius Bassus . . carminum gloriam fovet, cum causas agere non possit; and 9: Saleium nostrum, egregium poetam. . . versus . . Basso domi nascuntur, pulchri quidem et iucundi. . . laudavimus nuper . . Vespasiani liberalitatem, quod quingenta sestertia Basso donasset. Quintil. X 1, 90 (among the epic poets): vehemens et poeticum ingenium Salei Bassi fuit, nec ipsum senectus maturavit (or senectute maturuit). Juv. VII 80 sq.: Serrano tenuique (poor? cf. Stat. Silv. V 3, 158 tenuis . . Corinnae) Saleio gloria quantalibet quid erit, si gloria tantum est (without material results)? The Bassus mentioned by Martial III 47. 58, 1. V 23. VIII 10. VII 96, 1, is a different person, to conclude from his personal circumstances, though he also composed poetry and tragedies; see V 53: Colchida quid scribis, quid scribis, amice, Thyesten? quo tibi vel Nioben, Basse, vel Andromachen? J. Held, de Saleio Basso poeta, Breslau 1834. 4.

3. Statius' father had in early youth successfully competed in the poetical contests at Naples (Stat. Silv. V 3, 112 sqq. 134 sqq.), then

been professor of eloquence (gemina facundia lingua, ib. 90) and poetry first at Naples (ib. 146—175), then at Rome ib. 176—194), had composed a poem on the conflagration of the Capitol a. 69 (ib. 199 sqq.: vix requies flammae . . excisis cum tu solatia templis . . concipis ore pio captivaque fulmina defles. mirantur Latii proceres ultorque deorum Caesar) and was just going to flere pio cantu (ib. 205) the eruption of Vesuvius (a. 79), when he died (ib. 206 sqq.; at the very earliest a. 80, see below 316, 3), 65 years old (ib. 253 sq.), from which he appears to be born a. 15 = 768 at the earliest.

4. On Domitian's epic attempts see below 314, 2.

b) Domitian.

514. The superficial interest formerly displayed by Domitian in literature, disappeared immediately on his accession to the throne. The Capitoline and Alban contests did indeed embrace also poetry, but they admitted only of panegyrics on the vain despot. His arm lay heavily on all intellectual life. It was however felt most by history. As regards eloquence, only that of the delatores flourished. Without endangering personal existence or honour, the only course possible in the reign of Domitian was the one taken by such men as Juvenal, Tacitus, and Pliny — to be silent. Among the authors some flattered the crowned monster from weakness and some from egotism; the first motive influenced Silius Italicus, Statius, and Quintilian,while calculating servility decided Josephus and Martial. Even writers on technical subjects, like Sex. Julius Frontinus and the Jurists, scarcely succeeded in avoiding the menacing cliffs. All the greater was the number of dilettanti who endeavoured to prove their utter insignificance and harmlessness by writing verses.

1. Flavius Domitianus, born Oct. 24, 51 (804), Emperor after Sept. 13, 81 (834), assassinated Sept. 18, 96 (849). The contemporary writers, inscriptions and coins allow us to draw of the 15 years of his reign as lively an image as of few other parts of Roman history, though it is true that not much has as yet been carried out in this direction. A. Imhof, J. Fl. Dom., drawn from the sources, Halle 1857. 144 pp. E. v. Wietersheim, Hist. of the Migration of Tribes I (Leipzig 1859) Ch. VIII. C. Peter, Hist. of Rome III 2 (Halle 1869) p. 112—140.

2. Suet. Dom. 2: simulavit poeticae studium, tam insuetum antea sibi quam postea spretum et abiectum (see n. 3), recitavitque etiam publice. Tac. Hist. IV 86: Domitianus . . studium litterarum et amorem

carminum simulans. They appear chiefly to have consisted in attempts at epic poetry. Quintil. X 1, 91: hos nominavimus (as epic poets), quia Germanicum Aug. ab institutis studiis deflexit cura terrarum parumque diis visum est esse eum maximum poetarum. quid tamen his ipsis eius operibus in quae donato imperio iuvenis secesserat sublimius, doctius, omnibus denique numeris praestantius? quis enim caneret bella melius quam qui sic gerit? It may possibly have been the bellum iudaicum he undertook to describe or pretended to do so; see Val. Fl. I 7 sqq. (above 312, 1). See also below 315, 3. He did not write the Aratea: see above 270, 7. Suet. Dom. 18: quamvis libello quem de cura capillorum ad amicum edidit haec etiam, simul illum seque consolans, inseruerit etc.

3. Suet. Dom. 20: liberalia studia imperii initio neglexit, quamquam bybliothecas incendio absumptas impensissime reparare curasset, exemplaribus undique petitis missisque Alexandriam qui describerent emendarentque. numquam tamen aut historiae carminibusve noscendis operam ullam aut stilo vel necessario dedit. praeter commentarios et acta Tiberi Caesaris nihil lectitabat; epistolas orationesque et edicta alieno formabat ingenio. From this we should form our jugdment in respect to Quintil. IV prooem. 3: principem ut in omnibus ita in eloquentia quoque eminentissimum.

4. Suet. Dom. 4: instituit (a. 86) et quinquennale certamen Capitolino Iovi triplex, musicum, equestre, gymnicum. . . certabant et prosa oratione graece latineque. . . celebrabat et in Albano quotannis Quinquatria Minervae . . et scenicos ludos superque oratorum ac poetarum certamina. Plin. paneg. 24: quis iam locus miserae adulationis manebat ignarus, cum laudes imperatorum ludis etiam et commissionibus celebrarentur? According to the inscription in Orelli 2603 (Pauly's Enc. VI 2. p. 2364, Nr. 142) L. Valerius L. f. Pudens cum esset annorum XIII Romae certamine sacro Iovis Capitolini lustro sexto claritate ingenii coronatus est inter poetas latinos omnibus sententiis iudicum. Cf. also the inscription from Acerra, Hermes I p. 151—155. But Statius Silv. III 5, 31 sqq. V 3, 231 sqq.) and the young Annius Florus (whom see), perhaps also Q. Sulpicius Maximus, a boy of twelve years, tertio certaminis lustro (A. D. 86, cf. C. L. Visconti, il sepolcro del fanciullo Q. S. M., delineato etc., Rome 1871. fol.) were unsuccessful. The Alban olive-wreath was, however, several times gained by Statius (Silv. III 5, 28 sqq.). Cf. Friedländer, Sketches of Roman manners and morals III p. 323—326.

5. Tac. Agr. 2: legimus, cum Aruleno Rustico (below 324, 2) Paetus Thrasea, Herennio Senecioni Priscus Helvidius laudati essent, capitale fuisse neque in ipsos modo auctores sed in libros quoque eorum saevitum, delegato triumviris ministerio ut monumenta clarissimorum ingeniorum in comitio ac foro urerentur. . . expulsis insuper sapientiae professoribus atque omni bona arte in exsilium acta. . . sicut vetus aetas vidit quid ultimum in libertate esset, ita nos quid in servitute,

adempto per inquisitiones etiam loquendi audiendique commercio. Especially in the last years of Domitian (cum profiteretur odium bonorum, Plin. paneg. 95) virtus was suspecta, inertia in pretio (Plin. ep. VIII 14, 7). Helvidius e. g. metu temporum nomen ingens paresque virtutes secessu tegebat (ib. IX 13, 2).

6. Suet. Dom. 10: occidit Hermogenem Tarsensem propter quasdam in historia figuras, librariis etiam qui eam descripserant cruci fixis. . . interemit . . Mettium Pompusianum quod . . depictum orbem terrae in membrana contionesque regum ac ducum ex T. Livio circumferret . . Iunium Rusticum quod Paeti Thraseae et Helvidi Prisci laudes edidisset appellassetque eos sanctissimos viros, cuius criminis occasione philosophos omnis urbe Italiaque summovit. Among the latter were Artemidorus (Plin. Ep. III, 11), Lucceius Telesinus, Demetrius, Dio Chrysostomus, Epictetus. Hieronym. ad a. Abr. 2105 = 9 Dom. = A. D. 89: Domitianus mathematicos et philosophos romanos (Var. romana) urbe pepulit. ad 2111 = 15 Dom. = A. D. 95 (more correctly a. 93; Mommsen, Hermes III p. 84 sq. n. 4): Domitianus rursum philosophos et mathematicos Roma per edictum extrudit.

7. Hieronym. ad a. Abr. 2109 = 13 Dom. = A. D. 93: Flavius Iosephus vicesimum librum Antiquitatum h. temp. scribit.

8. On the dilettanti-versifiers of this reign see below 319. See L. Friedländer, recensio poetarum Statio, Martiali, Plinio iun. contemporaneorum, Königsberg 1870. 4. Sketches of Roman manners and morals III p. 351 sqq.

315. Under Domitian wrote C. Silius Italicus (A. D. 25—101) — a man who after an oratorical career that had led him up to the dignity of consul (a. 68), had entirely devoted himself to quiet leisure and literary pursuits. In his seventeen books of Punica he derived his subject from Livy, and in his style and diction imitated Homer and Virgil, in applying mythological motives even to this historical subject matter. His performance is lengthy and declamatory, abounding in episodes, as the author endeavours to embody all the traditional embellishments of epic poetry in his work as completely as possible. The technical treatment of his verse is so strict as to be monotonous.

1. Plin. Epist. III 7 (A. D 101): modo nuntiatus est Silius Italicus in Neapolitano suo inedia finivisse vitam. (2.) causa mortis valetudo. erat illi natus insanabilis clavus (a corn, cf. the medical Diss. de morte Silii It. by Laur. Heister, Helmstedt 1734. 4.), cuius taedio ad mortem irrevocabili constantia decucurrit, usque ad extremum diem beatus et felix, nisi quod minorem ex liberis duobus amisit, sed maiorem melio-

remque florentem atque etiam consularem (Martial. VIII 66) reliquit. (3.) laeserat famam suam sub Nerone: credebatur sponte accusasse. sed in Vitelli amicitia (cf. Tac. Hist. III 65) sapienter se et comiter gesserat, ex proconsulatu Asiae gloriam reportaverat, maculam veteris industriae laudabili otio abluerat. (4.) fuit inter principes civitatis sine potentia, sine invidia: salutabatur, colebatur, multumque in lectulo iacens cubiculo semper non ex fortuna frequenti doctissimis sermonibus dies transigebat, cum a scribendo vacaret. (5.) scribebat carmina maiore cura quam ingenio, nonnumquam iudicia hominum recitationibus experiebatur. (6.) novissime ita suadentibus annis ab urbe secessit seque in Campania tenuit, ac ne adventu quidem novi principis (i. e. Trajan, a. 99) inde commotus est. (7.) . . erat φιλόκαλος usque ad emacitatis reprehensionem. plures isdem in locis villas possidebat (among them one which had formerly belonged to Cicero, perhaps his Cumanum; see Martial. XI 48: Silius haec magni celebrat monimenta Maronis, iugera facundi qui Ciceronis habet. heredem dominumque sui tumulive larisve non alium mallet nec Maro nec Cicero) adamatisque novis priores neglegebat. multum ubique librorum, multum statuarum, multum imaginum, quas non habebat modo verum etiam venerabatur, Vergilii ante omnes, cuius natalem religiosius quam suum celebrabat, Neapoli maxime, ubi monimentum (= tumulus, see Martial. l. l. and XI 49; above 226, 12) eius adire ut templum solebat. (9.) in hac tranquillitate annum LXXV^{um} excessit, delicato magis corpore quam infirmo; utque novissimus a Nerone factus est consul (a. 68 = 821 V. C. cf. Martial. VII 63, 9 sq.) ita postremus ex omnibus quos Nero consules fecerat decessit. (10.) illud etiam notabile: ultimus ex Neronianis consularibus obiit quo consule Nero periit (i. e. Silio Italico). His former activity as orator is mentioned by Martial. VII 63, 5 sqq. sacra cothurnati non attigit ante Maronis implevit magni quam Ciceronis opus. hunc miratur adhuc centum gravis hasta virorum, hunc loquitur grato plurimus ore cliens. After his consulship (11 sq.). emeritos Musis et Phoebo tradidit annos proque suo celebrat nunc Helicona foro. His early interest in Virgil is indicated by Cornutus' (above 294, 2) dedication of his work de Vergilio. The complete name of Ti. Catius Sil. It. in Gruter p. 300,1.

2. That Martial praises the wealthy poet and his work in a high strain is a matter of course; see n. 1 and IV 14, 1 sqq.: Sili, Castalidum decus sororum, qui periuria barbari furoris ingenti premis ore perfidosque astus Hannibalis levesque Poenos magnis cederc cogis Africanis. VI 64, 10: perpetui . . Sili. VII 63 sq.: perpetui nunquam moritura volumina Sili qui legis et latia carmina digna toga etc. From the fact that he never designates him as countryman, it appears sufficiently that Silius was not a native of Italica. Quintilian's silence concerning Silius, even in his list of Roman epic poets X 1, 85—90, may be explained by the fact that Silius was still alive when Quintilian composed his work, and that he had not yet published his poem. Statius (Silv. IV 7, 14 sqq.) alludes to Sil. I 233.

3. The Emperors of the Flavian dynasty are praised by Sil. III

594—629, where he says of Domitian v. 607 sqq.: at tu transcendes, Germanice, facta tuorum (of father and brother!), iam puer auricomo praeformidate Batavo (cf. Martial II 2, 4 above 270, 7 fin.). nec te terruerint Tarpei culminis ignes: . . servavere . .; nam te longa manent nostri consortia mundi. Then he adds bombastic praises of Domitian's failures in the East and North and finally (618 sqq.) says: quin et Romuleos superabit voce nepotes quis erit eloquio partum decus; hinc sua Musae sacra ferent, meliorque lyra (than Orpheus) . . Phoebo miranda loquetur. More in conformity with truth he says at the close of XIV: at ni cura viri qui nunc dedit otia mundo effrenum arceret populandi cuncta furorem nudassent avidae terrasque fretumque rapinae. But XVI 533 sq. he does not suppress the sigh: quid iam non regibus ausum? aut quod iam regnis restat scelus? Praise of Virgil VIII 593 sq.: Mantua Musarum domus atque ad sidera cantu evecta aonio et smyrnaeis aemula plectris. He occasionally celebrates his friends n the characters of his poem, e. g. in Pedianus (XII 212—222) he no doubt intends to gratify a son of Asconius Ped. (above 290).

4. Silius who lacks talent for poetical invention almost pedantically imitates the Homeric poems and Virgil. He has of course his *Ὄνειρος* (III 163 sqq.) and *Κατάλογος* (III 222 sqq.), his Hector's (i. e. Hannibal's) parting (III 62 sqq.), his description of the shield (II 395 sqq.), his *ἆθλα* XVI 277 sqq.), his *μάχη παραποτάμιος* (IV 667 sqq.), his Proteus (415 sqq.) and his *νεκυία* (XIII 395 sqq.), also his description of the gates (III 32 sqq.) like the one in the Georgics. Like Hercules, Scipio (XV 20 sqq.) stands at the cross-road of Virtus and Voluptas; like Turnus, Hannibal at Zama fights a phantom. Juno has the same part as in the Aeneid and frequently interferes in favour of Hannibal (I 548 sqq. II 526 sqq. III 163 sqq. IV 417 sqq.); on the other side Venus and Vulcan bestir themselves (IV 667 sqq.). The delineation of characters is rather poor. The frequent descriptions of battles belong to the rhetorical appurtenances. In national colouring and also in local details Silius vies with the Aeneid. The poet takes very decidedly part against Hannibal (e. g. II 696 sqq.). After b. XII the treatment is very unequal, and in b. XVII it is evident that the poet hastens to the end; not a word on Scipio's passage to Africa and Hannibal's landing there. The work closes with Scipio's triumph after the battle of Zama, after a prospective view has been disclosed of Hannibal's final fate and the destruction of Carthage (v. 371 sqq.). See in general the supplements to Sulzer VII p. 374 sqq. W. Cosack, quaestiones Silianae (especially p. 16—56 de fide historica Silii, chiefly concerning his relation to Livy), Halle 1844. L. Cholevius, epitheta ornantia quibus utitur Virgilius cum iis comparata quibus posteriores epici latini, maxime quidem Silius carmina sua distinxerunt, I. Königsberg 1865.

5. The work was still used by Vibius Sequester, but was forgotten in the middle ages, and even Petrarch does not seem to have known it when he wrote his Africa; see O. Occioni (n. 7) p. 116—143. In 1417 Poggio or rather Bartholomaeus Politianus (de monte Pulciano)

found at St. Gall also a ms. (cf. 312, 4) of Silius, which was indeed subsequently again lost, but is to all purposes preserved in the copies made of it in Italy in the 15th century. In the same manner the ms. found at Cologne by Carrio and which he assigned to the time of Charlemagne (it extended, however, only as far as XVI 555, and would also seem to have been used by Fr. Modius) has again been lost. Cf. A. Drakenborch's pref. to his edition and in Ruperti p. XLV sqq. G. Thilo, Quaestiones Silianae, Halle 1858. 4. and in the Symbola phil. Bonn. p. 399—401.

6. Two ed. principes Rome 1471 fol. simultaneously. Bold interpolations (by Ambrosius Nicander Toletanus) in the Iuntina 1515. L. Carrio, Emendationum etc. libri (Antv. 1576. Paris 1583), with Fr. Modii novantiq. lectt. (Frankf. 1584), both in Gruter's Lampas III 2. p. 90 sqq. and V p. 1 sqq. Ed. D. Heinsius (with his Crepundia Siliana), Lugd. B. 1600. Ed. Claud. Dansqueius (Paris 1618), Cellarius (Lips. 1695) and especially cum animadv. N. Heinsii etc. ed. A. Drakenborch, Utrecht 1717. 4. Ed. J. B. Lefebvre de Villebrune (with a French translation), Paris 1781. 3 vols. Comm. perp. illustr. J. C. Th. Ernesti, Lips. 1791. 2 vols. Perpet. annot. ill. G. A. Ruperti, Gotting. 1795—98, 2 vols. Texts by Lünemann (Gotting. 1824) and in W. E. Weber's corpus poett. latt. p. 799—897.

7. Quaestiones Silianae by Wilh. Cosack (see n. 4) and G. Thilo (see n. 5). Emendationes Silianae by G. Thilo in the Symbola philol. Bonn. p. 367—410.

8. Cajo Silio Italico e il suo poema; studi di Onor. Occioni, Padova 1869 (p. 149 sqq. an Italian translation of books III and XI).

316. Under Domitian lived and wrote also P. Papinius Statius of Naples (c. A. D. 45—96). Highly educated and endowed with poetical talent, warm feeling, and very versatile in formal polish, Statius still displeases more than he attracts, by the want of truth perceptible in his poems, in which he does not express merely real thoughts and feelings, but also feigned, made and even ordered ideas, and which he frequently overlays and weighs down by rhetorical and mythological phrases. His earliest and largest work, the Thebaid in twelve books, is a very unenjoyable production (he seems to have derived his subject-matter from Antimachus, and follows Virgil in epic technicalities). He never completed his Achilleis, of which even the second book is not finished. Very attractive are his Silvae, five books of poems written on various occasions mostly in epic metre, very few in melic metres; valuable sketches of the period, some of which

are documents of respectable, though at the same time weak feelings.

1. In defining the chronological facts concerning Statius it is necessary once for all to leave aside the unfounded opinions of Dodwell in his Annales Statiani (Oxon. 1698, together with Annales Velleiani and Quintilianei). See Grosse Observ. p. 4—10. When his father (above 313, 3) died (c. a. 80 = 833), Statius had already obtained victories in poetical contests (Sil. V 3, 225 sqq.) in his native town of Naples (Silv. III 5, 78 sq.) and had recited parts of his Thebaid at Rome (ib. 215 sqq. cf. 233 sqq. and Juvenal VII 82 sqq.). On the other hand he says of himself Silv. V 2, 158 sq. (c. a. 95 or 96): nos fortior aetas iam fugit, cf. IV 4 69 sq. (a. 95): nos facta aliena canendo vergimur in senium. V 4 he mentions his prolonged sleeplessness, and III 5, 37 sqq. a heavy illness he had passed through. The fifth book of the Silvae, the third piece of which dates from an earlier time (n. 80), while the fourth is merely a brief complaint from a sick-bed and the fifth is unfinished, seems not to have received this shape until after the author's death. Nothing would entitle us to infer that Statius survived Domitian. The time of his birth can only be inferred from his father's age (see 313, 3; cf. C. F. Weber, Panegyr. in Pison. p. 12 sq.) and the performances of the son during the father's life-time; we shall not, therefore, be justified in descending below the year 800 V. C. That his retreat to Campania was caused by his failure in the Capitoline games (above 314, 4), is probable, though not supported by any definite proof.

2. Statius' wife was a Roman widow of the name of Claudia (Silv. III 5) who brought a daughter with her, but did not bear children in her second wedlock (Silv. V 5, 79 sq.). She does not seem to have been without money, though Statius' possessions (if any) at Naples came from his father, and the estate at Alba (Silv. III 1, 61 sq., cf. iugera nostra ib. V 3, 37) had been given him, perhaps by Domitian (Silv. III 1. 1.). The very fact that Statius never (Silv. IV 9 being merely a joke) appears as such a beggar in his intercourse with his patrons as Martial, is in favour of his relative independence in material respects. Juv. VII 86 sq.: (Statius) cum fregit subsellia versu esurit, intactam Paridi nisi vendit Agaven (see above 8, 1 fin.) proves only that Statius did not derive any material advantages from reciting his Thebaid. The cheapness of Statius' Muse in regard to orders (e. g. from the Eunuch and imperial favorite Earinus, Silv. III 4) was probably rather due to political pressure than pecuniary wants. As his patrons he mentions Metius Celer (rex meus, Silv. III 2, 92 sq.) and Plotius Grypus (IV 9, 48 sqq.); with others his intercourse is on an equal footing, e. g. with Claudius Etruscus (dilectus sodalis, Silv. I 5, 9; meus, ib. III praef.; perhaps a relative of his wife's), Pollius Felix (meus, ib. IV praef.) and his son-in-law Julius Menecrates (ib. IV 8). Vettius Crispinus, a boy of 16 years, whose father is dead, receives from the poet (ib. V 2) exhortations which a father might give. See L. Friedländer, Sketches of

Roman manners and morals III (Berlin 1871) p. 342. 404—411. But in respect of Domitian and anything connected with his person (Silv. IV praef.: latus omne divinae domus semper demereri pro mea mediocritate conitor; nam qui bona fide dios colit amat et sacerdotes) his adulation is unbearable. Not content with extolling the happiness of Earinus in being admitted to the Emperor's presence (III 4, 60 sqq.), he says of the day on which Domitian invited him to dinner: haec aevi mihi prima dies, haec limina vitae (IV 2, 13), and represents his wretched successes against foreign enemies as something very grand (e. g. IV 3, 153 sqq.), praises his clementia (III 3, 167 sqq.) and maintains that, if possible, the Emperor would do away with death (V 1 165 sqq.), makes sidera, undae terraeque pray for his preservation (III 4, 101 sqq.), praises his beauty (III 4, 44 sqq., cf. IV 2, 41 sqq.) and compares him when reclining at table with a resting Hercules (IV 2, 46 sqq.). I 1 94 sqq he makes Domitian's father and brother descend from heaven by night to kiss Domitian's equestrian statue. But of dead Caligula (III 3, 70 sqq.) and ferus Nero (V 2, 33) he ventures to speak openly.

3. The composition of the Thebais (cf. Silv. III 5, 36 and Juv. 7, 83) took him very long (Silv. III 5, 35. IV 7, 26), even twelve years (Theb. XII 811). Silv. III 2, 142 sq. it is mentioned as not finished, but its completion is spoken of ib. IV 4, 88—92 (iam sidonios emensa labores Thebais optato collegit carbasa portu etc.), cf. ib. 7, 7. 25 sqq. As Statius' father had already seen the first commencement of the work (Silv. V 3, 233 sq.), the composition of the whole work seems to have occupied the years 80—92. It turns on the contests of Polynices and Eteocles. After the action has in the first ten books scarcely made any progress, owing to the long-winded speeches, preparations and descriptions it is summarily finished in the last two books, which contain not only the fight of the two brothers, Creon's accession and prohibition to bury Polynices, but also Antigone's petition addressed to Theseus, his interference and the death of Creon. The legend is treated very freely in details, Greek and Roman peculiarities (e. g. the abstract figures of Virtus, Furores etc.) being mixed up together. The arrangement and motives are merely superficial. Epic comparisons are interspersed in great abundance. Descriptions of battles are succeeded by sentimental episodes. The mythological learning appears also in the paraphrasing of mythical names in the manner of Lycophron. The diction is frequently bombastic and not rarely obscured by artificial brevity. Welcker, Minor Writings I p. 396—401. We recognise the traces of the Augustan patterns nearly everywhere, but also an endeavour to surpass them in artificial and pathetic colouring. At the end, however, Statius addresses his work in the following terms (XII 816 sq.): vive, precor, nec tu divinam Aeneida tempta, sed longe sequere et vestigia semper adora. He speaks more confidently Achil. I 10 sqq. and Silv. II 3, 63. V 3, 213 sq.

4. The design of the Achilleid was conceived on a very great scale and was to embrace also the legends antecedent and posterior to

the Iliad. Ach. I 1 sqq.: magnanimum Aeaciden, . . Diva, refer, quamquam acta viri multum inclita cantu maeonio, sed plura vacant. nos ire per omnem sic amor est heroa velis Scyroque latentem dulichia proferre tuba, nec in Hectore tracto sistere, sed tota iuvenem deducere Troia. The first book relates in 674 lines, how Thetis hid her son in female disguise in the house of Lycomedes, but Calchas discovers his sojourn by dint of prophecy, after the supposed girl has already seduced one of the daughters of the unsuspicious host, Deidamia. The 453 lines extant of the second book describe how Odysseus discovers Achilles and takes him to Troy. The style is less ranting and artificial, but just as diffuse as in the Thebaid. It was used by Joseph Iscanus (Dunger p. 25 sq.) and especially by Konrad of Würzburg (c. 1280); see H. Dunger, the Legend of the Trojan war, p. 46—48. 52. 54 sq.

5. Both Theb. I 17 sqq. and Ach. I 19: (te longo necdum fidente paratu molimur, magnusque tibi praeludat Achilles), Statius promises Domitian a special epic in celebration of his deeds, cf. Silv. IV 4, 93 sqq.: nunc . . Troia quidem magnusque mihi temptatur Achilles. sed vocat arcitenens alio pater armaque monstrat ausonii maiora ducis. trahit impetus illo iam pridem retrahitque timor. A beginning of this would seem to have been found among the papers of Statius and to have been published; hence the four hexameters in the Scholia of Ge. Valla on Juv. IV 94. O. Jahn, Rh. Mus. IX p. 627.

6. As title (Gell. praef. 6.) Silvae according to Quintilian X 3, 17 denotes rapidly executed works, improvisations; cf. Silv. I praef.: hos libellos, qui mihi subito calore et quadam festinandi voluptate fluxerunt. . . nullum ex illis biduo longius tractum, quaedam et singulis diebus effusa. II praef.: epicedio prosecutus sum adeo festinanter ut etc. III praet.: (libellos) subito natos. According to IV praef. Statius was blamed by some quod hoc stili genus (opuscula, leves libelli. II praef. ioci, IV praef.) edidisset. The 32 pieces were first written separately and when a number of them were ready joined to a book and dedicated to an individual with a prose-address; book I to Stella, II to Atedius Melior, III to Pollius Felix, IV to Victorius Marcellus; the preface to book V relates only to the first piece, but was doubtless intended to be continued, if the poet had been spared to complete the book; see n. 1. Except V 3 all pieces seem to belong to the last six years of the poet's life, as the first book can be proved to be not anterior to a. 90 and the order of the books is chronological; see L. Friedländer, de temporibus Martialis librorum et Silvarum Statii (Königsberg 1862. 4.) p. 14—16. Cf. III praef.: securus itaque tertius hic silvarum nostrarum liber ad te mittitur. habuerat quidem et secundus testem, sed hic habet auctorem. IV praef.: plura in quarto silvarum quam in prioribus. Silv. III 5 a journey to Naples is contemplated, IV praef. is written from Naples. IV 1 celebrates Domitian's 17th consulate (a. 95). Other subjects are the deaths of friends (also of pueri delicati), in which epicedia he is often lachrymose, departures of friends (propemptica), their possessions (villae, balnea, works of art, even a

psittacus), marriages, births and birthdays (Lucani II 7), Saturnalia etc. As made to order are designated I 1 and 2. II 7. III 4. Phalaecian metre is used in I 6. II 7. IV 3. 9., Alcaics in IV 5, and Sapphics in IV 7.

7. Abundance of words, studied elegance, bold formations and innovations in the use of words Statius shares with his whole period; peculiar to him (at least in the Silvae) is the rapidity of working, from which some carelessnesses (e. g. repetitions, Hand Silv. p. 269 sqq.) may be explained. Cf. Apollon. Sid. carm. 9, 223—226. Supplements to Sulzer's Theory VIII p. 344 sqq. Hand on Silv. p. X sqq, J. Danglard, Stace et ses Silves, Clermont-Ferrand 1864. On his diction see Suringar, Observationes in Stat. silv., Ling 1810. E. Grosse, Observat. p. 11—37. 45—50. E. Nauke, Observat. criticae et gram. in Stat. p. 16—35. On the metrical peculiarities of Statius see Grosse, Observat. p. 37—44. O. Müller, Quaest. Statianae, Berlin 1861. 4. On his relation to Silius see Ritschl, Bonn Ind. lect. 1857 sq. p. IV.

8. Statius obtained in a later period imitators, especially in Sidonius Apollinaris, and was admired even in the Middle Ages (cf. Dante Purgat. XXI) and diligently read. Hence we possess numerous mss. of his Thebaid, at least 70, the most important of which appears to be the Paris ms. 8051 (Puteaneus) saec. X. The Silvae exist in a smaller number of mss., all of which are derived from a ms. brought by Poggio from France to Italy and the various readings of which Politian noted in the margin of the ed. princ., after which time it has been lost again; but the Breslau ms. is a slavishly faithful copy of it (Imhof de condicione p. 4. 39 sqq.). The Budensis at Vienna (ib. p. 4. 35 sq.) approaches it very closely. F. Hand, Silv. p. XX sqq. C. F. Weber, de codice Statii Cassellano (saec. XI), Marburg 1853. 54 pp. 4. Dübner and G. Queck in their prefaces. A. Imhof, de Silvarum Statianarum condicione critica, Halle 1859. 44 pp. 4. E. Grosse, on a Treves ms. of Statius, Königsberg 1866. 19 pp. 4. F. Deycks on a ms. at Münster, Münster 1865. 4. W. Schmitz, on a fragment of a ms. at Düsseldorf, Rhein. Mus. XXI p. 438—443.

9. Editions. Ed. princeps 1472. Parmae 1473. Romae 1475. Venet. (Ald.) 1502. Rec. J. Bernartius, Antverp. 1595. Ed. Fr. Tiliobroga (Lindenbrog), Paris 1600. 4. Cura Em. Crucei, Paris 1618. 4. Ex rec. J. Fr. Gronovii, Amsterd. 1653. Ex rec. et cum animadv. C. Barthii, Cygn. 1664 sq. 4 vols. 4. (with Ind.). Ed. Amar et Lemaire, Paris 1825. 4 vols. W. E. Weber in his Corpus poett. latt. p. 898—1029. Cum notis ed. Fr. Dübner, Paris 1835 sq. 2 vols. Rec. G. Queck, Lips. Teubner 1854. 2 vols. (see Imhof, de condic. p. 43 sq.) Thebais et Achilleis cum scholiis rec. O. Müller, 3 vols (I. Leipzig 1870.)

10. Critical contributions by M. Haupt (Monthly Reports of the Berlin Academy 1861 p. 1074 sqq.), O. Müller (Quaestiones Statianae, Berlin 1861. 34 pp. 4. Rhein. Mus. XVIII. p. 189—200), E. Nauke (Observationes criticae et gramm. in Statium, Breslau 1863, p. 1—16), A. Imhof (Emendationes Statianae, Halle 1867. 4.).

Iani Gruteri suspiciones in St. Theb. I cum animadv. F. Handii, Jena 1851. 4.

11. Editions of the Silvae by Jer. Markland (rec. et. emend., London 1728. 4. reprinted by Sillig, Dresden 1827. 4. Cf. Imhof, de condic. p. 12—35) and Ferd. Hand (Lips. 1817; only Silv. I 1—3).

J. Fr. Gronovii in St. Silvas diatribe, Hag. Com. 1637; cum annotatt. ed. F. Hand, Lips. 1811. 2 vols. Silv. IV 6 cum comment. F. Handii, Jena 1849. 33 pp. 4. Silv. I 4 e codd. et schedis Handii, in Jahn's Archiv XVIII p. 121 sqq. C. H. Volckmar, specimen novae Silv. St. editionis, Ilfeld 1860. 4. (Silv. I 1). Silv. III 5 emend. et adn. A. Imhof, Halle 1863. 28 pp. 4. Ecloga ultima (Silv. V 5) emendatiorem ed. R. Unger; accedunt de Statii locis controv. coniectanea, Neustrelitz 1868. 308 pp. E. Grosse, Observatorum in St. Silvis specimen, Berlin 1861.

12. Scholia on the Thebaid, the value of which consists chiefly in the mythological materials accumulated from Hyginus, Servius and others, are preserved under the name of Lutatius (or Lactantius) Placidus, probably the author of the Argumenta Metamorphoseon Ovidii (above 244, 2). They are found in the old editions of Statius, also in those of Lindenbrog, Barth, and others. Cf. Dübner's pref. p. VIII sqq. Herm. Schottky, de pretio Lactantiani comm. in St. Th. et (p. 25—39) de nomine, philosophia (mystical and pagan) et aetate (5th century) commentatoris, Breslau 1846. E. Wölfflin, Philologus XXIV p. 156—158. R. Unger, Electa e Lact. in St. Th. comm., Friedland 1863. 4. M. Schmidt, on a Scholion on Statius, Philologus XXIII p. 541—547.

13. On the Achilleis we have insignificant Scholia in Lindenbrog and in Mai, Spicileg. rom. IX appendix. Dommerich, ad Stat. Ach. ex membranis anecdota, Wolfenbüttel 1758. 4.

317. In Domitian's reign we have also the greater part of the literary career of M. Valerius Martialis (c. A. D. 42—102) from Bilbilis in Spain; we possess by him 15 books of Epigrams, which turn on the social life of the Rome of those days with all its dirt and servility. Martial appears in them nearly equal to Ovid in the ease and elegance of poetical form, and even superior to him in want of character and morals. Martial shares his contemporary Juvenal's preference for ugly things, but does not like him rise above them; and his rival's (Statius') crouching to the rulers is still surpassed by him. He is a great talent, but repulsive on account of the utter absence of feeling for moral and aesthetic worth, or the dignity of man. Besides the elegiac metre, Martial in his Epigrams frequently uses hendecasyllabics and choliambics.

1. The death-year of M. Valerius Martialis (on the supposed cognomen of Coquus see Schneidewin's edition of 1842, p. 21 sqq) was at

the latest 102, perhaps already A. D. 101; in his poems there is no trace pointiog beyond this year; see Th. Mommsen, Hermes III p. 120—126. But the letter of Pliny which announces his death (see n. 7) seems to be of the year 102; Stobbe, Philologus XXVII p. 640. His birth-year may be inferred, though not with certainty, from X 24: natales mihi Martiae kalendae, . . quinquagesima liba septimamque vestris addimus hanc focis acerram. Though this poem may perhaps belong to the second edition of the tenth book, a. 98 (or the beginning of 99), it is still not quite certain and the mode of calculation not quite clear. After 34 years spent at Rome (X 103, 7 sqq. 104, 9 sqq. cf. XII 31, 7. 34 1), i. e. perhaps 64—98, he returned home, probably because under Nerva and Trajan a new spirit had begun to reign at Rome not congenial to Martial and from which he could not expect much. Even before, his manner of living at Rome was wretched enough as he despised real work, though neither his literary earnings nor his begging addresses to rich and powerful patrons procured him enough to live on; cf. III 38 and in many other places. As a present we may, however, consider the small villa which he possessed subsequently to a. 83 (see II 38, and cf. I 55) near Nomentum in the Sabine country, with a small house in the metropolis. Both from Titus (III 95, 5. IX 97, 5 sq.) and Domitian he received for his poems the ius trium liberorum (II 92, cf. IV 27, 3 sq.), and the dignity of tribunus (III 95, 9). Equestrian rank (III 95, 10. VI 3, 2. 17, 2. IX 49, 4. XII 26, 2) he may have possessed by birth. His parents were Valerius Fronto and Flaccilla (V 34, 1). In his native country he received from the domina Marcella (XII 31), probably out of admiration for his literary performances (cf. XII 21), the present of an estate. — A. Brandt, de Martialis poetae vita, Berlin 1853. 38 pp.

2. Many are the patrons addressed by Martial; among them chiefly the nearest friends of the Emperors, e. g. Parthenius (below 319, 2), Crispinus (e. g. VII 99), and Earinus (above 316, 2). The literary characters of the age are also sufficiently represented in these poems; but Tacitus appears never, nor does Statius, just as vice versa Martial is never mentioned by Statius. This circumstance is all the more to be observed, as the two poets were contemporaries and moved simultaneously in the same circles, nay even treated the same subjects. E. g. Stat. Silv. I 2. 5 = Mart. VI 21, 42; Silv. II 1. 7 = Mart. VI 28 sq. VII 21—23; Silv. III 3 sq. = Mart. VII 40. IX 11—13. 16. 36; Silv. IV 6 = Mart. IX 43 sq. This silence is no doubtless due to the competition and rivalry of these two poets. Martial may, therefore, be supposed to allude in his frequent remarks on the poets of long-winded epic poems (e. g. in twelve books like the Thebaid, Mart. IX 50, 3, cf. also IX 19. X 21. XIV 1, 11) especially to Statius. Friedländer, Sketches of Roman manners and morals III p. 348 sq. 369—404.

3. If history does not admire Domitian as the embodiment of all human and princely virtues, Martial for one does not bear the blame. He on the contrary praises all the actions of Domitian in peace and

in war as proofs of the highest wisdom and valour, and when the Emperor is in the field, can scarcely find expressions sufficient to contain Rome's desire for the return of this mild prince and 'father of the fatherland', under whom Rome is stated to be freer than ever (V 19, 6). Especially the eighth book abounds in adulation. Spect. 33 he even exclaims: Flavia gens, quantum tibi tertius abstulit heres! paene fuit tanti non habuisse duos. Nay IX 3 he expresses the frivolous idea that the gods properly owe such great thanks to Domitian that he might sell them off. He is all the more at a loss under Nerva when blanditiae no longer hold good and rustica veritas reigns (X 72). The truth on Domitian is stated XII 6, 11 sq., cf. 15, 9 sq. His former expressions to the contrary were not due to self-deception, as appears from this epigram.

4. The Epigrams are preceded by a book not counted in and which contains 33 epigrams; it is called liber spectaculorum from its contents, but bears, in the mss., only the title of epigrammaton liber. J. Kehrein in Jahn's Archiv IV p. 541—553. F. Schmieder, Martial. de spect. liber, Brieg 1837. 4. Of the 14 books of Epigrams XIII bears the special title of Xenia, XIV of Apophoreta, and these two alone received from Martial himself headings to the single epigrams. Both are intended as presents on the festival of Saturnalia, and contain mostly epigrams in the original sense of the word, i. e. inscriptions on some subject, while the other epigrams correspond to the later sense of the word, being occasional and witty compositions. Each book generally has at its beginning a dedication with preface, some (b. I, II, VIII, XII) in prose, like the prefaces of Statius. Each book contains on an average 100 epigrams, arranged so as to make them more interesting by variation, also in point of metre. But the books themselves are (except XIII and XIV) arranged in chronological order, as the poet always collected his previously published epigrams whenever he had a sufficient number of them, and their publication as book seems to have taken place in yearly intervals (X 70, 1. cf. IX 84, 9). Only the last three books (X, XI, XII) were published after Domitian's death; the first may also contain some poems written under Vespasian and Titus, to whom (Caesares) Martial had already presented poems (I 101, 2). The liber spectaculorum belongs to Domitian's first years, like b. I and II (a. 82 until 87 at the latest); b. III (which does not contain any allusion to the Emperor or other chronological traces) is dated from Forum Cornelii and written after b. II and before b. IV (perhaps still a. 87); IV is from a. 88 and 89; V from a. 90; VI from the close of 90 and the first part of 91; VII and VIII from a. 92 and 93; IX, X (in their first edition) and XI from 94—96. The two books XIII and XIV were written between a. 88 and 93. Book XI was mostly written under Domitian, but published under Nerva, in December 96. The next was a purified excerpt from X and XI presented to the Emperor (XII 5), perhaps middle of 97. Then the extant castrated edition of X, immediately before the poet's return to Bilbilis (98); finally b. XII from Spain, after contumacissima trienni desidia (XII praef.), as we should not

hesitate in understanding triennium as the space of $2^1/_2$ years and placing the book (with Mommsen) into the beginning of a. 101, though Stobbe assumes a twofold version, a shorter one for Terentius Priscus (and of 101) and an enlarged edition for Rome (beg. of 102). See the details in L. Friedländer, de temporibus librorum Martialis Domitiano imperante editorum, Königsberg 1862. 4., and de temporibus libr. Mart. X et XI, ib. 1865. 4., Sketches of Roman morals and manners III p. 372—390. H. F. Stobbe, Philol. XXVI p. 44—80 and (against Mommsen, see n. 1) ibid. XXVII p. 630—641; Friedländer l. l. p. 656—658. O. Hirschfeld, Gött. Gel. Anz. 1869, p. 1506—1510. An epigram of Martial not found in his collection is given Anth. lat. 276 R.

5. The subjects of these epigrams are derived from real life (VIII 3, 20 cf. X 4, 10), though mostly in its obscene side to suit the taste of the multitude. Epigrammata illis scribuntur qui solent spectare Florales (I praef.) Chaste or bashful persons are requested not to read them (ib. and III 69. XI 16). The eleventh book is the most impudent, in excuse of which the Saturnalia are alleged (c. 2. 6. 15, 11 sq.). But the books dedicated to the Emperor (V and VIII) are praised for their (relative) decency; IV also contains only seven pieces of this kind, perhaps for a similar reason (IV 1). But even then these epigrams did not please all readers. Martial repeatedly protests that his life should not be judged by his epigrams (I 4, 8: lasciva est nobis pagina, vita proba est; cf. VII 55, 6. XI 15, 3), and his revision of b. X was probably calculated to remove the worst obscenities, and perhaps this purifying process might also have been extended to b. XI, if Martial had not left Rome (Stobbe, Philol. XXVI p. 72—74). But Martial could point to numerous predecessors in this kind, especially Catullus, and in some passages even Horace.

6. Living characters are introduced with their real names, in case Martial either praises them or speaks of them with indifference. Cf. I praef.: spero me secutum in libellis meis tale temperamentum ut de illis queri non possit quisquis de se bene senserit, cum salva infimarum quoque personarum reverentia ludant; quae adeo antiquis auctoribus defuit ut nominibus non tantum veris abusi sint sed et magnis. VII 12, 3: mea nec iuste quos odit pagina laesit. It is in vain that he frequently endeavours to represent as humanitas or good nature or even principle (parcere personis, dicere de vitiis, see X 33, 10) what is merely the reverse of his servility. He generally chooses his name according to his metre and even protests against any personal allusions (II 23. III 11. IX 95b, cf. I 96, 14). Some names he uses in a typical sense, e. g. Fidentius of a plagiary, Selius of a parasite, Ligurinus of a recitator, Postumus of patrons, and Caecilianus, Gargilianus, Candidus, Classicus, Ponticus, Zoilus, Flaccus, Tucca etc. for anything. But with regard to dead characters, Martial (like Statius, 316, 2 fin.) is candid, e. g. chiefly concerning Nero I 20, 4. IV 63. VII 21, 3. 44 sq. 34, 4: quid Nerone peius?); he praises Arria (I 13) and Thrasea (I 8, 1. IV 54, 7) undis-

guisedly; they appear to him as types in the same way as Cato or Porcia.

7. Plinius Epist. III 21, 1: audio Valerium Martialem decessisse et moleste fero. erat homo ingeniosus, acutus, acer, et qui plurimum in scribendo et salis haberet et fellis (cf. Mart. VII 25, 3) nec candoris minus. (2.) prosecutus eram viatico secedentem: dederam hoc amicitiae, dederam etiam versiculis quos de me composuit (Mart. X 19). His juvenile poems (I 113. cf. XII 94) have perished without leaving any trace, and the renown he had won in his time and of which he speaks so ostentatiously, is based upon his epigrams. On account of these he places himself on a par with Domitius Marsus and Catullus. That he could not attain anything higher, he explains from his poverty. Cf. I 107. VII 99, 5 sqq. VIII 56. X 78, 14 sqq. XI 3. 24. But his narrow circle of ideas as well as his want of earnest and industry induce us to doubt whether he would have done anything great in better circumstances. Spartian. Hel. Ver. 5, 8: idem Apicii Caelii relata, idem Ovidii libros amorum in lecto semper habuisse, idem Martialem, epigrammaticum poetam, Vergilium suum dixisse.

8. The mss. of Martial are enumerated by Schneidewin Prolegg. p. LXII—C with p. 678—684; and classified ib. p. C.—CXXVII. Most of them are interpolated by Italians (deteriores). Among the earlier mss., only T (Thuaneus) and H (Haupt's Vindobonensis), both saec. X and derived from the same source, contain the liber spect. (ib. p. CXXVII—CXXXII), which is also added in some of the mss. of the second class (C b). To the earlier class (C a) belong also the Puteaneus (X) saec. X, Edinburgensis (E) saec. X (cf. Schneidewin's text p. V. sqq.), three Vossiani, R (saec. IX), A (saec. XI) and B (saec. XII), a Vaticanus (V) saec. X or XI. To another class belong the Florentinus (F) and Palatinus (P) saec. XV, with the subscription: ego Torquatus Gennadius emendavi.

9. On the editions see Schneidewin's Prolegg. p. XI—LXII. Ed. princeps s. l. et a. (Rome c. 1470). 4. Ferrara 1471. 4. Rome 1473. Cura G. Merulae, Ven. 1475. Cum comm. D. Calderini, Ven. 1474 fol. Rec. I. Gruter, Francof. 1602. Ramirez de Prado, Paris 1607. 4. Cum comm. M. Raderi, Ingolst. 1607. 1611; Mogunt. 1627 fol. Cum notis varr. ed. P. Scriverius, Lugd. Bat. 1611. 1621. Cum animadv. J. Fr. Gronovii ed. C. Schrevelius, Amsterd. 1661. 1670. Bipont. 1784. Ed. N. E. Lemaire, Paris 1825. 3 vols. In W. E. Weber's Corp. poett. latt. p. 1030—1136. Edid. F. Guil. Schneidewin, Grimma 1842. CXXXII and 739 pp.; ex rec. sua denuo recognita, Lips. Teubner. 1853.

10. Rooy, Coniecturae criticae in Mart., Utrecht 1764. Osk. Gutmann, Observationum in M. Val. Mart. particulae quinque (chiefly on Martial's use of the dative p. 1—30; de metris M. p. 46—52, Breslau 1866. L. Friedländer, de nonnullis locis corruptis in M. epigr., Königsberg 1867. 4. A. Scotland, Philologus XXIX p. 184—187. van Eldik in the Verslagen en Med. der Akad. v. W. 1868, XI. M. Haupt, Hermes V p. 30—32.

11. On Martial see G. E. Lessing's Works I. p. 190 sqq. Mart. as man and poet, Berl. 1843. W. Teuffel in Pauly's Enc. IV. (1845) p. 1600—1606.

318. Among the other numerous poets who lived in the reign of Domitian, we may chiefly notice Arruntius Stella (Cons. c. 101), the friend of Statius and Martial and author of erotic elegies on his subsequent wife Violantilla; the satirist Turnus and his brother, the tragic poet Scaevus or Scaevius Memor; Verginius Rufus and Vestricius Spurinna, both of whom made an honourable political career and then wrote erotic verses; lastly Calenus' wife Sulpicia, who also wrote erotic poems. The names of Turnus and Spurinna, and probably also that of Sulpicia, are connected with modern forgeries.

1. An inscription in Orelli 784: L. Arruntio Stella, L. Julio Marino coss. XIV. Kal. Nov. As Trajan is not yet called Dacicus in it, this inscription would not appear to have been composed anterior to a. 103, and the consular year in question is no doubt 101 (Th. Mommsen, Hermes III p. 124—126; cf. Stobbe, Philologus XXVI p. 76 sq. XXVII p. 632 sqq.) The identity of the Stella frequently mentioned by Martial and Statius is rendered nearly certain by the fact that he was iuvenis patriciis maioribus ortus (Stat. Silv. I 2, 71), held the place of a XVvir libr. sibyll. (ib. 177. Martial IX 42), gave festival games in honour of the Northern (or Sarmatic) triumph of Domitian (Mart. VIII 78, 3 sqq.; probably as praetor cf. Mart. X 41), aspired to the consular dignity (Mart. IX 42, 6 sq., cf. Stat. Silv. I 2, 174 sqq.) and also obtained it (consul meus. Mart. XII 3, 10 sqq.). He was born at Naples (Stat. Silv. I 2, 260 sq.; from Patavium he was according to Mart. I 61, 3 sq.), and thus as well as by their common poetical studies on friendly terms with Statius (Silv. I 2, 256—262), who composed the Epithalamium Silv. I 2 in honour of Stella's marriage with Violantilla, whom he called Asteris (Stat. Silv. I 2, 197 sqq.), while Martial in allusion to her real name generally calls her Ianthis: see VII 14 sq. 50, 1 XII 3, 12 cf. VI 21, 1. Stella had also dwelt on the death of a favourite pigeon of his love (Mart. I 7. VII 14). Martial calls him disertus (V 59, 2), facundus (XII 3, 11), meus (V 11, 2. 12, 7. VI 47, 1. IX 55. XII 3, 10). Cf. also Martial IX 89. Apollin. Sid. carm. IX 264. Dölling, on the poet Stella of Patavium, Plauen 1840. 4.

2. Valla's Schol. on Juv. I 20: Turnus hic libertini generis ad honores ambitione provectus est, potens in aula Vespasianorum Titi et Domitiani. Martial. XI 10: contulit ad saturas ingentia pectora Turnus; cf. VII 97, 7 sq.: nam me diligit ille proximumque Turni nobilibus legit libellis. Rutil. Namat. I 603 sq.: huius vulnificis satura ludente Camenis nec Turnus potior nec Iuvenalis erit. Sidon. Ap. carm. IX 266 Lyd. magistr. I 41 (above 24, 2). Schol. Iuv. 71: unde ait Turnus in

satura (succeeded by two corrupt hexameters on the poisoner Locusta under Nero). The 30 lines (Indignatio in poetas Neronianorum temporum) edited by J. L. G. Balzac under the name of Turnus, as he stated from an old ms., were in his own life-time admitted into the collection of his poems, under the title of Ficta pro antiquis, and somewhat enlarged (III p. 194 in the edition of 1650). See L. Quicherat in the Revue de l'Instruction publique 1869, p. 341—345 cf. ib. p. 371 sq. 397.

3. Valla's Schol. on Juv. I 20: Lucilium dicit . . vel, ut Probus exponit, Turnum (n. 2) dicit Scaevi Memoris tragici poetae fratrem. Martial. XI 9 on a portrait of him: clarus fronde Iovis (i. e. a prize in the Capitoline games), romani fama cothurni spirat, Apellea redditus arte Memor. ib. 10: contulit etc. (n. 2) cur non ad Memoris carmina? frater erat. Hence probably Sidon. Ap. IX 263 (non Turnus, Memor). Six anapaests by Scaevus in tragoedia (Hecuba or Troades) are quoted by Serg. in Keil's gram. lat. IV p. 537, 14. The title of Hercules for a tragedy by Memos or Memmius rests on the testimony of Fulgentius (expos. s. ant. s. v. suppetias, p. 563, 23). M. Hertz, de Scaevo Memore poeta tragico commentariolum, Breslau 1869. 8 pp. 4.

4. L. Verginius Rufus of Milan, Cos. a. 63 (under Nero), 69 (through Otho) and 97 (with Nerva), who died in his last consulship 83 years old (Plin. Ep. II 1), a fatherly friend to Pliny the younger who mentions him Ep. V 3, 5 among the authors of erotic poems, and VI 10, 4. IX 19 1 quotes the epigram which he had composed for himself. Cf. Haakh in Pauly's Enc. VI 2. p. 2666 sq. Nr. 26.

5. Pliny Epist. III 1 (a. 101) decribes old Spurinna's disposition of his days, e. g. (7.) se cubiculo ac stilo reddit. scribit enim, et quidem utraque lingua, lyrica doctissima. mira illis dulcedo, mira suavitas, mira hilaritas, cuius gratiam cumulat sanctitas scribentis. (10). illi post septimum et septuagesimum annum (which shows that he was born A. D. 24) aurium, oculorum vigor integer. Cf. ib. IV 27, 5 sq. (gravissimus senex). II 7, 1 sq.: heri a senatu Vestricio Spurinna principe auctore triumphalis statua decreta est, for his successes against the Bructeri; so also to his son Cottius, quem amisit absens (ib. 7, 3). In the wars of a. 69 he had sided with Otho; Tac. Hist. II 11. 18. 23. 36. Plut. Oth. 5—7. He was consul under Domitian, the second time probably a 100; see Th. Mommsen, Hermes III p. 39 sq. A letter addressed to him and his wife Cottia Plin. Ep. III 10; to him alone V 17. Under the heading Incipit Vesprucius Spurinna de contemtu seculi ad Martium, Caspar Barth pretended to have found four poems by him in Horatian metres and with artificial gaps; these he subsequently edited in his Venatici et bucol. lat. (Hannover 1613) after Gratius, and in his Adversaria XIV 5. Just as in his other fictions (cf. Bursian, ex Hygini geneal. exc., Zurich 1868, p. VII sq.), Barth found here also credulous believers, last of all in C. A. M. Axt, in his Compilation entitled V. Sp. lyricae reliquiae, . . recogn., in germanicum convertit et cum annotationibus (p. 29—144!) . . edidit, Frankfort 1840.

Against him see Otto and L. Lersch in Ztsch. f. A. W. 1842, p. 845 sqq. 873 sqq. These poems are indeed solely remarkable for the triviality of their contents and metrical errors; Barth's statements on his ms. are, moreover, so vague as to become suspected even in a writer of better faith. Cf. also G. S. Bayer, de Vestr. Sp. lyrico et illius fragmentis, in the commentationes of the Petersburg Acad., a. 1750, p. 311 sqq. Wernsdorf, poetae latini minores III p. 325—336. 351—368. IV p. 839—853. Riese, Anthol. lat. II p. 336 sqq.

6. Martial. X 35, 1 sqq.: omnes Sulpiciam legant etc. haec castos docet et pios amores etc. cuius carmina qui bene aestimarit nullam dixerit esse sanctiorem, nullam dixerit esse nequiorem. Ib. 38, 1 sqq.: o molles tibi quindecim, Calene, quos cum Sulpicia tua iugales indulsit deus et peregit annos! Auson. Id. XIII (cento nupt.) e. g. prurire opusculum Sulpiciae, frontem caperare. Fulgent. myth. I p. 598: Sulpiciae procacitas. Sidon. Apoll. carm. IX 262 sq. quod Sulpiciae iocus Thaliae scripsit blandiloquum suo Caleno. Two senarii of this remain in Valla's Probus-Scholion to Juv. VI 537. Very different is the tone of 70 hexameters published as Sulpiciae satira Venetiis per Bernardinum Venetum a. 1498 (repeated Strasburg 1509) with the Latin poems of Italian scholars and by Th. Ugoletus in his Ausonius (Parma 1499, Ven. 1501), a poem subsequently often appended to editions of Ausonius, Petronius and the Satirists (cf. O. Jahn p. 10 sq.), last of all with Persius and Juvenal by O. Jahn (Berlin 1868) p. 145—147. Wernsdorf, poetae lat. min. III. p. 83—95; cf. p. LX—LXV. Separate editions by C. G. Schwarz and J. Gurlitt (Hamburg 1819. 4. 2 parts), and Ch. L. Schläger (rec., explic., 1846). A French translation by C. Monnard (Paris and Frankf. 1820), a Swedish translation by C. A. F. Möller (Malmö 1859). This poem is a dialogue between the poetess and the Muse. The first desires in heroic metre Fabellam detexere pacis, not in Phalaeceans 'nec trimetro iambo', nor in Hipponacteans. Cetera quin etiam quondam quae milia lusi. . . constanter omitto. After this introduction the question is raised what might be Jove's intentions concerning Rome. Quid reputemus enim: duo sunt quibus extulit ingens Roma caput, virtus belli et sapientia pacis. But virtus was long since gone and sapientia was driven away from Rome by him qui res romanas imperat inter, non trabe (οὐκ ἀπὸ δοκοῦ) sed tergo (!) prolapsus et ingluvie albus. But even Cato the Elder had observed that misfortune was Rome's good fortune; Romulidarum igitur longa et gravis exitium pax. Hoc tabella modo pausam facit. optima posthac Musa velim moneas whither she was now to go with her Calenus. In her answer the Muse imparts to her the comforting assurance that the tyrant would speedily be killed and concludes vive, vale. manet hunc pulchrum sua fama dolorem etc. J. C. G. Boot, commentatio de Sulpiciae que fertur satira, Amsterdam 1868. 4. 22 pp. (Trans. of the Dutch Academy) justly considers these lines as the production of the 15th century. We learn nothing from them except what we knew also from other books; only Domitian's obesitas ventris has been turned into a double-throat, and

his red complexion into paleness. Such boldness of portraiture and these prophecies were no doubt easier to our author than to Sulpicia Caleni. The general tone and the expressions throughout betray a half-scholar, who was not over-clever in writing verse. Hence the numerous superfluous words and awkward phrases (e. g. the somnus obesus of wasps!), and perhaps also the infinitives defendier arma, me dignarier infit. Much less scholarly is the great predilection for synaloephe and the use of et in the principal caesura (Sicaniae et, consilio et etc.) and even the measure of nec trimetro iambo. But L. Müller thinks it certain that the poem existed in a very old ms. of Bobbio (cf. A. W. Zumpt's Rutil. Nam. p. IV not. 2: heroicum Sulpitii carmen LXX), and attributes the grammatical and metrical errors to the great corruption of the text.

319. Besides these, Martial mentions a number of other persons of all ranks who composed verse in their leisure-time and recited them in public recitations, an institution which had almost become an epidemic, or who even published them as books. Some attempted various departments, while others devoted themselves to one kind exclusively.

1. Many had retired from public life, e. g. Atedius Melior (Stat. Silv. II 3, 64 sqq.), Marius from Atina (Martial. X 92, 1 sqq.), Pollius Felix of Puteoli (Silv. II, 2, 112—141. III praef.). The least dangerous way of employing one's leisure was the composition of verse, as Pollius did (Silv. III 1, 67; cf. facundus ib. 65 and III praef.). Literary exertion might therefore appear as a form of idleness (Martial II 7). To what extent the recitations had been carried, appears e. g. from Juvenal I 1—14. Martial III 44 sq. 50. X 70, 10—12. The attendance at them was for many a way of earning their livelihood (Mart. II 14, 2 sqq. II 27).

2. Poets in various or unknown branches were in this time Bassus (according to Martial V 53 — if indeed name or person be not altogether fictitious — a writer of epic poems and tragedies); Canius Rufus of Gades (Mart. I 61, 9. III 20. 64, 6); Cn. Octavius Titinius Capito (see below 327, 2); Carus (who obtained a prize at the Capitoline contest, Mart. IX 23 sq.); Faustinus (Mart. I 25), Flaccus of Patavium (above 312, 1); Manlius Vopiscus (vir eruditissimus et qui praecipue vindicat a situ literas iam paene fugientes, Stat. Silv. I. prooem. cf. ib. I 3, 1 facundi Vopisci, and v. 99—104; Novius Vindex critic and poet (Stat. Silv. IV 6, 22—31. 97 sqq. cf. Martial. IX 43 sq.); Domitian's chamberlain Parthenius, assassinated a. 97 (vates, Mart. IX 49, 3 cf. V 6. 2, XII 11, 2 sqq. XI 1, 6); Rufus (poet and orator according to the epitaph XII 52); Sabina (Atestinae nondum vulgata Sabinae carmina, Mart. X 93, 3 sq.); Septimius Severus (below 321, 9); Sosibianus (? Mart. IV 33); L. Stertinius Avitus, Cos. 92 (sublimi pectore vates, Mart. IX 1, 1, cf. praef.); L. Valerius Pudens (above 314, 4); Varro (a tragic, elegiac and lyrical writer Mart. V 30).

3. Epic subjects, like the Theseid of Codrus (Juv. I 2) were treated by Statius and Julius Cerealis (Martial. XI 52, 1. 17 sq.: tuos nobis relegas licet usque Gigantas, rura vel aeterno proxima Vergilio), and perhaps (unless the name be a fiction) by Paulinus (Mart. II 14, 3 sq. tuusque laudat Achilleos . . pedes).

4. Besides Stella, elegiac poets were Voconius Victor, a writer of elegies on Thestylus in the manner of the Alexandrines (doctos . . libellos), Martial. VII 29 cf. VIII 63, (vates); Nerva (below 325, 1); Unicus, a relation of Martial, and who wrote poems in the manner of Catullus and Ovid (Mart. XII 44). Others are mentioned by Mart. II 14, 5 sq. VII 46, 5. Besides Martial, epigrams were written by Brutianus (Mart. IV 23, 4 sqq.) and others (Mart. VIII 18); graeca epigrammata and iambi were written by Arrius Antoninus (Plin. Ep. IV 3, 3 cf. IV 18, 27, 5 sq.: gravissimus senex. V 15), Cos. I. a. 69, the grandfather of Antoninus Pius on the mother's side.

5. Tragedies (Telephus, Orestes etc. Juv. I 5 sq.) were written by Scaevius (above 318, 3), Bassus (above 313, 2), Canius Rufus and Varro (note 2); perhaps also by Tucca and Ligurinus (Mart. III 45), Paccius (Alcithoe, Juv. VII 12), Faustus (Thebais, Tereus, Juv. VII 12) and Rubrenus Lappa (Atreus, Juv. VII 72). See also below 335, 4. Of Satyr-dramas we should perhaps understand Mart. X 99: si romana forent haec Socratis ora, fuissent Iulius in Satyris qualia Rufus habet. New togatae are indicated by Juv. I 3. Palliatae were written, perhaps in this time, by M. Pomponius Bassulus (below 327, 8). For Mimographers see 280, 1. Suet. Domit. 10: occidit et Helvidium filium, quasi scenico exodio sub persona Paridis et Oenonis divortium suum cum uxore taxasset. On the Agave of Statius see above 8, 1 fin. Famous actors of mimi in this time were Latinus (W. Teuffel in Pauly's Enc. IV 801) and his secundarum Panniculus (Mart. II 72, 4. III 86, 3. V 61, 11). also Tettius Caballus (Mart. I 41, 17 sqq.) and Thymele.

6. Obscene literature. Mart. XII 43, 1 sqq. facundos mihi de libidinosis legisti nimium, Sabelle, versus etc. (11.) tanti non erat esse te disertum.

320. A prominent place among the prose-writers of this period is due to M. Fabius Quintilianus (c. A. D. 35—95) a native of Calagurris in Spain, but who was educated at Rome and long remained an honoured public professor of eloquence at Rome, last of all entrusted by Domitian with the education of his (grand-)nephews and made Consul by him. He did not publish anything before the later years of his life, when he composed first a work on the causes of the decay of eloquence, and then a large work, the extant twelve books on the complete training of an orator (Institutio oratoria),

including the necessary grammatical training. The subject is treated in a manner mediating between the popular rhetorical writings of Cicero and technical works on rhetoric. The writer aims at the simplification of technicalities and shows more taste and mild judgment than strictness and scientific accuracy. Of great value to us is book 10, which contains a list of the literature useful for rhetorical studies. Though Quintilian shares to some extent the faults and defects of his time, he is still fully alive to them and attempts to correct them in his style by reverting to the manner of a better period. He is never tired of praising and recommending Cicero. A number of mediocre scholastic declamations which have come down to us bear Quintilian's name unjustly.

1. Hieronym. a. Abr. 2084 = Ner. 14 = 68 A. D.: M. Fabius Quintilianus Romam a Galba perducitur. | Abr. 2104 = Dom. 8 = 88 A. D.: Quintilianus ex Hispania Calagurritanus primus Romae publicam scholam et salarium e fisco accepit et claruit. Auson. prof. Burd. 1, 7: asserat usque licet Fabium Calagurris | alumnum. He certainly spent his youth at Rome, where his father was a rhetorician (IX 3, 73: pater meus contra eum qui etc. Sen. contr. X praef. 2: quomodo . . Quintilianus senex declamaverit, and ib. 33, 19: circa hunc sensum est et ille a Quintiliano dictus). Cf. Quintil. X 1, 24: nobis pueris insignes pro Voluseno Catulo . . orationes ferebantur. These were still made under Tiberius († 37), see above 271, 5 and 9, though they were esteemed and circulated even later. VI 1, 14: nobis adolescentibus accusator Cossutiani Capitonis (57 A. D.) etc. X 1, 86: quae ex Afro Domitio († 59) iuvenis excepi. According to these facts Quintilian's birth should not be placed later than A. D. 35. See also X 3, 12: Iulium Secundum (above 301, 4), aequalem meum atque a me . . familiariter amatum. Quintilian's rhetorical training was influenced by the men enumerated above 292, aud by Nonianus (above 286, 2), also by Palaemon (above 277, 3).

2. His exertions as a pleader in law-courts. Quint. VII 2, 24: id est in causa Naevii Arpiniani solum quaesitum. . . cuius actionem, et quidem solam in hoc tempus, emiseram, quod ipsum me fecisse ductum iuvenili cupiditate gloriae fateor. nam ceterae quae sub nomine meo feruntur neglegentia excipientium in quaestum notariorum corruptae minimam partem mei habent. IV 1, 19: ego pro regina Berenice (under Vespasian) apud ipsam causam dixi. IX 2, 73: equidem et in personas incidi tales et in rem quoque quae etc. ream tuebar quae subiecisse dicebatur mariti testamentum etc. (74.) ita ergo fuit nobis agendum ut iudices illud intellegerent factum etc., et contigit utrumque. quod non inseruissem . . nisi probare voluissem in foro quoque esse his figuris locum. IV 2, 86: me certe . . fecisse hoc in foro . . scio.

VII 2, 5: fuerunt tales nostris etiam temporibus controversiae, atque aliquae in meum quoque patrocinium inciderunt.

3. His scholastic speaking. XI 2, 39: sic contingit ut etiam quae ex tempore videbantur effusa ad verbum repetita reddantur. quod meae quoque memoriae mediocritatem sequebatur, si quando interventus aliquorum qui hunc honorem mererentur iterare declamationis partem coegisset. nec est mendacio locus salvis qui interfuerunt. Juv. VI 280: dic aliquem, . . Quintiliane, colorem. Auson. prof. Burd. I, I56: seu libeat fictas ludorum evolvere lites ancipitem palmam Quintilianus habet. This may probably relate to the supposed declamations of Q. (note 11). So also in Trebell. Poll. trig. tyr. 4, 2 (II p. 93 P.): Quintiliano, quem declamatorem romani generis acutissimum vel unius capitis lectio prima statim fronte demonstrat.

4. Q. as professor of eloquence. Cf. n. 1. Martial. II 90, 1 sq.: Quintiliane, vagae moderator summe iuventae, gloria, romanae, Quintiliane, togae. Plin. Epist. II 14, 10: ita certe ex Quintiliano, praeceptore meo, audisse memini. VI 6, 3: prope cotidie ad audiendos quos tunc ego frequentabam Quintilianum, Niceten, Sacerdotem ventitabat. Quintil. III 6, 68: frequenter quidem, sicut omnes qui me secuti sunt meminisse possunt, testatus et in ipsis etiam illis sermonibus (on rhetoric n. 6) me nolente vulgatis hoc tamen complexus etc. On the character of his activity as a teacher X 1, 125 sq. (where he warns to beware of Seneca's style). I prooem. 1: post impetratam studiis meis quietem, quae per viginti annos erudiendis iuvenibus impenderam. II 12, 12: quando et praecipiendi munus iam pridem deprecati sumus et in foro quoque dicendi. He subsequently became tutor of the princes. IV prooem. 2: cum mihi Domitianus Aug. sororis suae nepotum (cf. Suet. Dom. 15: Flavium Clementem patruelem suum, . . cuius filios etiam tum parvulos successores palam destinaverat et abolito priore nomine alterum Vespasianum appellari iusserat, alterum Domitianum) delegaverit curam. Auson. gratiar. act. p. 290 Bip.: Quintilianus consularia per Clementem ornamenta sortitus (cf. Juv. VII 197: fortuna volet fies de rhetore consul). Q. appears also to have become rich by teaching; see Juv. VII 186 sqq. . . . unde tot Quintilianus habet saltus? a fact mentioned as an exception. The Quintilianus to whom Plin. Epist. VI 32 (quamvis et ipse sis continentissimus et filiam tuam ita institueris etc. te porro animo beatissimum, modicum facultatibus scio) sent an addition to the dowry of his daughters, must be a different person, as ib. II 14, 10 (c. a. 97—100) and VI 6, 3 (A. 106 sq.) presuppose the orator as dead and the letter itself does not contain any reference to thanks. Nor did any of his children survive the rhetorician, see VI prooem. 4: ut incusem deos superstes omnium meorum. erepta prius mihi matre eorundem, quae nondum expleto aetatis XIX° anno duos enixa filios . . decessit. 6: mihi filius minor quintum egressus annum prior alterum ex duobus eripuit lumen. 9: una post haec Quintiliani mei spe ac voluptate nitebar. . . iam decimum aetatis ingressus annum (he also died). — H. Dodwell, annales Quin-

tilianei, Oxon. 1698 (also in Burmann's ed., p. 1117 sqq.) E. Hummel, Quintiliani vita, Gotting. 1843. 4. L. Driesen, de Q. vita, Cleve 1845. 4. C. Pilz, Quintilian, the life of a professor in the Imperial period, Leipzig 1863.

5. Juv. IV 75 mentions Q. as the pattern of a serious, steady man and the greatest contrast to a comedian. The extant work proves him to have been a mild, humane (cf. I 3, 13 sqq. II 4, 10 sqq.) character, an enemy to pedantry (X 1, 26 cf. 56 sq. 80) and inclined to acknowledge others' merits (X 1, 40 sq.), honourable (cf. XII 7, 3) and kind (VI 2, 36), with a deep sense of domestic happiness and unhappiness; see VI prooem. The homage he renders to Domitian IV. prooem. 3—5 (see above 314, 3) and XI, 91 sq. (see above 314, 2) is indeed opposed to truth (e. g. X 1, 92: nunc ceterarum fulgore virtutum laus ista — as poet — praestringitur) and even too strong (IV prooem. 5: mihi . . poterit ignosci si . . nunc omnes in auxilium deos ipsumque in primis quo neque praesentius aliud nec studiis magis propitium numen est invocem ut . . tantum ingenii adspiret etc.), but may perhaps be excused by his gratitude for the confidence the Emperor had shown him (see n. 4) and the general style of the period. He praises Cato of Utica XII 7, 4; see also above 272, 1.

6. His earlier works. I. O. II 4, 42: an ab ipso (Demetrio Phal.) id genus exercitationis sit inventum, ut alio quoque libro sum confessus, parum comperi. V 12, 23: haec et in alio nobis tractata sunt opere etc. VIII 3, 58: de hac parte (*κακόζηλον*) et in alio nobis opere plenius dictum est etc. More accurately he expresses himself ib. VI prooem. 3: ita forte accidit ut eum quoque librum quem de causis corruptae eloquentiae emisi iam scribere aggressus (lost my younger son). When the elder boy died at the age of 10 years (n. 4), the younger may have been perhaps nine years old, whence that work would appear to have been published perhaps four years before I. O. VI praef. VIII 6, 76: eundem locum plenius in eo libro quo causas corruptae eloquentiae reddebamus tractavimus. Differently from the previously published dialogus of Tacitus, Q. had treated rather of the stylistic than of the political aspect of the question. Opposed to Q.'s wishes was the publication of speeches which had been taken down while he was reciting them (n. 2) and of lectures (sermones, n. 4). I. O. I. prooem. 7: duo iam sub nomine meo libri ferebantur artis rhetoricae neque editi a me neque in hoc comparati. namque alterum sermone per biduum habito pueri quibus id praestabatur exceperant, alterum pluribus sane diebus quantum notando consequi potuerant interceptum boni iuvenes, sed nimium amantes mei temerario editionis honore vulgaverant.

7. On his extant work Q. says in his preface, which he addresses to his publisher Trypho: efflagitavisti . . ut libros quos ad Marcellum meum De institutione oratoria scripseram iam emittere inciperem. nam ipse eos nondum opinabar satis maturuisse, quibus componendis . . paulo plus quam biennium tot alioqui negotiis districtus (as a tutor of princes, n 4) impendi, the greater part of which time was taken

up by collecting the materials. He says that he would have liked to revise his work at his leisure, though he was unwilling to keep it back much longer. He addresses himself (cf. I prooem. 6. IV pr. 1 VI 1 pr. 1 XII 11, 31) to Victorius Marcellus (cum amicissimus nobis tum eximio literarum amore flagrans, I pr. 6; see below 321, 8), whose son Gallus (Stat. Silv. IV 4, 20) showed talent (Quint. I pr. 6). In writing the book the author had also in his mind his own elder son (VI pr. 1). In general, his work was not intended for pueri (VIII 6, 13), but for boni and studiosi iuvenes (III 6, 64. VI pr. 1. XII 11, 31. cf. V. 10, 96. VII 3, 30. XI 1, 5, 55). It was composed c. 90 sqq., and the first three books were already completed, when Quintilian was entrusted with the education of the sons of Flavius Clemens, who had been executed by Domitian about the beginning of 96. We possess it entire; III 8, 42: duodecimo, qui summus futurus est, libro.

8. Plan and execution. I. prooem. 5: ego . . non aliter quam si mihi tradatur educandus orator studia eius formare ab infantia incipiam. 21: liber primus ea quae sunt ante officium rhetoris (i. e. the work of a grammaticus) continebit. secundo prima apud rhetorem elementa et quae de ipsa rhetorices substantia quaeruntur tractabimus. (22.) quinque deinceps (III—VII) inventioni, nam huic et dispositio subiungitur, quattuor (VIII—XI elocutioni, in cuius partem memoria ac pronuntiatio veniunt, dabuntur. unus (XII) accedet in quo nobis orator ipse informandus est, ut qui mores eius, quae in suscipiendis, discendis, agendis causis ratio, quod eloquentiae genus, quis agendi debeat esse finis, quae post finem studia, . . disseramus. (25.) nos quidquid utile ad instituendum oratorem putabamus in hos XII libros contulimus, breviter omnia demonstraturi. He opposes the affectata sublimitas of the ordinary manuals on rhetoric (I prooem. 24. III 11, 21. cf. II 15, 37) and their unpractical pedantry (V 13, 59. 14, 27—32). His own theory is based on personal experience (VI 2, 25) and the practice of the principal speakers (V 13, 60). He is eclectic, III 1, 5: hic liber . . pleraque non inventa per me, sed ab aliis tradita continebit. ib. 22: neque me cuiusquam sectae velut quadam superstitione imbutus addixi. 4, 11: nobis et tutissimum est auctores plurimos sequi et ita videtur ratio dictare. II 8, 6: libera vel contra receptas persuasiones rationem sequenti sententia est. VI 2, 25: quodsi tradita mihi sequi praecepta sufficeret, satisfeceram huic parti; . . sed eruere in animo est quae latent, . . quae quidem non aliquo tradente, sed experimento meo ac natura ipsa duce accepi. Eloquence has an ethic basis; I prooem. 9 sqq. II 2, 15, 1. 32 sqq. 16, 11. 20, 4. 8. XII 1, 1; hence also XII 7, 7: non convenit oratori iniusta tueri scientem; cf. V 7, 32. Somewhat more loosely he expresses himself II 17, 27 sq. 36. cf. VI 2, 5. 24. He opposes the prevailing taste of the period (above p. 5) and falls back upon nature (II 5, 11, sq. cf. X 7, 15: pectus est quod disertos facit et vis mentis) and the veteres (II 5, 22 sqq. V 12, 20. VIII prooem. 24 sqq. 5, 34. X 1, 43 sq.), especially Cicero, who is always spoken of with the highest respect. (V 11, 11. 17. 13, 52. VIII 3, 64. 66. IX 1, 25. X 1, 105—112. 2, 25. 7, 31. XI 1, 67 sqq. 73 sq. 85. 89. 93. 3. 184.

XII pr. 4. 1, 19 sqq. 10, 12 sqq. 36. 45 sq. and defended even in his weaknesses (cf. XI 1, 17—21. 23 sqq. XII 1, 16 sq. VIII 3, 51); he is made the basis of Q.'s work and only reluctantly does he differ from him (e. g. IV 2, 64. V 11, 2. VII 3, 8. IX 4, 2. 16. 55 sq. XI 3, 123). VI 3, 3 he speaks of his amor immodicus praecipui in eloquentia viri, and exclaims X 1, 112: hunc spectemus, hoc propositum nobis sit exemplum, ille se profecisse sciat cui Cicero valde placebit. His theoretic explanations are throughout supported with instances from the orators of the classical period. These Quintilian knows exceedingly well, while he ignores the prose-writers anterior to Cicero, as superfluous for a good Latin style. In general, Quintilian's studies are manysided, though the character he gives to some writers in his tenth book and which are not always quite proper, make us doubt his actual acquaintance with them. H. Babucke, de Q. doctrina et studiis capita duo (de philosophia Qi, p. 6—32; de ratione inter Q. et Graccos intercedente, p. 33—46), Königsberg 1866. His diction is not rarely rhetorically coloured; cf. III 1, 3: admiscere temptavimus aliquid nitoris, . . ut hoc ipso alliceremus magis iuventutem. He has numerous similes and comparisons derived from nature and husbandry (1, 2, 14. II 6, 7. 10, 6. 16, 13 sq. XII 10, 76. cf. II 19, 2. VIII 5, 26. X 3, 2. 7, 28. XII 1, 7. 10, 19), but also many taken from other parts of human activity (IV 5, 5. 14. 22. V 10, 21. IV 4, 113. 129. X 3, 6. 7, 23. XII 2, 11. 8, 10. 9, 2 sq.). In his style he aims at classicality, though he is not free from the influence of his time. E. Bonnell, de grammatica Quintil., in Spalding's ed. VI p. XXI sqq. and his Lexicon Quintilianeum. R. Törnebladh, de elocutione Qi, Upsala 1858; de usu particularum apud Q., Holm 1861. 60 pp. Voigtland, de brevitate Q., Schleusingen 1846. 4.

9. Among the manuscripts of the Inst. or. the most important is the Ambrosian saec. XI (A in Halm), written by several hands and much more negligently in the later books (IX 4, 135—XII 11, 22 are quite wanting in it) than in the first four. The gaps are filled up and the errors corrected by a number of mss., which contain a very good text but have also lost nearly $^2/_7$ of the text owing to the repeated loss of leaves, a class chiefly represented by the Bernensis (B.) saec. X, from which Ambros. II (saec. X) and Bambergensis saec. X (Bg.) are derived. In the latter a later hand (G. in Halm) has supplied the parts originally missing from a complete ms., (cf. Halm Rh. Mus. XXIII p. 218—222). Hence are derived the Florentine ms. saec. XI and Turicensis saec. XII. Besides A, the complete, but partly interpolated, partly corrupt class consist of mss. of the 15th century, e. g. Lassbergensis (L) at Freiburg, Monacensis (M) nr. 23473 and Obrecht's Argentoratensis (S). In many cases Julius Victor's compilation is useful. C. Halm, on the rhetorician Julius Victor as a source of emendation in the text of Quintilian, in the Trans. of the Munich Academy 1863, 389—419; on the authorities of the text of Quintilian, ib. 1866. p. 493—524; Rh. Mus. XXII p. 38 sq., and in his edition p.

V—IX. A. Reifferscheid, on Poggio's ms. of Quintilian, Rh. Mus. XXIII p. 143—146. Enderlein, comm. de Bamberg. cod. Quint., Schweinfurt 1852. 4. J. Ständer, Quaest. Quint. p. 5—13 (de Ambr. I et Bamberg codd.).

10. Editions. Ed. princeps Rom. 1470 fol. Venet. 1471 fol. Aldina Ven. 1514. 1521. 4. Iuntina Flor. 1515. 4. E codd. emend. E. Gibson, Oxon. 1693. 4. London 1714. 1716. 4. Ed. Ulr. Obrecht, Strasburg 1698. 4. 2 vols. Recogn. et em. P. Burmann, Lugd. Bat. 1720. 4. 2 vols. Recogn. et emend. Cl. Capperonnier, Paris 1725 fol. Coll. codd. et perp. comm. illustr. J. M. Gesner, Gotting. 1738. 4. Ad codd. fidem rec. et annot. expl. G. L. Spalding, Lips. 1798—1816, 4 vols. to which vol. V by C. G. Zumpt, 1829 and VI (Lexicon Q. et indices) by E. Bonnell, 1834. In us. schol. cur. G. A. B. Wolff, Lips. 1816—1821, 2 vols. Notas critt. adiecit A. G. Gernhard, Lips. 1830, 2 vols. Rec. C. G. Zumpt, Lips. 1831. Ad codd. Lassb., Turic., Ambr. fidem rec. et illustr. H. Meyer, Lips. 1833, Vol. I. Ad fidem codd. rec. E. Bonnell, Lips. Teubner 1854, 2 vols. The principal edition rec. C. Halm, Lips. Teubner 1868 sq.

Editions of book X by C. H. Frotscher (Lips. 1826), C. G. Herzog (Leipzig 1829. 1830. 1833), Augusti (= Schneidewin, Helmstedt 1831), G. A. Herbst (Lips. 1834), E. Bonnell (Leipzig 1851. Berlin 1855. 1863). E. Alberti (Leipzig, Engelmann 1858), G. T. A. Krüger (Leipzig, Teubner 1861), C. Halm (Lips., Teubner 1869).

On criticism and explanation. Raph. Regii ducenta problemata, Venet. 1482. 4. Quaestiones Quintilianeae by F. Müller (Halle 1840), F. Bahlmann (Berlin 1859. 4.), F. Meister (Liegnitz 1860. 4. Breslau 1865. 4. Cf. Halm, Rhein. Mus. XXII p. 39—61), R. Törnebladh (Colmar 1860), J. Ständer (Bonn 1865). Dörry, de locis al. Q. emend., Torgau 1860. 4. F. Ritschl, Grammatical points in Quintilian, Rhein. Mus. XXII p. 599—614. J. Ständer p. 14—29 (de Q. grammatico).

On book X adnotatt. critt. by F. Osann, 6 particulae, Giessen 1841. 1842. 1845. 1850. 1857. 1858. 4. J. Jeep, de locis al., Wolfenbüttel 1863. 4. L. Merklin, on the parallel composition of Q. X, Rhein. Mus. XIX p. 1—32.

11. Quintilian who frequently mentions his previous works in his I. O. (see n. 6) and appears to have died soon after the publication of it, never mentions any published declamationes. It is, however, possible that such were published after his death from copies made at the time (cf. n. 2 and 6). He is mentioned as the author of concinnae delamationes by Jerome (in Esaiam VIII praef.), and Ausonius (above n. 3) and Trebell. Poll. XXX tyr. 4, 2: fuit autem (Postumus iunior) . . ita in declamationibus disertus ut eius controversiae Quintiliano dicantur insertae, from which passage they appear to have been augmented with later productions. Concerning the 19 larger and even more the 145 smaller declamationes (the rests of a collection containing 388 pieces) attributed to Quintilian, nothing is in favour of the author-

ship of the famous rhetorician, which is on the contrary contradicted by their utter insignificance. They are perhaps by one of his pupils. In the mss. they are attributed to a certain M. Florus. The first complete edition Treviso 1482 fol. Ascens. 1580 and oftener. Ex bibl. Pithoei, Paris 1580. Heidelberg 1594. Notis illustr. Oxon. 1675. 1692. In the editions of the I. O. by Obrecht, Burmann and others.

12. Lactant. inst. div. I 21: optime Quintilianus in Fanatico: istud, inquit, si deus cogit iratus est. V 7: quod ipsum Quintilianus egregie ac breviter ostendit in Capite obvoluto. VI 23: quod optime Quintilianus expressit: homo, inquit, neque etc. This would seem to be a Christian writer.

321. In the time of Quintilian we meet with Tutilius as a writer on rhetoric, and Princeps as a rhetorician. Among the orators M. Aquilius Regulus, a contemptible timeserver, who composed also literary works, Baebius Massa, Mettius Carus, and Palfurius Sura, made themselves feared as delatores. As pleaders we may mention Tacitus, Pliny and Herennius Senecio, and especially Victorius Marcellus, Septimius Severus from Africa, Flavius Ursus, Vettius Crispinus, Satrius Rufus, Licinius Sura and others.

1. Quintil. III 1, 21: scripsit de eadem materia (rhetoric) . . aetatis nostrae Verginius, Plinius (above 307, 3) Tutilius. Martial. V 56, 5: famae Tutilium suae relinquas. See also Plin. Epist. VI 32, 1.

2. Suet. gramm. 4: me quidem adolescentulo repeto quendam Principem nomine alternis diebus declamare, alternis disputare, nonnullis vero mane disserere, post meridiem remoto pulpito declamare solitum. Iulius Tiro (cf. Plin. Ep. VI 31, 7) who is mentioned in the list of rhetoricians treated of by Suetonius after Quintilian, is changed by Reiferscheid (Suet. p. 99. 418 sqq.) into M. Tullius Tiro, whom a scribe might easily have put in as the author of the notae tironianae (above 178, 4).

3. Plin. Epist. I 5, 1: vidistine quemquam M. Regulo timidiorem, humiliorem post Domitiani mortem? sub quo non minora flagitia commiserat quam sub Nerone (admodum iuvenis, Tac. Hist IV 42), sed tectiora. (2.) Rustici Aruleni periculum foverat, exultaverat morte, adeo ut librum recitaret publicaretque in quo Rusticum insectatur atque etiam Stoicorum simiam appellat; adicit Vitelliana cicatrice stigmosum. agnoscis eloquentiam Reguli. (3.) lacerat Herennium Senecionem . . intemperanter. . . (4.) praeterea reminiscebatur quam capitaliter ipsum me apud centumviros lacessisset. (5.) aderam Arrionillae, . . Regulus contra etc. (14.) scripsit (Mettius Modestus) in epistula quadam quae apud Domitianum recitata est: Regulus omnium bipedum nequissimus. . (15.) est (Regulus) locuples, factiosus, curatur a multis, timetur a

pluribus. II, 11, 22: est Regulo tam mobile ingenium ut plurimum audeat, plurimum timeat. IV 2, 1: Regulus filium amisit. (3.) amissum luget insane. 7, 2: nuper adhibito ingenti auditorio librum de vita eius recitavit; . . eundem in exemplaria mille transcriptum per totam Italiam provinciasque dimisit. (6.) hunc luctuosum Reguli librum etc. (7.) est tam ineptus ut risum magis possit exprimere quam gemitum; credas non de puero scriptum, sed a puero. . . (4.) inbecillum latus (of Regulus), os confusum. haesitans lingua, tardissima inventio, memoria nulla; nihil denique praeter ingenium insanum; et tamen eo impudentia ipsoque illo furore pervenit ut orator habeatur. As such servile Martial praises this influential and rich man, I 111 (cf. 12 and 82). II 74, sq. (quanta reduci Regulus solet turba, ad alta tonsum templa cum reum misit). IV 16, 6. V 28, 6 (licet vincas . . oratione Regulos). 63, 4 (ipse tuo cedet Regulus ingenio): VI 38. 64, 11. He is perhaps meant (but not mentioned by name, as he was still alive) by Juv. I 33—36. He died c. a. 105; cf. Plin. Ep. VI 2, 1: soleo nonnumquam in iudiciis quaerere M. Regulum. . . (2.) habebat studiis honorem, timebat, pallebat, scribebat, quamvis non posset ediscere. illud ipsum quod . . semper haruspices consulebat de actionis eventu a nimia superstitione, sed tamen et a magno studiorum honore veniebat. (3.) iam illa perquam iucunda una dicentibus, quod libera tempora petebat, quod audituros corrogabat. W. Teuffel in Pauly's Enc. I 2. p. 1391, Nr. 43.

4. On Baebius Massa, who was overthrown under Domitian, see Plin. Ep. VII 33, 4 sqq.; on Mettius Carus see W. Teuffel in Pauly's Enc. IV p. 1905, Nr. 6. Schol. Juv. I 35: Massa morio fuisse dicitur et Carus nanus. . . hi omnes Neronis fuerunt liberti, sed et nequissimi delatores. . . Massa et Carus Heliodoro deferente occisi sunt.

5. Juv. IV 53—55: si quid Palfurio, si credimus Armillato, quidquid conspicuum pulchrumque est aequore toto res fisci est, ubicumque natat. On which Valla's Schol. says: Palfurius Sura, ut inquit Probus, consularis viri filius sub Nerone luctatus est cum virgine lacedaemonia in agone; postea a Vespasiano summotus e senatu transiit ad stoicam sectam, in qua cum eloquentia (et artis poeticae gloria, is added by the other Scholia) praecelleret, Domitiano familiaritate coniunctus delationem acerbissime exercuit, sed interfecto Domitiano accusatus est a Senatu et damnatus. The other Scholia say: cum fuissent inter delatores potentes apud Domitianum hi, Armillatus, Demosthenes et Latinus archimimus (above 319, 5), sicut Marius Maximus scribit. Cf. also Suet Dom. 13: capitolino certamine cunctos ingenti consensu precantis ut Palfurium Suram restitueret, pulsum olim senatu ac tunc de oratoribus coronatum etc.

6. On Tacitus and Pliny as speakers see below 328, 5 and 335, 2.

7. Herennius Senecio, from Hispania Baetica (Plin. Ep. VII 33, 5), defended Licinianus (ib. IV 11, 12 sq.) and accused (with Pliny) Baebius

Massa (Plin. Ep. VII 33, 4 sqq.) Concerning his work on Helvidius Priscus and his execution by Domitian see below 324, 2.

8. Quintilian's work (above 320, 7) is dedicated to Victorius Marcellus, and also Stat. Silv. IV (prooem. Marcelle carissime), 4 (of a. 95) is addressed to him where he is exhorted to recover from his work: certe iam latiae non miscent iurgia leges, . . nec iam tibi turba reorum vestibulo. . . cessat centeni moderatrix, iudicis hasta, qua tibi . . iam nunc celeberrima fama eminet et iuvenes facundia praeterit annos (v. 39—45). nec tibi sola potentis eloquii virtus, sunt membra accommoda bellis (v. 64 sq.). Hence, si latii ducis (i. e. Domitian) sic numina pergant, quem tibi posthabito studium est coluisse Tonante, quique tuos alio subtexit munere fasces et spatia antiquae mandat renovare Latinae (i. e. curator viae latinae), forsitan ausonias ibis frenare cohortes (v. 56—61) etc. magna pater dignosque etiam nunc belliger actus poscit avus praestatque domi novisse triumphos (v. 72 sq.).

9. Stat. Silv. IV prooem. (to Victorius Marcellus) of a. 95: proximum est lyricum carmen (Silv. IV 5) ad Septimium Severum, iuvenem . . inter ornatissimos secundi ordinis, tuum quidem etiam condiscipulum, sed mihi . . artissime carum. So also Martial V 80 meus Severus and VII 38, 1 noster S. A native of Africa, he had come to Italy even as puer (Stat. Silv. IV 5, 29—48), and seems to have been the grandfather of the later Emperor who was born in Africa a. 146. Est et frementi vox hilaris foro, venale sed non eloquium tibi, ensisque vagina quiescit, stringere ni iubeant amici. sed rura cordi saepius et quies (Stat. l. l. 49—53). hic plura pones vocibus et modis passu solutis, sed . . interim . . barbiton ingeminas (ib. 57—60 cf. Martial. XI 57). See above 310, 5.

10. Statius Silv. II 6: consolatio ad Flavium Ursum de amissione pueri delicati, in which v. 95: ubi (tua) nota reis facundia raptis? II. prooem.: ad Ursum nostrum, iuvenem candidissimum et sine iactura desidiae doctissimum. He is probably the son of the Ursus mentioned by Dio LXVII 3 and 4 (a. 74): *Οὔρσον τῆς Ἰουλίας αἰτησαμένης ὕπατον ἀπέδειξεν.*

11. Addressed to Crispinus, the son of Vettius Bolanus, is the propempticon Stat. Silv. V 2 (of a. 95—96), according to which he had become a Salian priest in very tender years (v. 129—131), and had 'nuper' pleaded for an innocent friend, quamquam non ante forum legesque severas passus, sed tacita studiorum occultus in umbra (v. 99—110). A Clodius Crispinus was Consul, a. 113.

12. Stat. Silv. IV pr.: Plotio Grypo. (see 316, 2) maioris gradus iuveni. To him he addresses ib. 9, where v. 14—19: tua dicta . . quae trino iuvenis foro tonabas aut centum prope iudices, priusquam te Germanicus (Domitian) arbitrum . . annonae dedit omniumque late praefecit stationibus viarum.

13. According to Plin. Ep. I 5, 11 Aquilius Regulus (n. 3) had, under Domitian in centumvirali iudicio, cum responderet . . Satrio Rufo,

said ironically: Satrius Rufus, cui non est cum Cicerone aemulatio (like Pliny) et qui contentus est eloquentia saeculi nostri. Cf. ib. IX 13, 17.

14. L. Licinius C. f. Sura, Cos. II a. 102 and III a. 107, the patron of Martial (VI 64, 12 sq.: has nugas . . quas . . laudat . . Sura) cf. VII 47, 1 sq.: doctorum Licini celeberrime Sura virorum, cuius prisca graves lingua reduxit avos. Addressed to him is a question concerning a phenomenon, by Plin. Ep. IV 30 (1: quaestionem altissima ista eruditione dignissimam. 11: scrutare tu causas, potes enim). Dio LXVIII 15 (a. 107): *τῷ Σούρᾳ τῷ Λικινίῳ καὶ ταφὴν δημοσίαν καὶ ἀνδριάντα ἔδωκε* (Trajan) *τελευτήσαντι*. Victor Caes. 13, 8. Epit. 13, 6. Julian. Caess. p. 22 (ed. 1736). Orelli-Henzen 150. 5448. Borghesi Opp. V p. 33 sqq. C. I. lat. II 4282. 4508.

15. L. (Mart. IV 55, 1) Valerius Licinianus of Bilbilis (ib. and I 61, 11) a solicitor (ib. I 49, 35. IV 55, 1 sq., where he is even compared to Cicero). Under Domitian he was exiled, but Nerva allowed him to live in Sicily (Plin. Ep. IV 11, 11 sqq.) where he then became a professor of eloquence. Plin. Ep. IV 11, 1 (a. 104): audistine Valerium Licinianum in Sicilia profiteri; . . praetorius hic modo inter eloquentissimos causarum actores habebatur, nunc eo decidit ut exul de senatore, rhetor de oratore fieret. (2.) itaque ipse in praefatione (of a declamatio or some treatise?) dixit etc. (3.) . . latine, inquit, declamaturus sum. See ib. 14.

16. Maternus from Spain, iuris et aequarum cultor sanctissime legum, veridico latium qui regis ore frenum, addressed by Mart. X 37 cf. II 74, 4 sq.

17. The epithets *facundus* or *disertus* are also given to Pollius Felix (see 306, 1), Erucius Clarus (Plin. Ep. II 9, 4), Marcus (Valerius? Mart. X 73), Sextus (Mart. V 5, 1), Restitutus (Mart. X 87, 2 sqq.), Caecilius Secundus (Mart. VII 84 cf. V 80), Atticus (Mart. VII 32), Aelianus (Mart. XII 24, 3). Votienus who held a high charge in Gaul (Mart. VIII 72) was no doubt a son of the orator (above 271, 1).

322. A highly respectable position was in this time held by Sex. Julius Frontinus (c. 40—103), an excellent engineer and man of business, at the same time a man of character and of modesty. He also left records of his varied experience and studies. We possess excerpts from a work on gromatics. A theoretic work on tactics has perished, but has been used by Vegetius. We possess, however, though disfigured by foreign additions, a popular work on tactics, the books Strategematon, the fourth of which pretends to be an addition (Strategematica), but does not agree with the plan and character of the rest and looks rather suspicious. We also have by Frontinus a work in two books de aquis urbis Romae,

which is important on account of a number of historical information and documents, and is written in terse and concise, though refined diction.

1. Life. Tac. Hist. IV 39 (a. 823 = 70): Iulius Frontinus praetor urbanus. He thus appears to have been born a. 41, at the latest. Frontin. Strat. IV 3, 14: auspiciis Imperatoris Caesaris Domitiani Augusti Germanici (a title given by way of anticipation) eo bello quod Civilis in Gallia moverat (a. 823) Lingonum .. civitas .. ad obsequium redacta LXX milia armatorum tradidit mihi. Tac. Agr. 17: sustinuit molem Iulius Frontinus (in Britain, as successor of Petilius Cerealis, probably 70—78 = 829—831, after his consulship), vir magnus, quantum licebat, validamque et pugnacem Silurum gentem armis subegit etc. Cf. E. Hübner, Rhein. Mus. XII p. 52—56. His participation in the war with the Chatti may be inferred from Strateg. I 1, 8. 3, 10. II 3, 23. 11, 7. He lived a studious life in retirement on the shore of Campania, Mart. X 58. Cos. I under Domitian (before his departure for Britain), II (bis Frontino consule, Mart. X 48, 20? cf. Philologus XXIX p. 187) under Nerva (Plin. panegyr 61), probably a. 97; III a. 100 conjointly with Trajan. Curator aquarum a. 97 (aq. 1. 102 extr.). He seems to have died c. a. 103, as Pliny (a. 103 or 104) succeeded him in the dignity of augur (Plin. Ep. IV 8, 3. Cf. ad Trai. 13). According to Pliny (Ep. IX 19, 1) Frontinus vetuit omnino monumentum sibi fieri, with the characteristic addition: impensa monumenti supervacua est: memoria nostri durabit si vita meruimus (ib. 6).

2. The gromatic work was written under Domitian (p. 54, 11 sqq.: praestantissimus postea Domitianus ad hoc beneficium procurrit et uno edicto totius Italiae metum liberavit, in reference to the subsecivae), and likewise that on stratagems, perhaps before the beginning of the war with the Dacians, as he mentions only the Germans (see n. 1). He always adheres to the official fiction, as if the Emperor had done what was in reality the work of his generals, just as he subsequently does with regard to Nerva. Real flattery towards Domitian does not occur (tantus dux I 1, 8 is said of his position), and Pliny may therefore justly say Ep. V 1, 5: duos quos tunc (under Domitian) civitas nostra spectatissimos habuit, Corellium et Frontinum. Cf. ib. IV 8, 3: Iulio Frontino, principi viro. The work on the aqueducts was written by Frontinus a. 97, shortly after he had been intrusted with the cura aquarum. Cf. n. 6. Significant is c. 118: quem reditum .. proximis temporibus in Domitiani loculos conversum iustitia divi Nervae populo restituit, nostra sedulitas ad certam regulam redegit. 101 extr.: nobis circumeuntibus rivos fides nostra et auctoritas a principe data pro lictoribus erit. 130 extr.: officii fidem etiam per offensas tueri praestiterit. The Expositio et ratio omnium formarum ad Celsum (Works of the Roman Gromatici II p. 91—108) which is in bad mss. attributed to Frontinus, belongs rather to Balbus, according to the Arcerianus; see below 339, 3.

3. From the gromatic work, which embraced at least two books, we possess only explanatory excerpts (best edited in the works of the Roman engineers by Lachmann, I p. 9—58), which treat de agrorum qualitate, de controversiis (in general), de limitibus, de controversiis aquarum. On the critical condition of this work see Lachmann l. l. II p. 101—131.

4. A theoretic work on tactics anterior to the Strat. is alluded to at the beg. of the Strat.: cum ad instruendam rei militaris scientiam unus ex numero studiosorum eius accesserim, eique destinato, quantum nostra cura valuit, satisfecisse visus sim, deberi adhuc institutae arbitror operae ut sollertia ducum facta . . expeditis amplectar commentariis. To this we should probably refer Veget. I 8 (p. 12 L.: quae Cato ille censorius de disciplina militari scripsit, quae Cornelius Celsus quae Frontinus perstringenda duxerunt) and II 3 (p. 36 L.: Cato ille maior . . se reip. credidit profuturum si disciplinam militarem conferret in litteras. . . idem fecerunt alii complures, sed praecipue Frontinus, divo Traiano ab eius modi comprobatus industria). His interest embraced also the military art of the Greeks; see Aelian. Tact. praef. (Greek Writers on War II p. 236 sq.): *ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ θεοῦ πατρός σου Νέρουας παρὰ Φροντίνῳ τῷ ἐπισήμῳ ὑπατικῷ ἐν Φορμίαις ἡμέρας τινὰς διέτριψα, δόξαν ἀπενεγκαμένῳ περὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἐμπειρίαν, . . εὗρον οὐκ ἐλάττονα σπουδὴν ἔχοντα εἰς τὴν παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησι τεθεωρημένην μάθησιν* (than for the Roman). Of him we should also understand Aelian. de ordin. inst. 1: *περὶ τῆς καθ' Ὅμηρον τακτικῆς ἐνετύχομεν συγγραφεῦσι Στρατοκλεῖ τε καὶ Φρόντωνι, τῷ καθ' ἡμᾶς ὑπατικῷ ἀνδρί* if there indeed *Φροντίνῳ* be meant or should be written, and if we should not rather think of (Ti. Catius Caesius?) Fronto (Cons. 96), whom Martial I 55 calls clarum militiae togaeque decus; cf. Borghesi, Oeuvres III p. 382.

5. The subject of the Strateg. consists in the sollertia ducum facta, quae a Graecis una *στρατηγηματικῶν* appellatione comprehensa sunt (praef.). . . in tres libros ea diduximus. in primo erunt exempla quae competant proelio nondum commisso, in secundo quae ad proelium et confectam pacationem pertineant: tertius inferendae solvendaeque obsidionis habebit strategemata. . . cum etiam hoc opus, sicut cetera (cf. n. 3 and 4), usus potius aliorum quam meae commendationis causa adgressus sim etc. The examples are well chosen and chiefly, though not exclusively, selected from Roman history. The books themselves are arranged according to the subject-matter, in the chapters according to the characters, but in all other details without any definite plan. As Frontinus (in his praef.) willingly resigns all claim to completeness and thinks that the examples given by other writers might be easily inserted into his work, this invitation to add interpolations appears to have been accepted and largely carried out at an early time. The foreign interpolations may be known by their interrupting the personal with a real arrangement (idem fecit, similiter, quoque, e. g. I 3, 7. II 9, 3—5) and by being added according to some outward similarity (II 9, 3 and 5 caput; IV 3, 14 abstaining from plundering) and by the use of

dicitur, traditur and similar words (e. g. I 5, 13. II 12, 4. III 4, 4. 12, 3) or by some other difference of style (e. g. I 7, 7). These interpolations are partly derived from Frontinus himself (e. g. I 5, 13. II 12, 4), and have sometimes caused the omission of the exemplum in its proper place (e. g. II 9, 3. 5. in III 11 and IV 5, 14 in II 11). Such instances are especially frequent in the fourth book, which pretends to increase the strategemata of the first three books with Strategematica, i. e. deeds and sayings of a strategic bearing, and begins in a boasting vein quite foreign to Frontinus: multa lectione conquisitis strategematibus et non exiguo scrupulo digestis, ut promissum trium librorum implerem, was about to be augmented with what could not be placed in the rubrics and was not even properly strategemata; here also the arrangement was to be according to the subject-matter i. e. de disciplina, de effectu disciplinae, de continentia, de iustitia, . . de variis consiliis. This distribution according to moral notions does not bear much resemblance to the manner of Frontinus, but agrees all the more with that of Valerius Maximus, from whom a great number of the exempla of this book are borrowed; many others are repetitions from the first three books, sometimes very free, and sometimes more accurate, which would be void of reason in the case of Frontinus himself. The interpolator has also enlarged the preface to the first book by a significant allusion to this fourth book, beginning with the words: si qui erunt quibus volumina haec cordi sint meminerint etc. This book and the other interpolations are found already in the earliest extant ms., the Gothanus saec. IX, and it appears to have originated not later than in the fourth or fifth century, i. e. the time of Julius Paris, Exuperantius, Vibius Sequester etc. C. Wachsmuth, Rh. Mus. XV p. 574—583. Our present text is still based on the apparatus collected by Oudendorp. Editions of the Strateg.: Rom. 1387. 4. With Vegetius and others Colon. 1580. Cum notis Stewechii ed. Fr. Modius, Lugd. B. 1607. 4. In Scriverii scriptores rei militaris, Lugd. B. 1644. Emend. illustr. Sam. Tennulius, Lugd. B. 1675. The principal edition by F. Oudendorp, Lugd. B. 1731. 1779. Ed. N. Schwebel, Lips. 1772. On a confusion of chapters in b. II see Fr. Haase, Rhein. Mus. III (1845) p. 312—319. G. Masson, notices et extraits des Manuscripts . . au British Museum, I les strat. de Fr., Revue archéol. 1869. I. p. 447—451. 1870. I. p. 19—21. E. Gedicke, on a transposition of leaves in Fr., Hermes VI p. 156—164. cf. R. Schöne, ibid. p. 248—251. A. Eussner, on Fr. Str., in the Journal of Bavarian Colleges VII (1871).

6. In only one ms. of Monte Cassino (saec. XI? cf. Bücheler p. VII—XIII. Sauppe Gött. Gel. A. 1859, p. 993), from which all the other mss. were merely copied, we possess the treatise de aquis urbis Romae (Heinrich and Bücheler; Cassin.: de aquaeductu u. R.; Sauppe: de cura aquarum u. R. or de officio aqq.), composed a. 97 and published after the death of Nerva (divus Nerva, 87. 118) under Trajan (93 extr.: novum auctorem Imperatorem Caesarem Nervam Traianum Augustum praescribente titulo), perhaps A. D. 98. Just as in the Strat., a preface

contains an account of the purpose and plan of the work. Cum . . me seu naturalis sollicitudo seu fides sedula non ad diligentiam modo verum ad amorem quoque commissae rei instigent, sitque nunc mihi ab Nerva Augusto . . aquarum iniunctum officium, . . primum ac potissimum existimo, sicut in ceteris negotiis institueram, nosse quod suscepi. (2.) . . quapropter ea quae ad universam rem pertinentia contrahere potui more iam per multa mihi officia servato in ordinem et velut in corpus diducta in hunc commentarium contuli. . . in aliis autem libris, quos post experimenta et usum composui (cf. n. 3—5), succedentium res acta est; huius commentarii fortassis pertinebit et ad successorum utilitas, sed cum inter initia administrationis meae scriptus sit imprimis ad meam institutionem regulamque proficiet. Then follows the arrangement. Frontinus exclaims c. 16 with patriotic pride: tot aquarum tam multis necessariis molibus pyramidas videlicet otiosas compares aut inertia, sed fama celebrata opera Graecorum? The second book begins with c. 64. Editio princeps between 1484 and 1492. Juntina by Iocundus, 1513. Often published together with Vitruvius; separate editions chiefly by J. Polenus, Patav. 1722. 4. His notae are also given in the edition of G. C. Adler, Altona 1792. Rec., illustr. et germanice redd. (with the notes of Heinrich and Schultz) A. Dederich, Wesel 1841. XXXV and 318 pp. Rec. Fr. Bücheler, Lips. (Teubner) 1858. XIV and 54 pp. Cf. H. Sauppe, Götti. G. A. 1859, p. 990—997.

7. A complete edition of Frontinus by R. Keuchen (Amstelod 1661). Texts in the Bipont edition 1788 and by Dederich (Lips. 1855, Bibl. Teubner).

8. Frontini vita in the edition of Polenus. A. Dederich, fragments on the life of Sex. Julius Frontinus, Ztschr. f. Alt. Wiss. 1839, Nr. 105—107. 134—136, p. 834—855. 1077—1094.

323. To the time of Domitian belongs also the juridical writer Aufidius Chius, while Iuventius Celsus and Neratius Priscus did not attain any prominent influence until the time of Trajan and his successor. As a grammarian we may especially mention Aemilius Asper, the ingenious and erudite commentator of Terence, Sallust and Virgil; also Claranus and Martial's friend Apollinaris.

1. Martial. V 61, 10: acrior (procurator) hoc Chius non erit Aufidius. Fragm. Vat. 77: contra quam Atilicinum respondisse Aufidius Chius refert.

2. On Neratius Priscus and Iuventius Celsus (the Son) see below 337, 1 and 2.

3. Among the famous grammarians Ausonius praef. ad Syagr. 20 (Aemilius, see above 295, 1) and Epist. XVIII 26 (quem Claranus, quem Scaurus et Asper, quem sibi conferret Varro) mentions Aemilius

Asper; cf. Augustin. de util. cred. 17 (Asper, Cornutus, Donatus). He iwas later than Cornutus (above 294, 2), as he opposed and contested his opinions (Schol. Veron. on Aen. III 691); and as he had not been ncluded by Sueton. in his account de grammat., he may also have been later than Probus of Berytus (above 295) and still living when Suetonius composed his work. This is not disproved by the fact that the commentary attributed to Probus repeatedly mentions Asper (p. 15, 24 K.: Aemilius Asper cum hunc locum adnotaret. p. 19, 9: non, ut Asper putat); see above 295, 5; nor is it contradicted by Schol. Veron. ad Aen. IX 373 (p. 101, 6 K.) and Serv. Aen. X 539 placing Asper before Probus, as nothing there lets us infer chronological arrangement. An inaccurate note in Vat. 1492 (saec. XV): Asper grammaticus civis rom. tempore Antonini philosophi fuit. Asper's Commentary on Terence is quoted by Donatus on Phorm. I 2, 24. Ad. III 2, 25. IV 2, 20; cf. Rufin. de metr. Ter. p. 2705 P.; Aspri in Vergilium et Sallustium commentarios Hieron. apol. c. Rufin. I 16 (IV 1. p. 367 Bened.). The commentary on Sallust is frequently mentioned by Charisius; see especially II p. 216, 28 K.: Asper commentario Sallustii historiarum I. See above 203, 7. His commentary on Virgil is best known to us; see Ribbeck prolegg. p. 128—136. From the numerous fragments of it we may infer that A. was conservative in his criticism of the text, and paid equal attention to the explanation of the subject-matter and of the language, always showing good judgment and taste. Aper treated also systematically of the deviations of Virgil from ordinary usage both in accidence and syntax. The fragments of these Quaestiones Vergilianae or grammatica Vergiliana see in Keil, Probi comm. (Halle 1848) p. 109—115. Cf. p. XV—XVII and H. Hagen, Philologus XXV p. 353—357. Hence perhaps also sic (pexui vel pectui) Asper de verbo ap. Priscian. (partit. II p. 489, 36 H. cf. Inst. X p. 536, 6. 499,18 sqq. H.), unless this is meant of a general grammar (Ars). In general see Suringar, hist. crit. schol. lat. p. 95—97. 124—142. 255—258. Bergk, Ztschr. f. Alt. Wiss. 1845, p. 118 sq. 125 sq. 129 (who considers him an adherent of Aristarchus). Gräfenhan, Hist. of class. Philol. IV p. 55—78. 285 sq.

4. Martial. IV 86: si vis auribus atticis probari, exhortor moneoque te, libelle, ut docto placeas Apollinari, a refined aesthetic critic. Cf. VII 26 (meum . . facetae aures). 89, 2 (noster). X 30 XI 15, 12. Perhaps the Domitius Apollinaris to whom Plin. Epist. (II 9 and V 6) are addressed; cf. ib. IX 13, 13 (cos. design. for a. 97). C. I. gr. 4236.

5. Martial. X 31, 1 sq.: quae vix intellegat ipse Modestus (above 277, 1) et vix Claranus. See above n. 3. Porphyrio on Hor. Sat. II 3, 83 Anticyra oppidum et insula hoc nomine, ut Claranus testatur. This should most probably be understood of the grammarian Claranus, and certainly renders it credible that he wrote a commentary on Horace, though there are no other traces of a work of this kind. He is perhaps also meant in Serv. Aen. XI 316 (quod etiam Clanarius ait).

6. Martial. X 70, 2: doctus Potitus. De Gadibus improbus magister ib. I 41, 12.

7. In this period we should perhaps place Largius Licinus, the author of a work entitled Ciceromastix (above 271, 3 fin.), which seems to betray a period when Cicero's name had already become the shiboleth of a certain party. He probably wrote after Asinius Gallus and certainly much before Gellius; see 271, 3. See above 307, 2 fin. A certain Larcius Licinus is mentioned by Pliny Ep. II 14, 9. III 5, 17 and elsewhere.

324. Historical works were in the reign of Domitian composed by Iunius Maximus, in a harmless manner, while Arulenus Rusticus and Herennius Senecio (the first an adherent of the Stoic system) wrote in opposition to the government — which cost them their life. A certain Fronto is also mentioned as a Stoic, as well as Decianus of Emerita, though he knew how to combine caution with his philosophy. Pollius Felix was an Epicurean. The works on gastronomy by Priscus and Calvus seem also to belong to this time.

1. Statius Silv. IV prooem.: Maximum Iunium et dignitatis et eloquentiae nomine a nobis diligi satis eram testatus epistula quam ad illum de editione Thebaidos meae publicavi; sed nunc quoque eum reverti maturius e Delmatia rogo (in Silv. IV 7). Cf. Silv. IV 7, 45 sqq. and 53 sqq.: tuas artes, . . omne quis mundi senium remensus orsa Sallusti brevis et Timavi reddis alumnum. The work would thus appear to have been a Universal History, resembling neither Sallust nor Livy in regard of the subject-matter.

2. Iunius Rusticus Arulenus, trib. pleb. a 66 (Tac. A. XVI 26), praetor a. 69 (Tac. hist. III 80), according to Suet. Dom. 10 killed by D. (a. 90) quod Paeti Thraseae et Helvidi Prisci laudes edidisset (a laudatory biography) appellassetque eos sanctissimos viros. More accurately Tac. Agr. 2 (above 314, 5). Dio LXVII 13: *τὸν Ῥούστικον τὸν Ἀρουληνὸν ἀπέκτεινεν ὅτι ἐφιλοσόφει* (cf. above 321, 3) *καὶ ὅτι τὸν Θρασέαν ἱερὸν ὠνόμαζε, καὶ Ἑρέννιον Σενετίωνα ὅτι τε οὐδεμίαν ἀρχὴν ἐν πολλῷ βίῳ μετὰ ταμιείαν ᾔτησε καὶ ὅτι τοῦ Πρίσκου τὸν βίον συνέγραψεν.* Plin. Ep. VII 19, 5: cum Senecio reus esset (by Mettius Carus) quod de vita Helvidi libros composuisset; and ib. 6: illos ipsos libros . . abolitos senatus consulto.

3. Martial. XIV, 106, 2: stoicus hoc (urceo) gelidam Fronto petebat aquam. On Palfurius Sura see above 321, 5. For other philosophers see 314, 6.

4. Martial. I 8: Thraseae et Catonis dogmata sic sequeris salvus ut esse velis, pectore nec nudo strictos incurris in enses, . . Deciane. Cf. ib. 39 (cecropiae madidus latiaeque Minervae artibus etc.). 61, 10. II praef.

5. Chaeremon stoicus ap. Martial. XI 56, 1. Heliodorus stoicus in the Probus-Scholion on Juv. I 35.

6. Stat. Silv. II 2, 112 sq.: hic ubi siderias exercet Pollius (above 319, 1) artes, seu volvit monitus quos dat Gargettius auctor etc.

7. Flavius Archippus, philosophus, in Domitian's eyes bonus vir et professioni suae etiam moribus respondens, but sententia Veli Paulli proconsulis . . crimine falsi damnatus in metallum; see Plin. ad Trai. 58—60.

8. Martial. IX 77: quod optimum sit disputat convivium facunda Prisci pagina. XIV 196: Calvus de aquae frigidae usu.

9. Martial. XII 95: Musaei pathicissimos libellos (in Greek?) qui certant Sybariticis libellis, . . lege etc. See above 319, 6.

3. The time of Nerva and Trajan, A. D. 96—117.

325. What had grown up under the benevolent rule of Vespasian, but had timidly concealed itself under Domitian's despotism, ventured to show itself in broad daylight under the mild sceptre of Nerva and Trajan. In that time we find, therefore, a large number of writers on all departments of literature. Recitations were still kept up, though already on the decline, owing to the insignificance of most of the productions, the satiety of the hearers, and the greater space now accorded to practical eloquence by the increase of general freedom. The recollection of the time they had gone through, filled most writers with bitterness and anger, a remark applicable not only to such men as Juvenal and Tacitus, but even to tame Pliny. Nerva himself took a certain interest in poetry and literature, but his reign was too short to allow him to manifest it much. Trajan's (c. 54—117) whole mind was less devoted to ideal speculations, and he promoted their development only indirectly. The old complaints of the sterility of literary studies, and of the pursuits of art, return therefore in his reign with unimpaired vivacity.

1. M. Cocceius Nerva, son and grandson to jurists (above 276, 2. 293, 2), Cos. I with Vespasian a. 71 = 824, II with Domitian a. 90 = 843, Emperor from 18th Sept. 96 (849) until 27th January 98 (851); cf. A. Haakh in Pauly's Enc. V p. 592 sq. Nerva, nostri temporis Tibullus, is Martial's expression VIII 70 cf. IX 26. Plin. Ep. V 3, 5; above 281, 7. An edict by him on his accession to the throne forms a document inserted by Pliny ad Trai. 58.

2. M. Ulpius **Traianus** from Italica, born 18th Sept. 53 = 806 (Dierauer p. 9 sq. n.), Cos. 91 = 844, adopted by Nerva end of October 97, Cos. II 98, Emperor from 27th Jan. 98 until 7 or 8th Aug. 117, when he died (in Cilicia). W. Teuffel in Pauly's Enc. VI 2. p. 2702—2711. C. Völker, de imp. . . Traiani vita, I Elberfeld 1859. 4. J. Dierauer, Contributions towards a critical history of Trajan, in M. Büdinger's Investigations on points of the Imperial History I (1868) p. 1—186. C. Peter, Hist. of Rome III 2 p. 144—168. Dio LXVIII 7: *παιδείας ἀκριβοῦς, ὅση ἐν λόγοις, οὐ μετέσχε. τό γε μὲν ἔργον αὐτῆς καὶ ἠπίστατο καὶ ἐποίει.* Victor Epit. 13, 7 sq.: magis simpliciora ingenia aut eruditissimos, quamvis ipse parcae esset scientiae moderateque eloquens, diligebat. Julian. Caes. p. 22 sq.: *καίπερ δυνάμενος λέγειν — ὑπὸ ῥᾳθυμίας ἐπιτρέπειν γὰρ εἰώθει τὰ πολλὰ τῷ Σούρᾳ* (Licinius Sura) *γράφειν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ — φθεγγόμενος μᾶλλον ἢ λέγων ἐπεδείκνυεν αὐτοῖς* etc. Plin. paneg. 47: quem honorem dicendi magistris, quam dignationem sapientiae doctoribus habes! ut sub te spiritum et sanguinem et patriam receperunt studia! quae priorum temporum immanitas exiliis puniebat etc. . . at tu easdem artes in complexu, oculis, auribus habes. praestas enim quaecumque praecipiunt etc. Cf. n. 3. It is therefore probable that we should understand of Trajan (Friedländer thinks of Adrian) Juv. 7, 1 sqq. et spes et ratio studiorum in Caesare tantum; solus enim tristes hac tempestate Camenas respexit etc. See W. Teuffel's translation p. 233 sq. Trajan favoured especially the rhetorician Dio Chrysostomus (Or. XLIV 2, 3 Emp.). Comp. J. Burckhardt, New Swiss Museum IV (1864) p. 97—122. He founded libraries, especially the Ulpia (Dio LXVIII 16). Memoirs by Trajan are indicated by Priscian VI 13 p. 205, 6 sq. H.: Traianus in I Dacicorum: inde Berzobim . . processimus. On a speech of Trajan in the Senate on 1 Jan. 100 see Plin. paneg. 67. But Fronto ad Ver. II 1. p. 123 N.: Nerva (Trai.) facta sua in senatu verbis rogaticiis commendavit. See above the quotation from Julian. Trajan's replies to Pliny's inquiries (see below 335, 6 and 9) are brief and concise, but always pertinently expressed. A decree of Trajan in Plin. Ep. V 13, 8. A letter in Henzen's Mon. fr. arval. (1868).

3. Plin. Ep. V 14, 6: tandem homines non ad pericula, ut prius, verum ad honores virtute perveniunt. Under Domitian (especially in his later years, cum profiteretur odium bonorum, Plin. paneg. 95) suspecta virtus, inertia in pretio (ib. VIII 14, 7). Helvidius e. g. metu temporum nomen ingens paresque virtutes secessu tegebat (ib. IX 13, 2). Priorum temporum servitus . . reducta libertas, ib. VIII 14, 2 sq. cf. IX 13, 4 (reddita libertas). Liberius ideoque etiam libentius scribitur, ib. III 18, 6. Studia, quae prope extincta refoventur, ib. III 18, 5. Cf. n. 2 and ib. VIII 12, 1: litterarum senescentium reductor (Capito). V 17, 6: faveo saeculo, ne sit sterile et effetum. But I 10, 1: si quando urbs nostra liberalibus studiis floruit, nunc maxime floret. Cf. n. 5.

4. Plin. E. I 13, 1: magnum proventum poetarum annus hic (97) attulit. toto mense aprili nullus fere dies quo non recitaret aliquis.

iuvat me quod vigent studia, . . tametsi ad audiendum pigre coitur, which is then further developed. Cf. ib. III 18, 4: numquam aut valde vacat Romae aut commodum est audire recitantem. VI 17. Juv. 1, 1 sqq. 7, 40 sqq. Tac. dial. 9. Pliny himself treats these readings with much importance (ib. VII 17, 13. VIII 21, 4 sqq.) and extended them also to speeches which had already been held (ib. VII 17).

5. Orators and speakers were numerous, see below 336, 1—5. But comp. also Plin. Ep. II 14, 2 sqq.: pauci (sunt) cum quibus iuvet dicere. ceteri audaces atque etiam magna ex parte adulescentuli obscuri etc. (4.) sequuntur auditores actoribus similes, conducti et redempti etc. VI 2, 5 sqq.: et qui dicunt egisse malunt quam agere et qui audiunt finire quam iudicare. Tac. dial. 19: apud iudices qui . . saepe ultro admonent (oratorem) atque alio transgredientem revocant et festinare se testantur.

6. On the outward position of scholars and writers at Rome see Juvenal's seventh satire (cf. below 326, 4 fin.).

7. J. G. Hullemann, oratio de literarum, praesertim latinarum, apud Romanos studiis Nerva Traiano imperatore, Lugd. Bat. 1858. 46 pp. H. Thiersch, on the position of polity and philosophy towards religion under Trajan, Adrian and the two Antonines, Marburg 1853.

8. Important inscriptions in the time of Trajan (cf. Orelli-Henzen 782—804. 5440—5451). a) The will of Dasumius of a. 108 or 109, edited by Ambrosch (Annali dell' inst. arch. 1831. Tav. d'agg. B. C. and p. 387—406) and Cl. Cardinali (Diplomi imperiali p. 217 sqq.), last of all extracts in G. Bruns, fontes [2] p. 147—151, cf. Rudorff in the Journal for historical Jurisprudence XII p. 301—392.

b) The documents concerning the foundation of charities (tabulae alimentariae) from Veleia (671 lines) and (of the Ligures Baebiani) from Beneventum (234 lines). On the first see F. A. Wolf, on a charity founded by Trajan, Berlin 1808. P. de Lama, Tavola alimentaria Velejate, Parma 1819. It is printed also in Zell's Manual of Roman epigraphic science, I nr. 1777, p. 390 sqq. E. Desjardins, de tabb. aliment. (Paris 1854); Veleia (Paris 1858) and in the Bull. dell' inst. arch. 1856, p. 1—20. On the second (e. g. in the Inscr. R. N. 1354, ap. Orelli-Henzen 6664) see especially W. Henzen, Tab. al. Baebianorum, Rome 1845 (from the Annali dell' inst. arch. XVI p. 1—111). In general see Pauly's Encl. I 1 p. 774—776. VI 2 p. 1556—1559.

326. Among the poets of the age of Trajan the most prominent is D. Junius Juvenalis of Aquinum (about a. 47—130), who had originally devoted himself to the study of rhetoric and to military service, but subsequently began to publish satires. We possess sixteen of them, divided into five books. The latest and last satires are senile. Those which

are really characteristic describe the vices of Roman Society in an eloquent manner and frequently with horrible vividness. The dark background, the always pathetic, elevated and concise style and the adoption of a systematic design produce a certain monotony. The names are partly typical or fictitious, partly derived from the past, especially from the time of Nero and Domitian. Much remains unintelligible, in spite of the existing Scholia.

1. Our knowledge of Juvenal's life is mostly derived from the inscription put by him probably under Domitian in the temple of Ceres Helvina at Aquinum (Mommsen I. R. N. 4312 = Orelli-Henzen 5599, cf. C. L. Grotefend, Philol. XII p. 489 sq. n. 5): (Cere)ri sacrum (D. Iu)nius Iuvenalis, trib(unus) coh(ortis I) Delmatarum, II(vir) quinq(uennalis), flamen Divi Vespasiani, vovit dedicav(itq)ue sua pec(unia). Of the various vitae (printed in O. Jahn's edition of 1851, p. 386—390) the earliest (I in Jahn) is the one attributed to Probus by Valla, beginning: Iunius Iuvenalis, libertini locupletis incertum filius an alumnus, ad mediam fere aetatem declamavit, animi magis causa quam quod scholae se aut foro praepararet. Sat. 15, 27 (nuper consule Iunco) shows that Juv. survived the consulship of (Aemilius) Iuncus (a. 127=880) for some time. On his death we read in Vita I: octogenarius urbe summotus est, . . verum intra brevissimum tempus angore ac taedio periit; II: revertitur Iuvenalis Romam, qui tandem ad Nervae et Traiani principatum supervivens senio et taedio vitae confectus . . spiritum cum tussi expuit; III: tristitia et angore periit anno aetatis suae altero et octuagesimo; IV: decessit longo senio confectus exul Antonino Pio imperatore. He cannot have died before the reign of Adrian, as he was not mentioned among the viri illustres of Suetonius. See also n. 2.

2. It is certain that Juvenal was exiled, but the time and place of his exile are doubtful. The most authoritative passage is Sidon. Apoll. carm. IX 267 sqq. non qui tempore Caesaris secundi aeterno incoluit Tomos reatu, nec qui consimili deinde casu ad vulgi tenuem strepentis auram irati fuit histrionis exul. The vitae connect it with Sat. 7, 90 (quod non dant proceres dabit histrio etc.) though in the text these words contain no offence and scarcely any blame of the histrio and must have been construed by the way in which they were employed. It is, therefore, most probable that under Trajan or perhaps Adrian these words were shouted to a histrio by the people in the theatre, and that he in return wreaked his anger upon the innocent author, as he could not well punish the people. W. Teuffel, Studies and Characteristics p. 410—412. At all events, the exile cannot (with Malala and Suidas) be placed under Domitian, because Martial (VII 24. 91. XII 18) attests Juvenal's presence at Rome in his latter years. His exile took place in the form of a military relegation, perhaps to Britain (Vita cod. Bonon.: Traianus . . fecit eum praefectum militum

contra Scotos qui bellum Romanis moverant, ibi ut Iuvenalis interficeretur), where the cohors, which Juvenal had formerly commanded (see nr. 1), stood in the years 104, 106, 124. That he was exiled to Egypt is an inference made in most of the vitae from Sat. XV 45, a place which proves only that Juvenal had staid there some time or other.

3. J. V. Francke, examen criticum Iuv. vitae (Altona 1820), and De vita Iuv. quaestio altera (Dorpat 1827 fol.) C. A. Bauer, Crit. Observations on some information concerning the life of Juv., Regensburg 1833. G. Pinzger, in Jahn's Jahrb. XIV (1835) p. 261 sqq. W. Teuffel, ibid. XLIII (1845) p. 103—116; Transl. of Juv. p. 148—153. B. Borghesi, intorno all' età di Giovenale, Rom 1847 = Oeuvres V. p. 49—76. C. Synnerberg, de temporibus vitae carminumque Iuv. rite constituendis, Helsingfors 1866. 92 pp.

4. The division into books is the same as is generally followed by Priscian in his quotations; see M. Hertz's edition II p. 537 sq. The poems themselves seem to be arranged in chronological succession. None of them was composed before the time of Trajan. The authenticity of the two last has been attacked (though with unsatisfactory arguments) by Heinrich and C. Kempf (Observationes in Iuv., Berlin 1843, and De Iuv. sat. XV Iuvenali abiudicanda, Berlin 1843. 4.); see W. Teuffel and W. Hertzberg in their translations p. 153 sq. 341 sq. Against the insane criticism of O. Ribbeck, originally in his edition of the text (Lips. 1859) and in the Symb. philol. Bonn p. 1—30, then also in his work 'The genuine and the spurious Juvenal' (Berlin 1865) see W. Teuffel l. l. 154. 209. 246. 252. 259., and the Vindiciae iuvenalianae of B. Lupus (Bonn 1864) and O. Meinertz (Königsberg 1866), also O. Jahn's edition of 1868, p. 9 sq. Vita VI (one of the shortest and best): in exilio ampliavit satiras et pleraque mutavit. There are indeed several traces of a twofold revision by the poet himself: see W. Teuffel, Studies and Characteristics p. 424—434. In the same way L. Friedländer, Sketches of Roman manners and Morals III p. 412 sq., supposes that Sat. VII was for the most part composed under Trajan, but the introduction (v. 1—21 or 35) prefixed at a later time, when the poet rewrote this satire after the accession of Adrian, whose interest for poetry was known.

5. Juv. 1, 22 sqq.: cum tener uxorem ducat spado etc. . . difficile est satiram non scribere (30). (79 sq.) si natura negat, facit indignatio versum, qualemcumque potest, quales ego vel Cluvienus. 150 sqq. dicas hic forsitan: unde . . illa priorum scribendi quodcumque animo flagrante liberet simplicitas, cuius non audeo dicere nomen? . . (170 sq.) experiar, quid concedatur in illos quorum Flaminia tegitur cinis atque Latina. This shows that the poet did not intend to satirize living characters, and of such he mentions only Marius Priscus, Isaeus, Archigenes and Gallicus, all (except the first) in a polite manner, i. e. Juvenal follows the method also observed by Martial (above 317, 6)

and Pliny (below 335, 6). The other names, at least so far as they denote real persons, belong to the past, frequently even a very distant past, e. g. in the case of Cicero or even Lucilius. They are shadows against whom the poet fights, but such as may be considered the types of living characters of his time. The rhetorical pathos of Juvenal only rarely (as in the case of II 59 sqq. IV 37 sqq. VIII 212 sqq.) permits us to find a more definite chronological date. See Fr. Strauch, de personis Iuvenalianis, Goth. 1869. 63 pp. This pathos is fond of the darkest colours and easily lends the Satirist the appearance of being a pessimist or nihilist. In general, Juvenal retained in his Satires the habits of his rhetorical training (I 15 sqq.). Hence he fixes definite themes for each piece and carries them through in a sober and straightforward manner, now with monotonous transitions, now intentionally without any connecting links. Hence also his stilty tone and artificial conciseness, by the side of rhetorical exaggeration in phrase and diction. His metre is intentionally made sonorous and powerful. W. Teuffel, Studies and Characteristics p. 414—424. H. Wilcke, quid elocutio Iuv. a Persiana differat, Stendal 1869. 18 pp. 4.

6. With regard to preceding writers Juvenal is chiefly acquainted with Horace (e. g. 5, 107 = Hor. Ep. I 1, 40) and Virgil (c. g. 2, 100 = Aen. XII 94; 3, 198 = Aen. II 311; 5, 138 sqq. = Ae. IV 328, XII 475, 6, 133 sq. = Ge. III 282); but most frequent are his allusions to his friend Martial (e. g. 6, 184 = M. X 68; 6, 196 sqq. = M. VI 23; 6, 492 sqq. = M. II 66).

7. We possess two classes of Scholia on the Satires of Juvenal. The first goes in its greater part back to the end of the fourth century and in spite of great corruptions contains not a few traces of real scholarship. They are preserved in the codex Pithoeanus (now at Montpellier, nr. 125) saec. IX and the Sangallensis (D 476) saec. XI, and were first edited by P. Pithoeus (a. 1585), then by A. W. Cramer (a. 1823), emended by L. Schopen in Heinrich's edition (1839) I p. 156—324 (annotationes criticae on them p. 325—440), the best reprint in O. Jahn's edition of 1851, p. 171—385. The Scholia which George Valla published Venet. 1486 as the Scholia of Probus and which extend hardly as far as the eighth satire, were derived from a ms. belonging to the same class, though more complete. The second class bears (like the Scholia on Persius, above 297, 6) the name of Cornutus (Cornuti expositio super toto libro Iuvenalis), is found in more recent mss. (especially Laurent. 52, 4 saec. XV), probably belongs to the Carlovingian period, and is both verbose and empty; see O. Jahn's ed. of Persius p. CXVI—CXXXI. Specimens of them were published by Schopen, Inedited Scholia on Juv. III, Bonn 1847. 4; K. F. Hermann (Schediasma de scholiorum ad Iuv. genere deteriore, Götting. 1849. 4). and Gigch (Apparatus criticus ad Iuv., Lugd. Bat. 1849; Tria capita ad Iuv. eiusque scholiastas spectantia ib. 1850).

8. In the same manner the manuscripts of the Satires are divided into two classes. Of the earlier class only the Budensis or Pithoeanus (P. ap. Jahn) saec. IX (see n. 7) is extant, and even this ms. has been completely revised and corrected by a later hand in accordance with mss. of the second class. The similar ms. of Ge. Valla has entirely disappeared, and in the St. Gall ms. (a. 7) the text of Juvenal has been lost. A Vienna ms. saec. X extends only until 5, 96: see on this A. Göbel in the Reports of the Meetings of the Vienna Academy XXIX (1859) p. 73 sqq. On the Montpellier ms. see also F. Rühl, Philologus XXX p. 676 sq. Much more numerous are the mss. of the second interpolated and badly corrupted class. Two of these (Mediceus and Leidensis) saec. XI bear the subscription: Legi ego Niceus Romae apud Servium magistrum et emendavi The grammarians who quote passages from Juvenal generally follow the readings of this second class. C. Fr. Hermann, de codicibus Iuvenalis recte existimandis (Gotting. 1847. 4.) and Vindiciae Iuvenalianae (ib. 1854. 4.) O. Jahn in his edition of 1868, p. 5—9. Abortive attempts to prove the class of Nicaeus to be superior were made by A. Häckermann, on the Pithoean ms. of Juv. I. Greifswald 1856. 4.; on the explanation of Hermann and the criticism of Juv., Greifsw. 1857; the Pith. Codex of Juv., Philologus XII p. 658—695. XVI 412—449. XVII 481—491; commentatio in Iuv. satiras, Greifswald 1867. 4.

9. The editions of Juvenal are enumerated in Ruperti's ed. I p. CLXIV—CCLIII. We will mention: Ed. princeps, Venet. 1475. 4. 1470 and Rome c. 1470 (fol.) Cum comment. D. Calderini (Venet. 1475. 4. 1495. fol.), G. Vallae (Venet. 1486. fol.), Cald., Vallae, Mancinelli (Venet. 1492. fol.), with Merulae (Venet. 1498. fol.). Ald. (1501. 8.). Cum comm. Britannici (Brix. 1501. fol. and often). Cum notis Pulmanni et Hadr. Junii (Antv. 1565. 8.), Fr. Pithoei (Lutet. 1585. 8.); Schol. Britann., Pith., Curion. Pulmann. (Lutet. 1602. 4.). Cura N. Rigaltii (Lutet. 1613. 4. 1616. 12.). Ed. Grangaeus (Paris 1614. 4.). Cum scholl. et comm. ed. H. C. Henninius (with Persius, Ultraiect. 1685. 4. Lugd. Bat. 1695. 4.). Cum perp. comm. ed. G. A. Ruperti (2 vols., Lips. 1801; an abridgment of it, Gotting. 1803. 1819). Ed. N. L. Achaintre (Paris 1810. 2 vols.), N. E. Lemaire (Paris 1823. 2 vols.). Rec. et ann. E. W. Weber (Weimar 1825. 8.). In J. C. Orelli Eclogae poett. lat. (Sat. 4. 8. 10. 15.), W. E. Weber's Corpus poett. latt. p. 1138—1173. Ex emend. et c. comm. C. F. Heinrichii; acc. scholia vetera Bonn 1839. 2 vols.). Cum scholiis veteribus recensuit et emendavit O. Jahn, Berol. 1851.

Texts by A. Häckermann (Lips. 1851), C. F. Hermann (Lips. Teubner 1854), O. Ribbeck (see n. 4), O. Jahn, (Berol. 1868.).

Juv. satt. delectus, cum notis ed. C. Schmidt, Bielefeld 1835. Satt. tres (3, 4, 5) ed. C. L. Roth, Nürnberg 1841.

10. On Juvenal see Manso in the Supplements to Sulzer VI. p. 294—342. Nisard, études . . sur les poètes latins de la décadence (Paris

1834) I. p. 241 sqq. II. p. 101—174. W. Teuffel in Pauly's Enc. IV. (1845) p. 535—539. Völker, Juvenal; his life and character, Elberfeld 1851. C. F. Hermann in his Edition (1854) p. III—XVIII. Munding, on the religious and moral bearing of the Satires of Juvenal, Rottweil 1865. 4. A. Widal, Juvénal et ses Satires; études littéraires et morales, Paris 1869. G. Boissier, I. et son temps, Revue des deux mondes, June 1870, p. 141—174.

11. Critical and exegetical contributions by J. R. Heinecke (Animadversiones, Halle 1804), G. Pinzger (de versibus spuriis et male suspectis, Breslau 1827. 4.), J. N. Madvig (de locis aliquot Juv. interpretandis, Opusc. acad. I. p. 29—63. II. p. 167—205), Corn. Müller (de locis aliquot etc. Hamburg 1830. 4.), C. F. Hermann (spicileg. annotationum ad sat. III 4. Marburg 1839. 4. De sat. VII temporibus, Gotting 1843. 4.), C. Kempf (Observationes in Iuv. aliquot locos interpretandos, Berol. 1843), G. G. Matthias (Observat. in sat. 1. Marburg 1844. 4), N. Mohr (spicileg. annotatt. ad. I. sat. 1 et 2, Dorpat 1845), A. L. Döllen (Contributions towards the criticism and explanation of J., Kiew 1846), Bogen (de locis al. Iuv. explicandis etc. Bonn 1849), A. Häckermann (in Jahn's Archiv XVI, XVII and the Berlin Journal for Gymn. 1866), A. Schmidt (de locis aliquot etc. Halle 1851), J. T. H. Wolters (comm. lit. in sat. I., Walddüren 1853), A. Göbel (Iuvenaliana, Conitz and Berlin 1859. 4.), Borghesi (annotazioni, Oeuvres V. p. 509—536). Others are mentioned in notes 4. 5. 8.

G. Lehmann, antiquitates Rom. domesticae in Iuv. satt. illustratae, I. Halle 1867.

327. The general skill which the age of Trajan possessed in various forms of poetry is evidenced by the great number of men who (as we know chiefly from the pages of Pliny the younger) composed and published verse. Such were Octavius Rufus, the influential Titinius Capito, Passennus Paullus who imitated Propertius and Horace, Caninius who attempted epic poetry, Sentius Augurinus in melic metres, Vergilius Romanus, who wrote mimiambi and comedies, and others. We possess extensive specimens of the poems of the African rhetorician P. Annius Florus.

1. Plin. Ep. I 7 (Octavio Rufo), 5: tu me tuis (versibus) agere non pateris, quorum tanta cupiditate ardeo ut etc. II 10 (Octavio), 1: hominem te . . crudelem qui tam insignes libros tam diu teneas! .. (3.) enotuerunt quidam tui versus etc. Perhaps the same Rufus as ib. IX 38: legi librum (by him) omnibus numeris absolutum.

2. Cn. Octavius Titinius Capito, . . proc(urator) (of Domitian) ab epistulis et a patrimonio, iterum ab epistulis divi Nervae . . . ab

epistul(is) tertio imp(eratoris) Nervae Caesar(is) Traiani Aug(usti) Ger(manici), Orelli 801. Clarissimi cuiusque vitam egregiis carminibus (epigrams) exornat, Plin. Ep. I 17, 3, cf. VIII 12, 4 sq.: scribit exitus inlustrium virorum . . quasi funebribus laudationibus. V 8, 1: suades ut historiam scribam.

3. Caninius (Rufus) bellum dacicum scribere parat, in the heroic style of the Greeks, Plin. Ep. VIII 4, 1. 3 sqq. cf. IX 33, 1. 11. I 3 (Caninio Rufo), 1 (quid agit Comum, tuae meaeque deliciae?) and 3 sqq. Eight hexametrical lines from a Bellum parthicum Traiani imp. in Riese's Anthol. lat. 392 (I p. 257 sq.)

4. Plin. Ep. VI 15, 1: Passennus Paulus, splendidus eq. rom. et in primis eruditus, scribit elegos. gentilicium hoc illi: est enim municeps Properti atque etiam inter maiores suos Propertium numerat. IX 22: magna me sollicitudine affecit Passenni Pauli valetudo. . . si elegos eius in manus sumpseris leges opus tersum, molle, iucundum et plane in Properti domo scriptum. nuper ad lyrica deflexit, in quibus ita Horatium ut in illis illum alterum effingit. . . magna varietas, magna mobilitas. amat . ., dolet . ., laudat . ., ludit etc.

5. Plin. Ep. V 17, 1 sq.: nuntio tibi fuisse me hodie in auditorio Calpurni Pisonis (Cons. 111?). recitabat *κατασταρισμῶν* eruditam sane . . materiam. scripta elegis erat fluentibus et teneris et enodibus, sublimibus etiam etc.

6. Plin. Ep. IV 27: audivi recitantem Sentium (Borghesi: Serium) Augurinum cum . . admiratione. poematia appellat. multa tenuiter, multa sublimiter, multa venuste, multa . . cum bile. He subjoins a specimen in hendecasyllabics in the manner of Catullus, Calvus and Pliny (below 335, 4). Cf. ib. IX 8: omnia scripta tua pulcherrima, maxime tamen illa de nobis.

7. Plin. Ep. VI 21, 2: nuper audivi Vergilium Romanum paucis legentem comoediam ad exemplar veteris comoediae scriptam. (4.) scripsit mimiambos, . . scripsit comoedias Menandrum aliosque aetatis eiusdem aemulatus. . . nunc primum se in vetere comoedia . . ostendit. non illi vis, . . non amaritudo, non lepos defuit. ornavit virtutes, insectatus est vitia, fictis nominibus decenter, veris usus est apte. circa me . . benignitate nimia modum excessit etc.

8. M. Pomponius M. f. Bassulus in an inscription of Aeclanum ap. Mommsen I. R. N. 1137 = Henzen 5605 = Bücheler, Greifswald List of Lectures 1870, p. 12: ne more pecoris otio transfungerer, Menandri paucas vorti scitas fabulas, et ipsus etiam sedulo finxi novas. id quale qualest chartis mandatum diu. The correctness of the lines and the personal circumstances of the author render it probable to assign these lines to the second half of the first century (Mommsen Hermes III p. 465–467) or to the time of Trajan (Bücheler). On the text see Bergk in Fleckeisen's Jahrb. 1870, p. 826, n. 3.

9. As poets are mentioned in general terms Silius Proculus (Plin. Ep. III 15), Cluvienus (Juv. 1, 80); and merely as writers Iulius Avitus (quantum legit, quantum scripsit! Plin. Ep. V 21, 5), Geminus (ib. IX 11, 1), Atrius or Satrius (ib. IX 35), Nonius Maximus (ib. IV 20 cf. V 5).

10. On Annius Florus see below 336, 7.

328. Among the prose-writers of the time of Trajan the first place is occupied by Cornelius Tacitus (c. A. D. 54—119), Cons. a. 97. His best years, like those of Juvenal, belonged to the reign of Domitian, when fear and indignation, repressed without any possibility of discharge, embittered all thought and feeling. His sympathies belonged to the aristocratic republic, but his intellect convinced him of the necessity of monarchic institutions. He also possessed the aversion to boisterous conduct and precipitate action peculiar to aristocrats and doctrinaires, and shared the prevalent sentiment of resignation, which he also endeavoured to justify theoretically. As historian, Tacitus endeavoured in the first place to ascertain the facts. He followed the best sources, though frequently without naming them, and sifted them with strict criticism. He candidly states the results of his conscientious investigations, while his own views are generally merely implied in the careful wording of his sentences. He treats his subject in a pragmatical manner, zealously inquiring into the causes of actions, which he traces partly in the circumstances, partly in the characters. The first he sometimes declares to be necessary and decreed by Fate, sometimes accidental. He is fond of tracing the psychological connexion of facts, and in the delineation of characters and psychological analysis Tacitus displays unequalled mastery. The key-note of his work is, like his subject-matter, serious, melancholy and even bitter. This historian avoids all that might impair his dignified bearing, rhetorical display as well as passionate outpourings; but he knows how to increase his dignity by artistic accuracy and calculation and by a very peculiar diction. Though he wavered some time between the models of the classical period, he finally decided in favour of the poetically coloured and pointed style of his contemporaries, but in so doing the epigrammatic novelty and audacity of his diction even enhanced the peculiarities

of silver Latinity, while its difficulties force the reader to stop and reflect on his way through the work.

1. On his praenomen, perhaps Publius. In the Med. I. the heading P. Cornelii Taciti is by a modern hand; the subscriptions have P. Cornelii, and even these partly by later hands. W. Studemund, Eos II p. 224 sq., cf. L. Urlichs, ibid. II p.227. I p. 246. The praenomen C. is found e. g. in the codex Farnesianus (C. Cornelii Taciti . . liber primus etc. incipit) and in the mss. of Sidonius Apollinaris Ep. IV 14 in. (C. or Caius Tacitus . . Ulpianorum temporum consularis) and 22 (cum Cornelius C. Secundo paria suasisset), in either rather an abbreviation of Cornelius or (as in other cases, see above 82, 1) originated from the first letter of the principal name. The ancient writers who mention Tacitus (e. g. Pliny the younger, Flav. Vopisc. Aurelian. 2, 1; Oros. VII 10, 19; Sidon. Apoll. carm. XXIII 154) do not mention his praenomen. In the subscriptions of the Med. II he is simply called Cornelius Tacitus.

2. His birthplace. Flavius Vopiscus (Tac. 10, 3) relates of the Emperor Tacitus (a 275—276): Cornelium Tacitum, scriptorem historiae augustae, quod parentem suum eundem diceret, in omnibus bybliothecis conlocari iussit, et ne lectorum incuria deperiret librum per annos singulos decies scribi publicitus in cunctis archivis iussit et in bybliothecis poni. As this Emperor was a native of Interamna and had there, like his brother Florianus, a statue with a cenotaph (Vopisc. Florian. 2, 1 = Tac. 15, 1), it was rashly assumed that the historian was likewise born there, and the modern town of Terni raised him a statue in 1514 (Angeloni, storia di Terni p. 42 sqq.). But even though the Emperor and the historian Tac. were actually related, this would not yet establish the identity of their birthplace; nay the designation of Sejanus as municipalis adulter (A. IV 3) renders it inprobable that the historian was born in a municipium. We should then assume that he was born at Rome.

3. Plin. n. h. VII 17, 76 after mentioning a case of premature bodily development attended by premature death: ipsi non pridem vidimus eadem ferme omnia . . in filio Corneli Taciti equitis romani, Belgicae Galliae rationes procurantis. He probably was the father of the historian; at least the time agrees with this assumption. It is certain that Tacitus was descended from a noble and rich family, as his education and political career show this.

4. The year in which Tac. was born can only conjecturally be found out by combining varicus facts. If Dial. 1 he says that he listened to that conversation (which happened a. 75 or 76, below 329, n. 2) iuvenis admodum, this would lead us to his eighteenth or twentieth year, so that his birth would be placed about a. 56—59, Tacitus himself (Agr. 7) describing Domitian at the age of 18 or 19 as iuvenis admodum. But other writers use the same expression of

persons at the age of 21 to 23 years. Agr. 9: consul (a. 77 = 830) egregiae tum spei filiam iuveni mihi despondit ac post consulatum (i. e. a. 78) collocavit et statim Britanniae praepositus est. Tac. does not seem to have had children by this marriage about the time of Agricola's death, as they could not well have remained unnoticed in the epilogue to the life of Agricola.

5. On his rhetorical training and practice. Dial. 2: M. Aper et Iulius Secundus (above 310, 3 sq.), . . quos ego in iudiciis non utrosque modo studiose audiebam sed domi quoque et in publico assectabar, mira studiorum cupiditate et quodam ardore iuvenili etc. It is possible that Quintilian (above 320, 4) instructed also Tacitus. Cf. Plin. Ep. VII 20, 4: equidem adolescentulus, cum iam tu fama gloriaque (as orator) floreres, te sequi, tibi 'longo, sed proximus, intervallo' et esse et haberi concupiscebam. IV 13, 11 to Tac.: rogo ut ex copia studiosorum quae ad te ex admiratione ingenii tui convenit circumspicias praeceptores quos sollicitare possimus. IX 23, 2: numqum maiorem cepi voluptatem quam nuper ex sermone Corneli Taciti. narrabat sedisse se cum quodam circensibus proximis. hunc post varios eruditosque sermones requisisse: 'Italicus es an provincialis?' se respondisse: 'nosti me, et quidem ex studiis.' ad hoc illum: 'Tacitus es an Plinius?' Of the philosophical systems Tac. is acquainted only with the Epicurean and Stoic, but even there his studies cannot have been very deep; see Agr. 4 (above 40, 2). On his speeches see Plin. Ep. II 1, 6: laudatus est (Verginius Rufus) a consule Cornelio Tacito; nam hic supremus felicitati eius cumulus accessit, laudator eloquentissimus. id. II 11, 2: ego et Cornelius Tacitus, adesse provincialibus (of Africa) iussi (a. 100); 11, 17: respondit Cornelius Tacitus eloquentissime et quod eximium orationi eius inest, σεμνῶς. 11, 9: quod ego et Tacitus iniuncta advocatione diligenter et fortiter functi essemus.

6. His political career. Hist. I 1: dignitatem nostram a Vespasiano († 79 A. D.) incohatam, a Tito (June 79 until Sept. 81) auctam, a Domitiano (a. 81—96) longius provectam non abnuerim. The general commencement was the quaestorship, which Tac. obtained a. 79 at the very latest, and as this presupposed the age of at least 25 years, we should again be obliged to assume a. 54 as the latest year in which he could have been born. Hence Fr. Haase understands his incohata dignitas of the XXviratus, L. Urlichs (de Agr. p. 25 'Festgruss' p. 5 sq.) of the XVviratus. The next step after the quaestorship was the tribuneship or aedileship. Agricola had been trib. pleb. (Agr. 6); it is, however, possible that aucta is in favour of the assumption that Tac. became an aedile. This second dignity Tac. would have held a. 81 at the latest. Under Domitian his further advancement (to the praetorship) was delayed. A. XI 11: is quoque (Domitianus) edidit ludos saeculares (septimos Domitianus se XIV et L. Minucio Rufo coss., anno DCCCXXXXI, Censorin. d. n. 17, 11; i. e. A. D. 88 = 841 V. C.) iisque intentius affui sacerdotio quindecimvirali praeditus ac tunc praetor. — Of Agricola, who died in August 93, Agr. 45: nobis tam longae

absentiae (from Rome, perhaps owing to his official duties, say as a praetorial legate in Germany) condicione ante quadriennium amissus est. But Tacitus must have returned to Rome soon afterwards, on account of Agr. 45: mox (after Agricola's death) nostrae duxere Helvidium in carcerem manus, nos Maurici Rusticique visus, nos innocenti sanguine Senecio perfudit. . . praecipua sub Domitiano miseriarum pars erat videre et aspici. He became consul under Nerva, a. 97 see n. 5. Tacitus seems to have lived until Adrian's accession (Aug. 117) and his death seems to have taken place between 117 and 120. His intention (A. IV 24) to write also the history of the Augustan age remained unfulfilled.

7. His own views concerning his position towards the past are expressed by Tacitus in the word he attributes to C. Cassius, A. XIV 43: saepenumero, P. C., in hoc ordine interfui cum contra instituta et leges maiorum nova senatus decreta postularentur, neque sum adversatus, non quia dubitarem super omnibus negotiis melius atque rectius olim provisum et quae converterentur in deterius mutari, sed ne nimio amore antiqui moris studium meum extollere viderer. simul quidquid hoc in nobis auctoritatis est crebris contradictionibus destruendum non existimabam, ut maneret integrum si quando resp. consiliis eguisset. This is scarcely contradicted by the expressions used A. III 55 to convey the writer's personal opinion: nisi forte rebus cunctis inest quidam velut orbis . . nec omnia apud priores meliora, sed nostra quoque aetas multa laudis et artium imitanda posteris tulit. Cf. H. I 3 in. Tacitus is very bitter when the grand antecedents of Rome are used as the motives of vexations in his own time, cf. A. III 66. IV 19. Antiquus and priscus are always used by him to denote praise, e. g. H. II 5. 64. A. VI 32. It should also be observed with what warmth he expresses himself A. III 60: magna eius diei species fuit, quo senatus maiorum beneficia, sociorum pacta, regum etiam . . decreta ipsorumque numinum religiones introspexit, libero, ut quondam, quid firmaret mutaretve. Altogether Tacitus' mode of thinking is quite aristocratic even in its prejudices, and to noble blood he always attaches high value; see A. IV 3. VI 27 in. XIV 14. Concerning slaves and barbarians he shares the prejudices of the Romans (e. g. A. I 76. II 85. XI 36. Germ. 23. 33. Hist. V 2 sqq. 13) and only in very rare instances (Agr. 30. A. II 88. IV 72) does he seem susceptible of the independent sense of others.

8. Among the three possible kinds of government (cunctas nationes et urbes populus aut primores aut singuli regunt, A. IV 33) the republican form is in Tacitus' opinion decidedly the freer form (A. VI 42), but in the interest of civil peace (Dial. 36. Hist. I 1) and in consequence of the decline of the period (H. II 37) as well as the immense extent of the Empire (H. II 38) the republic has become impossible and the monarchy necessary (H. I 16). It is therefore unavoidable that the individual should be resigned and take things and people as they are (e. g. bonos imperatores voto expetere, qualescumque tolerare, H. IV 8 cf. 74) and attempt to steer his course through these

difficult circumstances so as neither to injure his honour nor expose himself to dangers, by finding a road midway inter abruptam contumaciâm et deforme obsequium (A. IV 20). Men who had succeeded in this, moderate liberals who knew how to take the extant state of things into due consideration, and who restrained their liberal tendencies (modum et temperamentum adhibere, Dial. 41. A. IV 20), non contumacia atque inani iactatione libertatis famam fatumque provocabant (Agr. 42), utilia honestis miscebant (Agr. 8), are therefore fully appreciated by Tac.; e. g. Man. Lepidus (A. IV 20), L. Piso (A. VI 10), C. Cassius (A. XII 12. XIV 43), Agricola (Agr. 8. 42). But such men as Helvidius Priscus (H. IV 6) and Paetus Thrasea (A. XIV 12) are not exactly men he likes; he does not indeed detract the merit of those who dare die for their convictions (cf. A. VI 34 sq. XV 57. XVI 16), but still he feels that by the side of such men of action, men of the secret pen cannot occupy a very brilliant position. In general he followed under Domitian the advice of the experienced Seneca (Ep. 14, 7): sapiens numquam potentium iras provocabit, immo declinabit, non aliter quam in navigando procellam. (ib. 8:) sapiens nocituram potentiam vitat, hoc primum cavens ne vitare videatur. pars enim securitatis et in hoc est non ex professo eam fugere, quia quae quis fugit damnat. See above 282, 1 fin.

9. The spectacle of a despotism spreading with fatal power and crushing the noblest aims and characters that are in its way, while those who would have deserved death a thousand times are not caught by punishment or but too late, often troubles the historian's ideas of divine justice; in his dark night he looks in vain for the guiding hand of some god to show him light. From what he sees, he infers the indifference or even enmity of the gods to mankind. H. I 3: adprobatum est non esse curae deis securitatem nostram, esse ultionem. II 38: eadem illos deum ira, eadem hominum rabies, eaedem scelerum causae in discordiam egere. III 72: propitiis, si per mores nostros liceret, deis. A. IV 1: deum ira in rem Rom. XVI 33: aequitate deum erga bona malaque documenta. XIV 12: quae (prodigia) adeo sine cura deum eveniebant ut multos post annos Nero imperium et scelera continuaverit. Cf. Hist. I 86. IV 26. As Tac. holds these views on miracles, he scarcely ever condescends to mention them. Only in the Hist. (e. g. I 18. II 50. III 56. V 13) and in the last books of the Annals (XII 43. 64. XIV 32. XV 7. 47) he mentions them occasionally, probably owing to his sources. In this detail we may also observe that Tac. does not follow any definite philosophical system; but his moral convictions most frequently coincide with those of the Stoa.

10. Works on the political and religious views of Tac. Süvern p. 128 sqq. C. Hoffmeister, the Moral Views of Tac. p. 13 sqq. 78 sqq. C. Zell, Vacation-writings III p. 67—129. Kirschbaum, quid Tac. senserit de rebus publicis. Jena 1856. F. Haase, praef. p. XXX—XLIX. C. Nipperdey, edition of the Ann. p. XII—XVI. Stäudlin, on the philosophy and mode of thought of Tac., in Conz's Contributions 1786. p. 144 sqq. and in Stäudlin's History of Scepticism II p. 297 sqq. J. Ky-

naston, de impietate Tacito falso obiectata, Oxford 1761. 4. J. C. Wolf, de divina mundi moderatione e mente Taciti, Fulda 1830. F. H. A. Haage, Tac. ab impietatis crimine vindicatus, ad Hist. I 3. Lüneburg 1840. 4. F. A. Scharpff, on the political and religious views of Tac., Rottweil 1843. 4. Kahlert, Taciti sententiae de diis et deorum regimine, Breslau 1844, Neustadt 1847. 4. Fabian, quid Tac. de numine divino iudicaverit, Bresl. 1852. J. Baumann, in Jahn's Jahrb. LXXIX p. 257—281. J. G. Pfaff, the views of Tac. concerning morality, Marburg 1858. Fr. Voigtland, quid senserit Tac. de divina rerum humanarum moderatione, Schleusingen 1870. 19 pp. 4.

11. As his sources Tac. mentions the acta diurna (A. III 3. XIII 31. XVI 22), the acta senatus (A. V 4. XV 74), Agrippinae commentarii (A. IV 53), G. Plinius (H. III 28. A. I 69), Corbulo (A. XV 16), Vipstanus Messala (H. III 25. 28), Cluvius (A. XIII 20. XIV 2), Fabius Rusticus A. XIII 20. XIV 2. XV 61), Sisenna (H. III 51). But as a rule he speaks only generally of scriptores annalium (A. IV 53), scriptores senatoresque eorundem temporum (A. II 88), celeberrimi auctores (H. III 51), plurimi maximeque fidi auctores (A. IV 10), temporum illorum scriptores (A. XII 67. XIII 17), temporis eius auctores (A. V 9 and elsewhere), scriptores temporum qui monumenta huius belli composuerunt (H. II 101), or omnes, plerique, plurimi, multi, quidam, alii auctores tradunt. The instances in which he appeals to oral sources, are not scarce (A. III 16: audire me memini ex senioribus; cf. XI 27. XV 41. 73). In case his authorities differ, he either decides for the best attested or for that which is of itself more probable; e. g. A. IV 11: haec vulgo iactata, super id quod nullo auctore certo firmantur, prompte refutaveris (as mprobable in themselves; cf. XIV 2). He frequently also suspends his judgment (H. II 28. A. I 81. V 10. VI 7. XIII 20); but elsewhere he contrasts the result of his reflexions or investigations with the relations of his sources (H. II 101: scriptores . . tradiderunt. mobis videntur. A. II 37: nvenio apud quosdam auctores, . . ego reor. Cf. ib. VI 7). See in general Meierotto, de fontibus quos Tac. . . videatur secutus, Leipz. and Berl. 1795. fol. H. Justus, de fide Taciti, Zittau 1827. Bötticher ex. Tac. p. XIX—XXIII. R. E. Prutz, de fontibus quos in conscribendis rebus a Tiberio usque ad mortem Neronis gestis auctores secuti videantur, Halle 1838. Nipperdey in his edition of the Annals p. XVI—XVIII. L. Schiller in Mützell's Zeitschr. f. Gymn. VII. 1853. p. 280—291. Friedlieb, on Josephus, Tacitus, Suetonius and Dio as sources for the investigation of early Christian history, in Th. Wiedemann's Austrian quarterly Journal for Roman Catholic Theology I (1862). Reichau, de fontium delectu quem in Tiberii vita moribusque describendis Velleius, Tacitus, Suetonius, Dio habuerunt, Königsberg 1865. Th. Mommsen, Corn. Tac. and Cluvius Rufus, Hermes IV p. 295—325. Nissen, Rhein. Mus. XXVI p. 509 sqq. 540. Cf. n. 14 sq.

12. The pragmatic treatment of Tac.: ut non modo casus eventusque rerum, qui plerumque fortuiti sunt, sed ratio causaeque noscantur

(H. I 4). But on the relation of accident to human liberty and the necessity of fate, Tac. expresses contradictory views; see Süvern p. 126—134. Hoffmeister, the Moral Views of T., p. 114 sq. 117—121. Nipperdey p. XII—XIV. Comp. e. g. A. III 18: mihi, quanto plura recentium seu veterum revolvo, tanto magis ludibria rerum mortalium cunctis in negotiis obversantur. IV 20: dubitare cogor, fato et sorte nascendi . . an sit aliquid in nostris consiliis. V 4. fatali quodam motu .. seu prava sollertia. VI 22: mihi haec ac talia audienti incerto iudicium est fatone res mortalium et necessitate immutabili an forte volvantur. In numerous instances Tac. places the natural and the transcendental explanation of a fact side by side without any attempt at mediation (e. g. Varus fato et vi Arminii cecidit, A. I 55 cf. Süvern p. 131, n. 2) or also the fatalistic and the theistic view (e. g. fatum et ira dei, H. IV 26. Hoffmeister p. 109 sq.). In the majority of cases he prefers the immanent causes and only when he cannot perceive them clearly, he assumes the influence of fate.

13. Despotism creates in its surroundings a perfect mastery in refined psychological observation. Unable to let his life issue forth, the individual descends into the depths of his breast; and obliged to read in the features of the despot both his own fate and that of others, he becomes skilled in the symptoms of psychic life and learns how to find his way in the maze of a human breast. Tacitus possesses this mastery to quite an unusual degree; fine psychological observations abound in him, e. g. A. IV 3: neque femina amissa pudicitia alia abnuerit. XIV 4: facili feminarum credulitate ad gaudia. Agr. 42: proprium humani ingeni est odisse quem laeseris. A. XIV 62: graviore odio, quia malorum facinorum ministri quasi exprobrantes aspiciuntur. XII 67: haud ignarus summa scelera incipi cum periculo, peragi cum praemio. IV 18: beneficia eo usque laeta sunt dum videntur exsolvi posse; ubi multum antevenere, pro gratia odium redditur. V 2: facetiis acerbis, quarum apud praepotentes in longum memoria est. XIV 14: ut est volgus cupiens voluptatum et si eodem princeps trahat laetus. H. I 56: quod in seditionibus accidit, unde plures erant omnes fuere. II 80: quaeritur tempus, locus, quodque in re tali difficillimum est, prima vox. Tac. is especially skilled in tracing the secret springs of action, unmasking hypocrisy, anatomically dissecting psychic proceedings, and in fine and pertinent delineations of characters. Especially famous is his showing how Tiberius gradually became a monster from having originally been a good ruler. See above 270, 1. Yet Tacitus' tendency to discover bad motives in everything appears also in his manner of treating even the good actions of Tiberius in the first part of his reign as mere hypocrisy. Still Tac. retains a mind accessible to the just appreciation of real nobility and goodness. Germanicus is a decided favourite of his; but even in lower spheres he likes to draw attention to noble elements (e. g. H. III 23. IV 50). His psychic interest frequently even surpasses his historical interest and causes Tac. to neglect the real connexion of the events in many instances. This

interest does not, however, extend to real partiality, and altogether we should acknowledge that he remained faithful to his intention of writing sine ira et studio (n. 1). See also Fechner, de Taciti historica arte iis conspicua quae de Germanico et Seiano memoriae prodita sunt, Bromberg 1867. 4.

14. Hist II 50: ut conquirere fabulosa et fictis oblectare legentium animos procul gravitate coepti operis crediderim, ita volgatis traditisque demere fidem non ausim. Historical excursuses are therefore comparatively scarce, though some are found H. II 3. 38. III 72. IV 83 sq. V 2 sqq. A. IV 26 sqq. (de principiis iuris). VI 11 (praefecti urbis). 12 (libri sibyllini). 16 (leges funebres). 21 sq. (astrology). XI 22 (quaestorship). Such long speeches as we have in Agricola do not recur in the later works; brief ones occur e. g. H. I 83 sq. II 76 sq. IV 42. 58. 64 sq. 73 sq, A. I 42 sq. 58 sq. II 37 sq. 71. III 12. 50. IV 34 sq. 37 sq. V 6. VI 8; in or. obliqua A. II 14 sq. 45 sq. Expositions of motives in speeches pro and con occur e. g. A. II 76 sq. Documents (chiefly letters) A. III 16. 53 sq. IV 39 sq. In agreement with the general rhetorical treatment of his subjects, Tac. does not think very highly of details. A. III 65: exequi sententias (votes of the Senate) haud institui nisi insignes per honestum aut notabili dedecore, quod praecipuum munus annalium reor ne virtutes sileantur utque pravis dictis factisque ex posteritate et infamia metus sit. Cf. XIII 31 (cum ex dignitate populi rom. repertum sit res illustres annalibus, talia diurnis urbis actis mandare). On the other hand VI 7 extr.: nobis pleraque digna cognitu obvenere, quamquam ab aliis incelebrata. Cf. A. IV 53. Hist. IV 83.

15. Tacitus is never carried away by passion: which would be a bad offence against the 'grandezza' of Roman aristocracy and unsuitable to the oppressed state of the minds of the time in which he lived and wrote. In spite of its elevation, his tone is therefore at once quiet and calm, so that neither hatred nor horror or contempt can ever push it beyond the line of moderation. Tac. also shares the general aversion of rhetoric to bold expressions, and ugly things are unpleasant to his aristocratic manner. On the other hand he does not disdain rhetorical or poetical embellishment, and often alludes to Virgil; see E. Wölfflin, Philol. XXVI p. 130—132. A. Dräger, on the Syntax and Style of Tac. p. 184—106.

16. W. Bötticher sums up the principal peculiarities of Tacitus' style as varietas, brevitas, poeticus color. It has repeatedly been observed that these did not exist in equal extent from the beginning of T.'s literary career, and that T.'s style reached the acme of its peculiarities in the Annals, and also that it varies according to humour or subject-matter (e. g. in narrative and orations); the details have been collected by E. Wölfflin, Philol. XXV p. 92—108. 133 sq. Other works on the style and diction of Tac. are: Lundblad (Lund 1789. 4.), J. G. Buhle (Brunswick 1817), Günther in the Athenaeum II 2. p. 262 sqq. J. E. Wernicke, de elocutione Taciti, Thorn 1829. 4. 1830. 8. K. L.

Roth, Tac. synonyma et per figuram ἓν διὰ δυοῖν dicta, Nürnberg 1826. 4. and in the Excursuses of his edition of Agricola. N. Bach before the second vol. of his edition. W. Böttticher, lexicon Taciteum, Berlin 1830. L. Döderlein, in his ed. II 1847. p. XXII—LVIII. Jungclaussen de Tac. sermonis proprietate, Kiel 1848. 4. C. J. Grysar, on the peculiarities of the diction and latinity of Tac., Journal for Austrian Gymn. IV 1853. p. 1—42. Nipperdey in his ed. of the Annals p. XX—XXIV. C. Göbel, de poetico Tacitei stili colore, Berlin 1859. 39 pp. 8. P. Joachim, nonnulla de elocutione Taciti, I. Görlitz 1862. 4. A. Gerber, de particularum quadam in sermone Taciti proprietate, Kaschau 1863. 4.; and De particula an, Pesth 1865. 4. U. Zernial, selecta quaedam capita ex genetivi usu Taciteo, Göttingen 1864. 96 pp. 8. and Nonnulla de elocutione T., Burg 1868. 4. F. Hüttemann, de usu subiunctivi relativi et absoluti apud Tacitum, Münster 1864. Ph. Spitta, de Tac. in componendis enuntiatis ratione, I. Göttingen 1866. 160 pp. 8. E. Wöfflin. on a grecism in Tac. hitherto unobserved (tamquam and quasi = ὡς), Philologus XXIV p. 115—123. M. Morgenroth, de condicionalium sententiarum apud Tac. formatione, Salzungen 1868. P. Czensny, de infinitivo Tac. I. Breslau 1868. A. Greef, de praepositionum usu ap. Tac. I. Gotting. 1869. A. A. Dräger, on the Syntax and Style of Tac., Leipzig 1868. Storch, Grammatical observations on Tac., Memel 1868. 4.

17. General works on Tacitus. Meierotto de . . Taciti moribus. Berlin 1790. fol. Hegewisch, on the character of Tac., in his Historical and literary Essays (Kiel 1801) p. 70 sqq. J. S. Gestrich, diss. de vita, scriptis ac stilo Taciti, Berlin 1834. N. Bach, Corn. Tac., a biographical Essay, General School-Gazette 1831. II. Nr. 105—109; with the Addenda ibid. 1832, nr. 129 sq., also in his edition T. I. Conz, on the historical art of the ancients, in the Museum of Classical Literature (Zurich 1795) p. 151 sqq. Ancillon, Mélanges (Paris 1809) I. p. 239 sqq. F. Roth, on Thucydides and Tacitus, München 1812. 4. = Collected Lectures (Frankfort 1851) p. 1 sqq. Süvern, on the artistic character of Tac., in the Trans. of the Berlin Academy 1822—23 (Berlin 1825) p. 73—136. K. Th. Welcker, Festive speeches etc. (Freiburg 1828) p. 68 sqq. K. Hoffmeister, on the Moral Views of Tac., Essen 1831. Lerminier, Études d'histoire I. p. 188 sqq. A. C. v. Heusde, comm. de Hooftio et Tacito, Gröningen 1838. 4. N. Liebert, de doctrina Taciti, Würzburg 1868. W. Böttticher, Prolegomena to his Lexicon Taciteum (Berlin 1830) p. I—CII. Prophetic Voices in Roman Literature, or on the Christian element in Tac., Berlin 1840. 3 parts. R. v. Bosse, on and against Tac. as historian, in Jahn's Jahrb. Suppl. XI p. 452—467. F. D. Gerlach, Roman Historians (Stuttgard 1855) p. 197—207. Th. Finck before his edition of the Germania (1857) p. 1—224. P. Dubois-Guchan, Tacite et son siècle, Paris 1862. 2 vols. F. Savalete, Étude sur Tacite, Paris 1864. Daunou in the Biographie universelle XLIV p. 165 sqq. Naudet in Höfer's Nouvelle biographie générale XLIII. W. Teuffel in Pauly's Enc. VI 2. p. 1568—1578 and: On Sallust and Tacitus (Tübi. 1868. 4.) p. 22—47. Nipperdey (p. III—XXIV) and F. Haase in their editions.

329. The extant works of Tacitus are as follows in chronological order:

1. Dialogus de oratoribns, composed under Titus or in the beginning of the reign of Domitian, an attempt to prove and explain the decay of eloquence in the imperial period, in the form of a dialogue between literary celebrities of the time of Vespasian. This ingenious treatise shows the same moral and political views, the same fineness of psychological observation and the same characteristics as the other works of Tacitus: but his bitterness is still wanting and even artistic serenity may be observed. In point of style this treatise is an interesting proof of Tacitus' endeavour to imitate the rotundity and fullness of Cicero's style in his rhetorical works, though numerous phrases and constructions involuntarily betray an author of the first century of the Christian era, and in many details the diction approaches the subsequent writings of Tac. All the mss. we possess are derived from one and the same source, and all have the same large gap at the close of ch. 35.

1. Undue importance has been attached to the deviation of the style of this work from the later style of Tac., and the entire neglect of the causes of this discrepancy and also the agreement which is almost as striking (and which has recently been proved in details by Fr. Weinkauff), have since the time of J. Lipsius caused many to consider the work as not Tacitean and to guess all manners of other authors, e. g. Pliny the younger (Eckstein Prolegg. p. 46 sqq. Fr. Hesse, de Plinio minore dialogi de orr. auctore, Magdeburg 1831. 4. A. Wittich in Jahn's Archiv 1839. V p. 259—292. J. J. Kramarczik, Heiligenstadt 1841. 4.), Suetonius (Eckstein p. 44 sqq.), Quintilian (Eckstein p. 52 sqq.). And yet Pliny himself (as was first pointed out by A. G. Lange, Miscellaneous Writings p. 5—7) and moreover in a letter addressed to Tacitus, proves Tacitus' authorship of this work, as Ep. IX 10, 2 (poëmata quiescunt, quae tu inter nemora et lucos commodissime perfici putas; cf. ib. I 6, 2 sq.) is an evident allusion to dial 9. 12. In the whole period there is absolutely nobody whom we might credit with sufficient talent and character to be the author of the Dialogus. And indeed all details underlying the Ciceronian surface of the work bear the greatest resemblance to the other works of Tacitus. Hence all authorities are nowadays agreed as to the Tacitean origin. See A. G. Lange, in the acta semin. Lips. I p. 77 sqq. = Miscellaneous Writings p. 3—14 = Dronke's edition p. XVI sqq. H. Gutmann, diss. qua Tacitum dialogi de or. scriptorem non esse demonstratur, in Orelli's edition p. 101 sqq.; his translation (Stuttgart 1830) p. 145 sqq. and in Jahn's Archiv XV p. 139—156 (on A. Dūpré's proof of the Tacitean origin of the Dialogue). F. A. Eckstein, Prolegg. p. 62 sqq. H. C. A. Eichstädt de dialogo qui inscribitur de orr., Jena 1839. 4. W. Teuffel

in Jahn's Jahrbb. LXXVII p. 285 sq. and in his Translation of the smaller Writings (Stuttgart 1858) p. 18—21. Fr. Weinkauff, de Tacito dialogi de or. auctore, Cologne 1857 and 1859. 4. J. G. Ek, the present state of the question concerning the author of the Dialogus de or., in the Danish Journal for Philology, July 1859 p. 1—11 (Philol. XV p. 191 sq.), H. Sauppe Philol. XIX p. 156—263 with J. Classen in the Journal Eos I. (1864) p. 1 sqq. J. W. Steiner, on Tacitus' Dialogus de or., Kreuznach 1863. 36 pp. 4.

2. The time of the dialogus (between Curiatius Maternus, M. Aper, Julius Secundus and Vipstanus Messala) is c. 17 laid in sextam (a. 75 = 818; L. Urlichs 'Festgruss' Würzburg 1868, p. 1—16: VII am, i e. a. 76) felicis huius principatus stationem qua Vespasianus remp. fovet. Then, the writer says, he was iuvenis admodum (see above 328, 4) and was therefore much older when he wrote the treatise. The candour observable throughout the treatise proves that it was written under a mild ruler, perhaps under Titus a. 81, or in the last years of the reign of Vespasian, at the very latest in the first (good) years of the reign of Domitian. The treatise does not contain any more accurate indications of the time, though it must have considerably preceded the composition of Agricola, as there the author had adopted very different views of style and followed other models. See W. Teuffel, Studies and Char. p. 439—441.

3. Conjointly with its general literary tendency the work seems also to have a personal tendency, viz. to state the reasons why Tacitus in spite of his extensive rhetorical studies finally did not adopt the profession of orator, but preferred the quiet sphere of the scholar and writer. The influence of his studies, especially his imitation of Cicero, appears most strongly in the dialogus (cf. A. Dräger, on the Syntax and Style of Tac., p. 103 sq.); but even in the later works of Tac. it is to be perceived, though it constantly decreased, until in his last work, the Annals, he arrived at the other extreme, the epigrammatic pointedness and dissection of style.

4. All mss. of the dialogus, the Germania and of the fragment de grammaticis et rhetoribus by Suetonius are derived from a Fulda ms. saec. VIII or IX or rather from a copy of it (perhaps saec. XIII) found by Henoch of Ascoli in the Monastery of Hersfeld (L. Urlichs Eos II p. 230. 351 sqq.) and brought to Italy (perhaps in a copy taken by himself, X) c. a. 1457, and there his discovery was propagated in new copies. Hence are derived Vaticanus 1862 (A, in Reiferscheid V) and (through the copy of Pontanus) Leidensis XVIII (B, in Reifferscheid L), from a copy made with more sagacity, but also arbitrary emendations (Y) the others, especially the Neapolitanus, or Farnesianus (C, in Reifferscheid N). See below 331, 5. Reifferscheid's Suetonius p. 409—417. A. Michaelis in his edition of the dial. especially p. VIII—XIX. — G. Thomas, on a cod. Ven. of the dialogus and Germania of Tacitus, Munich Gel. Anz. 1853, nr. 1 sq.

5. Separate editions. Cum. varr. notis ed. E. Benzel, Upsala 1706. Rec. et illustr. C. A. Heumann, Gotting. 1719. Ed. et ill. I. H. A. Schulze, Lips. 1788. Text by G. Seebode, Gotting. 1813. Hanover 1816. Rec. et annot. instr. E. Dronke, Coblenz 1828. Rec. et ann. crit. inst. F. Osann, Giessen 1829. Repurg. op. J. C. Orelli, Zürich 1830; cum nova collatione cod. Perizonian. (Leidensis) Zürich 1846. 4. Ed. illustr. W. Bötticher, Berol. 1832. Recogn. Fr. Ritter, Bonn 1836. 1859. Recogn. var. lect. et ann. inst. Ph. C. Hess, Lips. 1841. With notes by C. Ph. Pabst, Leipzig 1841. Ed. L. Tross (with the Germania), Hamm 1841. Ad codices denuo conlatos recogn. A. Michaelis, Lips. 1868.

6. Critical contributions by Dryander (Coniecturae in dial. de orr., Halle 1851. 4.), L. Spengel (Spec. emend. München 1852. 4. p. 9—15), C. L. Roth (Stuttgarter Correspondenzblatt 1854, p. 9—15. 19—25), L. Schopen (Diorthotica in Tac. dial., Bonn 1858. 4.), Nipperdey (Rhein. Mus. XXI p. 270—292. 559—590), C. Halm (in Fleckeisen's Jahrb. LXXXIX p. 148—151) F. Ritter (Rhein. Mus. XX p. 518—532 XXI p. 534—550), G. Andresen in Ritschl's Acta soc. phil. Lips. I 1 (1870).

7. J. F. Klossmann, Prolegomena in Dial., Breslau 1819. 8. 1833. 4. F. A. Eckstein, Prolegomena in Tac. qui v. f. dial., Halle 1835. 4. A. Göring, diss. de dial. d. o. praestantia, Lübeck 1829. 4. G. F. Strodtbeck, ostenditur Materninae personae in d. d. o. obviae vultus ironicus, Heilbronn 1831. 4. A. Westermann, History of Roman eloquence p. 233—241. Vidal, in Tac. d. d. o. disputatio, Paris 1850. F. Deycks, de dial. Tac. d. or., Münster 1856. 4. A. Schaubach, de vocum quarundum quae in T. dialogo leguntur vi ac potestate, Meiningen 1857. P. Voss in the Tidskrift for Philologi VII. See above n. 1, and the Introductions to most of the editions and translations, also to Bötticher's Lexicon Taciteum p. VIII—XIII. Andresen on the Dial. de or. as school-reading, Berlin Journal for Gymn. 1871, p. 305—308. A school-edition by the same, Leipzig 1872.

330. 2. De vita et moribus Iulii Agricolae liber, a biography of Tacitus' father-in-law, composed in the commencement of Trajan's reign, A. D. 98. The very rhetorical disposition as well as execution of the work remind the reader of the laudationes funebres and of the manner of Sallust, with which it shares its character of monograph, its indifference to general historical events and numerous other turns of phrases. But besides this the work contains much to remind us of Cicero. In general, the historical style of Tac. does not appear to be much developed in this work, but a kindly warmth of humour and sympat hypervades the whole.

1. Agr. 3: quamquam . . augeat quotidie felicitatem temporum Nerva Traianus; cf. 44: durare in hanc felicissimi saeculi lucem ac

principem Traianum videre. Trajan was therefore princeps already (not only Caesar), and Nerva was dead († 27 Jan. 98), which is not contradicted by his not being called divus; see Th. Mommsen Hermes III p. 106 n. 4. The close of the powerful preface (c. 3 extr.) promises an extensive historical work on Domitian's reign and on the time of Nerva and Trajan (i. e. the Historiae), of which the biography of Agricola should be considered merely the forerunner.

2. Just as Tacitus' Ciceronian period is represented in the Dialogus, so his Sallustian epoch finds its expression in Agricola and the Germania, though the influence of the first is not quite extinct, but considerably on the decline. The end of Agr. 44 and the beginning of ch. 45 greatly resemble Cic. de or III 2, 8, 9, 10 sq.; quies et otium (c. 6. 21. 42 = Cic. de leg. agr. II 37, 102) and forma ac figura animi (Agr. 46) are quite in Cicero's style (Tusc. I 16, 37 and elsewhere), and altogether pleonasms are not scarce (E. Hübner, Hermes I p. 446 sq.), and there are numerous Ciceronian periods (c. 16, 18, 25 in.), nay c. 4 extr. reminds us of Cic. pro Mur. 31, 65. More numerous indeed are the traces reminding us of Sallust, whose influence pervades more or less all the other writings of Tacitus; see W. Teuffel in his translation (1859) p. 131 note. Bernays, Rh. Mus. XVI p. 319 sq.: and especially E. Wölfflin, Philol. XXVI p. 122—129; also A. Gerber in the Leutschau Program 1861 p. 13 sqq. Agricola and Germania occupy the same position to the Historiae of Tacitus as Sallust's Catiline and Jugurtha to his Historiae. See Urlichs in the Eos I p. 549 sqq. The study of Sallust evidently formed Tacitus' historical style, and great as the mastery is to which Tacitus attained in his peculiar manner, he still reached it only by degrees, and Agricola represents that degree when his originality was as yet proportionately small. It is a rhetorical and psychological portrait quite in the manner of Sallust, with a preface like those of Sallust, speeches and excursuses, a certain neglect of numerical and chronological statements (c. 41 sq.), with antitheses and other figures, and also a regular epilogue. But in spite of all these peculiarities we should not follow E. Hübner (Hermes I p. 438—448) in denying that this treatise is a biography with rhetorical colouring and with general historical outlooks. The speech of Calgacus (c. 30) contains many allusions to Sallust (Cat. 58, 17 sq. and to the letter of Mithridates); but many other passages read just like Sallust and the whole contains reminiscences and variations of Sallustian expressions. See Urlichs de vita Agric. (1868) p. 4 sq. Such occur also in the Annals, but are proportionately most numerous in Agricola. — The historical study on Britain and the earlier Roman expeditions to that island (c. 10—17) were later on (in his Annals, especially XIV 29 sq.) employed by Tacitus in a freer manner, some details being rectified and enlarged.

3. The text of Puteolanus was long considered the sole authentic one, until Wex proved that his Codex contained only what the two

Vatican mss. of the second half of the 15th century contain, in which the Agricola has come down to us, Vat. 4498 = Δ Wex, d Halm, and Vat. 3429 = Γ Wex, g Halm, and that all deviations from these mss. should be considered either as emendations by Puteolanus, or as the errors of his copyist or compositor. See L. Spengel, Munich Gel. Anz. 1853, nr. 25—27 and Spec. emendationum in Tac., Munich 1852. 4. p. 15. G. Kämmerer, de indole ac pretio codd. mss. Tac. Agr. et edd. vett. usque ad Lipsium, Breslau 1842 Γ bears the heading Cornelii Taciti de vita et moribus Iulii Agricolae, Δ Cai Corneli T. de v. et m. I. A. In some passages the marginal notes of Γ (M in Wex) may be taken into consideration; Schenkl, Journal for Austrian Gymn. XII p. 421—437. J. Müller, Innsbruck 1863. 4.

4. Editions: at the end of the Panegyrr. latt. of F. Puteolanus, Milan 1476? 4. Cum notis Boxhornii ed. J. A. Bosius, Jena 1664. Cum notis Buchneri ed. C. Schubart, Lips. 1683. Ed. M. Engel, Lips. 1788. Lat. and Germ. by J. Ch. Schlüter, Duisburg 1808. C. F. Renner and J. C. Fincke, Götti. 1802; a second edition by A. Schlegel, Göttingen 1816. Obss. ill. N. J. Bloch, Copenhagen 1814. Ed. E. Dronke, Coblenz 1824; ed. 2 Fulda 1843. Ed. E. H. Barker, London 1824. Textum rec. et ad fid. cod. Vat. emend. U. J. H. Becker, Hamburg 1826. Ed. F. G. V. Hertel, Lips. 1827. Ed. et ann. ill. P. Hofman-Peerlkamp, Leyden 1827; ed. II 1864. Text, translation and notes by G. L. Walch, Berlin 1828. With notes and excursuses by C. L. Roth, Nürnberg 1833. Recogn. F. Ritter, Bonn 1836. Brevi ann. expl. F. Dübner, Paris 1843. 1866. 12. Ad fidem codicum denuo collatorum rec. et commentariis enarravit F. C. Wex, Brunswick 1852. 338 pp. Ex Wexii rec. recognovit et perpetua annotatione illustravit Fr. Kritz, Berlin 1859. 1865. Explained by C. Tuecking, Paderborn 1869. For school-use by A. A. Dräger, Leipzig, Teubner 1869. The text also by Fr. Ritter e. g. ed. III Bonn 1852.

Among the translations we notice the French translation by N(apoleon). L(ouis). B(onaparte), Florence 1829. 4.

5. Critical treatises by Brüggemann (Düsseldorf 1824), Eichstädt (Jena 1830), E. Foss (Altenburg 1837. 4.), Fr. Brandes (Rostock 1838. 4.), Gernhard (Weimar 1838. 4.), Heimburg (Jena 1839), Wex (Contributions, crit. and exeg., on Tac. Agr., Schwerin 1840. 4.), Pfitzner (Neubrandenb. 1842. 4.) Zeitschr. f. Alt. Wiss. 1847. nr. 13 sq.), E. Dronke (Fulda 1842. 4.), Ch. G. Herzog (Gera 1843. 4.), Seyffert (Kreuznach 1845. 4.), Hutter (Munich 1849. 4.), J. G. Schneider (Coburg 1850 sqq. 4.), G. U. Busch (Rostock 1853. 4.), Fr. Kritz (de glossematis falso Taciti Agricolae imputatis, (Erfurt 1857. 4.), J. Müller (Fiume 1858. 4.), A. J. F. Henrichsen Lat. and Germ. with crit. and exeg. notes, Altona 1858. 74 p. 4. c. 1—22 II 1, Altona 1871. 48 pp. 4., G. F. Schömann (Greifswald 1859. 4.), G. Liep (Kreuznach 1861. 4.), C. Nipperdey (Rhein. Mus XVIII p. 350—365. XIX p. 97—113), Fr. Ritter, (ibid. XX p. 518—532), J. Classen (Symb. criticae, P. III, Hamburg 1866. 4.), S. Pfaff (Exegetical and crit. Observations on Agr. 1 and 36, Erlangen 1867. 4.), L. Urlichs

(Festgruss, Würzburg 1868, p. 6—8), K. Meiser (Blätter f. d. bair. Gymn. V 3). J. Gantrelle (c. 1—3; Revue de l'instruction publ. en Belgique XIV p. 333—353).

6. On Agricola see Niebuhr, Minor Historical and Philological Writings I p. 331 (with N. Bach, Schulztg. 1831, II p. 851 sq.). Woltmann in his transl. VI p. 34—34 (Prague 1817). A. Mohr, Observations on Tacitus' Agr., Meiningen 1823. Walch, on the form of ancient biography with special attention to Tacitus' Agricola, in his Edition p. XXXVIII—LXXIV. Hofmeister, Moral Views of Tac., p. 80 sqq. 206 sqq. 228 sqq. J. Held, commentat. de Agr. vita quae vulgo Tacito adsignatur, Schweidnitz 1845. 4. E. Hübner, Hermes I. (1866) p. 438—448. J. Gantrelle, sur la vie d'Agr., Revue de l'instr. belgique, 1 May 1870. 46 pp. Em. Hoffmann, Vienna 1870. 35 pp. (Journal for Austrian Colleges), and against him C. Hirzel, on the tendency of T's Agr., Tübingen, 1871. 38 pp. 4. (Gymn.-Progr.).

331. 3. Germania, an ethnographic monograph, occasioned by the great interest which that land and nation then caused, perhaps also by the author's own knowledge which he had acquired in the course of his official duties. The work is penetrated by the genial warmth of sympathy and highly coloured by rhetorical means, though it frequently approaches sentimentality. The author is fond of contrasting the simplicity of the Germans with the intricate and corrupt life of his contemporaries.

1. The title in Vat. 1862 and Farnesianus: Corn. Tac. de origine et situ Germaniae; more lengthy is Pontanus: Corneli Taciti de origine, situ, moribus ac populis Germanorum liber. The treatise is divided into two parts, the first of which treats in commune de omnium Germanorum origine ac moribus (c. 27 extr.), the second (c. 28—46) on the single tribes. In the latter the author fixes his quarters on the Rhine and progressing from there describes the tribes first from West to East, then (c. 35 sqq.) from North to South. When he arrives at the Danube, he follows its course (c. 41) and winds up with the shores of the Baltic. Among his sources he mentions only Caesar (c. 28), but traces of the critical employment of authorities appear also c. 3. 8. 27. 28. 33. 34. 41. 45. Pliny's bella Germaniae (above 307, 2) were no doubt employed. On the use made of Sallust see R. Köpke, on the criticism of the sources of the Germania, in his Germanic Investigations (Berlin 1859) p. 223—226, and Th. Wiedemann in the Investigations on German History IV 1 (1864) p. 171 sqq.; an Addendum ibid. X (Gött. 1870) p. 595—601. C. Breuker, quo iure Sallustius Tacito in describendis Germanorum moribus auctor fuisse putetur, Cologne 1870. 14 pp. 4.

2. As in ch. 37, 210 years are counted from the first invasion of the Cimbrians (a. 641) to the second consulate of Trajan (a. 98 = 851 V. C.), the latest revision and publication of the work must be assumed between a. 98 and the third consulate of Trajan (A. D. 100). The omission of this work Agr. 3, where the literary designs of Tac. are mentioned, may be most simply explained by assuming that originally this treatise was intended to form an excursus in the Hist., but was afterwards treated and edited as an independent work, perhaps because its rich materials would not have suited the greater work, or in order to use them in a rhetorical and paraenetic tendency (n. 3). A. Riese, Eos II p. 193—203. A. Eussner, Fleckeisen's Jahrb. 1868, p. 650.

3. The Germania is neither an idyl nor a novel nor a political pamphlet (calculated e. g. to dissuade Trajan from an expedition to Germany), but a contribution to the task which is A. IV 33 acknowledged to be very interesting, situs gentium describere, and to which the Agricola had already contributed. But the execution is indeed characteristic of Tac. Just as Horace (O III 24, 9 sqq.) had spoken of Scythians and Getes in an ideal way as compared with the corruption of Rome, Tacitus does the same in respect of the Germans. He describes them with constant reference to his contemporaries, and frequently observes how much the Germans fortunately ignore (c. 8. 9. 11. 13. 18. 19. 20. 24. 25. 27. 38). Sometimes the description becomes quite sentimental (e. g. c. 5. 7. 18 sq. 27). Yet the writer is far from merely holding up the Germans to his time as pure models; on the contrary, he finds more than once fault with them (c. 11. 15. 17. sq. 23 sq.) and even shows himself as a thorough Roman as opposed to their peculiarities (c. 33, cf. 23). See n. 9 and W. Teuffel's Introduction to his translation (1859) p. 132 sq.

4. The rhetorical character of the style appears in the numerous general sentences, the numberless instances of anaphora (c. 11 even of prout) and other figures. Cf. Mützell, Journ. for Gymn. I. (1847) p. 86 sqq. On the pleonasms of this treatise see C. Halm, Reports of the Meetings of the Munich Academy 1864, p. 12 sqq. Here also we have numerous reminiscences of Sallust (cf. Ph. Hess, variae lectiones et observationes in T. Germ., Helmstädt 1827. 1828. 1834. 4. Wölflin Philologus XXVI p. 122 cf. n. 1 and 330, 2), and many passages remind us of the other works of Tacitus, especially of his Agricola (Agr. 11 extr. = Germ. 28; haud perinde, Agr. 10 = Germ. 34; in universum aestimanti Agr. 11 = Germ. 6; patiens frugum, Agr. 12, cf. Germ. 5). Hexameters occur Germ. 18. 32. 39; an iambic dimeter c. 27.

5. The Germania has been preserved to us in the same ms. as the dialogus (see above 329, 4), though the number of copies made of it is very much larger; one of the better copies is at the Stuttgart Library. Massmann, Berl. Jahrbb. 1841, Nr. 87 sqq. R. Tagmann, de codicibus mss. atque editionibus vett. Tac. Germ. I. Breslau 1846; de Tac. Germ. apparatu critico, Breslau 1847. Except in Rudolf of Fulda,

the work does not appear to have been used in the Middle Ages; G. Waitz, Investigations on German History X (Gött. 1870) p. 602.

6. Editions. Cum notis Willichii, Glareani, Melanchthonis, Frkf. a. O. 1551. Cum comm. Chr. Coleri, Hannov. 1602. E rec. Conringii, Helmst. 1652. 4. Cum varr. notis ed. J. C. Dithmar, Frkf. 1725 and elsewhere. Ed. C. H. Joerdens, Berl. 1783. 1794. Cum obss. Longolii ed. J. Kapp, Lips. 1783; ed. II. cur. Ph. Hess, Lips. 1824. Cum varr. lectt. ed. G. G. Bredow, Helmst. 1808. 1816. Ed. illustr. R. Belham (with Agr.) ed. II. Cambridge 1813. Rec. Fr. Passow, Breslau 1817. With notes by Ammon and Bäumlein, Tüb. 1817. Lat. and German with notes by G. and K. Sprengel, Halle 1819. Explained by J. F. K. Dilthey, Brunswick 1823. Ed. illustr. Ph. C. Hess, Lips. 1824. By E. H. Barker, London 1824. Trad. avec un comm. par C. L. F. Panckoucke, Paris 1824. With notes by Fr. W. Altenburg, Hildburgh. 1826. Recogn. cum brevi adnot. ed. G. F. C. Günther, Helmstedt 1826. Text, translation etc., by G. L. Walch. 1. number Berlin 1829. Comm. inst. Th. Kiessling, Lips. 1832. With critical, grammatical and historical notes by J. v. Gruber, Berl. 1832. Ed. et quae ad res Germanorum pertinere videntur e reliquo Tac. opere excerpsit J. Grimm, Gött. 1835. Text, translation and notes by F. D. Gerlach, 2 parts, Basle 1835—1837. In usum schol. recogn. Fr. Ritter, Bonn 1836. 1853. Ad fidem codicis Perizon. ed. L. Tross, Hamm 1841. Recogn., isag. instr., comment. illustr. etc. M. Weishaupt, Solothurn 1844. Ed. Masemann, Quedlinburg 1847. Lat. and German by Döderlein, Erlangen 1850. Lat., with ethnol. diss. and notes by R. G. Latham, London 1851. With Agr. til skolebrug af Bloch, Copenhagen 1854. In us. schol. recogn. M. Haupt, Berlin 1855. Ed. Schrant, Leiden 1866. XLI and 334 pp. Edited and explained by Th. Fink, I. Tac.'s life, the text, and principal apparatus, Göttingen 1857, 250 pp. Ex Hauptii rec. recogn. et perpetua adnot. illustr. F. Kritz, Berlin 1860. 1865. 1869. Explained by C. Tücking, Paderborn 1867. Explained by L. Curtze, Leipzig 1868. 424 p, (on c. 1—10). With notes by B. Hüppe, Münster 1868. By H. Schweizer-Sidler, Halle 1871.

7. Critical commentations by J. C. Orelli (Zürich 1819. 4.), Ph. Hess (Helmstädt 1827. 1828. 1834. 4.), Schober (Naumburg 1827. 4.), Selling (observ. critt., accedit collatio cod. Hummeliani, Augsburg 1830. 4.), Pfitzner (Neubrandenburg 1843. 4.), Wex (Schwerin 1853. 4.), W. Th. Rudolphi (Observ. grammaticae et criticae, Münster 1855), C. Nipperdey (Rhein. Mus. XVIII p. 342—350), L. v. Jan (Eos I. p. 76—79), C. Halm, (on some doubtful passages, Munich 1864 = Reports of the Meetings of the Munich Academy), Fr. Ritter (Rhein. Mus. XX p. 195—217), A. Reifferscheid (Coniectanea, in the Symbola philol. Bonn. p. 623—628), A. Planck (Heilbronn 1867. 4.). K. Meiser (Eichstätt 1871, p. 35—56).

8. Works on the Germania and in explanation of it. G.A. Arndt, disp. quatenus Tac. de Germ. libello fides sit tribuenda, Lips. 1775. 4. L. Völkel, de fontibus unde Tac. quae de patria nostra trad. hausisse

videatur deque consilio in scribend. Germ., Marburg 1789. 4. C. C. E. Charitius, diss. utrum satis fide digna sint quae T. in G. tradit, Wittenberg 1792. 4. C. A. Rüdiger, de fide historica Tac. in Germ. descr., Freiberg 1823. Barby, de consilio quo T. Germ. conscripserit et de fide ei tribuenda, Berlin 1825. So also Spilleke, Berlin 1825. 4. v. Leutsch, on the trustworthiness of Tac. in his Germania, Reports of the German Society at Leipzig 1829. p. 46 sqq. Chr. Rommel, de Tac. descr. Germaniae, Marburg 1805. 4. F. Rühs, A careful commentary on the first ten chapters of T. G., Berlin 1824. F. Passow in Wachler's Philomathia I and in his Miscellaneous Writings p. 40—64. F. W. Altenburg, On Caesar's and Tacitus' views concerning the religion of the Germans, Schleusingen 1847. 4. U. J. H. Becker, Notes and Excursuses on T. Germ. 1—18, Hannover 1830. C. Reischle, comm. de locis quibus Tac. et Caes. de vett. Germm. inter se differunt, Kempten 1831. 4. Fr. Göller, de scriptis Caes. et Tac. ex monumentis medii aevi illustrandis, in the Act. soc. gr. I p. 43 sqq. F. D. Gerlach, On the Germania of Tac., in the Journal of the Basle Teachers 1825. II and On the Idea of Tac. Germ., in the Trans. of the Philological Congress at Gotha, 1841 p. 55 sqq. = Historical Studies, Hamburg 1841. p. 308 sqq., and also in the Trans. of the Philological Congress at Hanover p. 104—111. See also Hoffmeister, the Moral Views of Tac., p. 201 sqq. 220 sqq. Welter, de fide Tacit. in rebus Germm. quaest., Münster 1846. 4. Greverus, Observations on T. Germ., Oldenburg 1850. E. Keferstein, Views on the Celts etc. III 1 (Halle 1850): Tac.'s Germania. W. Engelbert, on the G. of T. and the Geography of Ptolemy as the principal sources of the Geogr. of ancient Germany, in the Journal for German History and Antiquities III. Münster 1852. Müllenhoff, Corrupt (German) Names in Tac., Journal for German Antiquities IX p. 223—261. B. Hüppe, annotationes aliquot ad T. G., Coesfeld 1853. 4. J. N. Schmeisser, Remarks on the G. of T. in connexion with the Nibelungen and other old poems, Constance 1853. H. Schweizer-Sidler, Remarks on T. G., Program of the Zürich Cantonschool 1860. 24. 4. 1862. 30. 4.; Jahn's Jahrbb. LXXXV. p. 115—123. J. V. Zingerle in Franz Pfeiffer's Germania, 1860, p. 219 sq. G. Waitz, on the principes in the Germ. of Tac., in the Investigations on German History II 2 (Göttingen 1862), see also Waitz's History of the German constitutiou, sec. ed. I. Kiel 1865. E. Thudichum, the ancient German state, with a transl. of the Germ., Giessen 1862. H. Brandes, the nobiles of the Germans, in his First Report on the German Society at Leipzig (Leipzig 1863) p. 19—44. P. D. Ch. Hennings, the agrarian laws of the old Germans (on Germ. 26. 30), Kiel 1869. Latham, on the authority of the etc. in the Journal of class. and sacred philology XII. p. 324—346. Th. Malina, de consilio quale T. in scribendo de G. libro secutus esse videatur, Deutsch-Crone 1860. 4. Künssberg, Excursions into German antiquity (Berlin 1861) and against him Boot, Verslagen der holländ. Akad. VII, 1863. p. 66—82. A. Baumstark, on the novelistic element of the Germ. of T., Eos I. p. 39—64 and II. p. 487—496. Ed. Göbel,

ibid. I. p. 516—525. A. Riese, on the original intention of the Germ· of Tacitus, ibid. II p. 193—203. Fr. Münscher, Exegetical contributions on the Germ., Marburg 1863. 34 pp. 4. 1864. 48 pp. 4. A. Baumstark, ancient German antiquities, in defence and explanation of the Germ. of Tacitus, Leipzig 1872.

332. 4. Historiae, being the narrative of the events of the reigns of Galba, Otho, Vitellius, Vespasian, Titus and Domitian A. D. 69—96, i. e. chiefly the Flavian Dynasty, written under Trajan and founded on excellent sources, probably on the historical work of Pliny the Elder. The whole work originally consisted of fourteen books, of which however only the first four and the first half of the fifth have come down to us. They contain the history of the years 69 and 70 (822 v. c.), though not quite complete.

1. Tertullian, apol. 16: Cornelius Tacitus in quinta Historiarum suarum. This title follows the precedence of Sisenna, Sallust and Asinius Pollio and (treating of nostra aetas, H. I 43) agrees with the technical meaning of the word historiae, see above 32, 1. Wölfflin, however, is of opinion that this title was doomed to disappear (and remained only as a special title) when by writing also the history of the Julian Dynasty (in the Annals) the whole work was completed in three decads (see n. 21) ab excessu divi Augusti. The Historiae are the work announced Agr. 3, the original design being extended to all reigns after Nero's death, while the history of the reigning prince Trajan and his adoptive father, Nerva, was put off to later years (Hist. I 1) and not even then carried out.

2. Jerome on Zachary III 14 relates that Tac. had written the history of the Emperors after Augustus to the death of Domitian triginta voluminibus, 16 books of which would appertain to the Annals and 14 to the Historiae. In the Med. II and in other mss. this numeration is adopted. The successive order of the composition of these two works appears from A. XI 11: utriusque principis (i. e. Augustus and Claudius) rationes (concerning the ludi saeculares) praetermitto, satis narratas libris quibus res imperatoris Domitiani composui (in that part of the Hist. which contained the history of Domitian). nam is quoque edidit ludos saeculares. Nerva is styled Divus, Hist. I 1. The sixth book is quoted by Oros. VII 10. 19. The work was employed by Sulpicius Severus; see below 435, 2.

3. Pliny's Letters (a. 106 or 107) VI 16. 20. VII 33. (historias tuas) were written to be contributions to the Historiae which Tac. was then composing. Part of the work was probably the liber which Tac. sent Pliny (according to Ep. VII 20, 1, cf. ib. 33, 1. VIII 7) ad adnotandum. Successive reading and publication of the single books

appears probable for other reasons also; Mommsen Hermes III p. 107, cf. IV p. 298, 1 n. 3. Nissen, Rh. Mus. XXVI p. 535. 548. The extant parts are reviewed by Süvern, Trans. of the Berlin Academy 1822 sq. p. 97—107.

4. Tacitus and Plutarch wrote at one and the same time, or more probably Plutarch wrote his biographies of Galba, Otho and Vitelius even before Tac. (Hermes IV p. 298). The general agreement of these two writers should not be considered as dependence of the one upon the other (though O. Clason thought that Plut. had used the Hist.; see his works: Plut. and Tac., an investigation of sources, Berlin 1870, 73 pp.; Tac. and Suetonius, Breslau 1870. 134 pp.), but is due to their common use of one and the same source. C. Hirzel in the Maulbronn Program of 1851 (comparatio eorum quae de Impp. Galba et Othone relata legimus apud Tacitum, Plut., Suet., Dionem) assumes this to have been the acta publica; Th. Wiedemann (de Tacito, Suet., Plut., Cassio Dione scriptoribus imperatorum Galbae et Othonis, Berlin 1857.) Pliny and Cluvius, A. Schmidt (de quibusdam auctoribus rom. quos in describendis annor. 68 et 69 p. Chr. n. gestis Tac., Plut., Suet. secuti sunt, Jena 1860. 4.) a number of writers; H. Peter (on the sources of Plutarch, Halle 1865, p. 40 sqq.) and Mommsen (Hermes IV p. 298—316) Cluvius Rufus. But quite recently H. Nissen, Rh. Mus. XXII p. 508—544 (cf. O. Clason, Tac. and Suet., p. 76 sqq.) has proved that the historical work of Pliny the Elder (above 307, 5) was the principal source of Tacitus. He abridged it first of all, by replacing the annalistic arrangemant by a comprehensive arrangement according to the subject-matter, by rendering the diffuse style precise, omitting insignificant details (e. g. quotations and the discussions of deviating statements), compressing the accounts of military operations etc. Then he also altered Pliny's military standpoint, allowed his aristocratic and senatorial sympathies for Galba to have full sway instead of the Flavian character of his source, and thus disguised the faithless conduct of the nobility and the generals towards Otho. As regards stylistic and artistic treatment, Nissen says that Tac. holds the same position to Pliny as the sculptor to the stone-mason. Pliny thus forming the foundation of the work, Tac. seems to have added parts or observations from other works, especially from Vipstanus Messala (above 309, 3.).

5. The principal ms. of the Historiae is the (already interpolated) Mediceus II saec. XI (written at Monte Cassino between 1053 and 1087) in Langobardic writing, containing eleven books Cornelii Taciti ab excessu d. Augusti, i. e. book XI to XXI (incl.) = A. XI—XVI, Hist. I—V. All the other mss. are of secondary value, being more or less interpolated copies either directly or indirecty derived from the Medicean ms.

6. Editions of the Historiae by Th. Kiessling (Lips. 1840) and C. Heraeus (explained for School-use, I Teubner 1864. 1871. II 1870). Cf. E. Wölfflin, Philol. XXVII p. 113 sqq.

7. Contributions to the Historiae by A. Böckh (H. I 52. Berol. 1830. 4.), F. Jacob (on Tac. Hist. V 2—5, Lübeck 1840. 4.), L. Döderlein (Emendationes Hist. T., Erlangen 1841. 4.), C. Nipperdey, (Emend. H. T., Jena 1855. 4.), L. Urlichs (Eos I p. 250 sqq.), J. Classen (Symbolae criticae, P. II Frankfort 1863. 4. III Hamburg 1866. 4.), F. Ritter (Philol. XXI p. 601—653), J. Müller (I. Innsbruck 1865. II 1869), E. Wölfflin (Philol. XXVII p. 117—144), Borghesi (Oeuvres V p. 287—328: Annotazioni agli Ann. ed alle Storie di Tac.).

8. Völcker, the struggles for liberty of the Batavians under Claudius Civilis, Elberfeld 1861—1863. C. Hagge, Notes on the Expedition of Vitellius and Otho according to Tacitus, Kiel 1864, 23 pp. 4. J. G. Müller, a critical investigation of Tac.'s account of the origin of the Jews, in the Theological Studies and Criticisms 1843, p. 893—958. Leonhard, on Tac.'s account of the Jews, Hist. V 2—6, Ellwangen 1856. 4. H. E. Dirksen, the juridical passages in Tac.'s Hist., Berlin 1860. 4. = Posthumous Writings I p. 204—212. Mommsen, the two battles of Betriacum, Hermes V p. 161—173, and H. Nissen, Rh. Mus. XXVI p. 538—540. J. Kipper, ex Tac. Hist. intellegi non posse ostenditur quomodo bellum inter Oth. et Vit. gestum sit, I Rostock 1870. 10 pp. 4.

333. 5. Annales or rather ab excessu divi Augusti, in sixteen books, containing the history of the Julian Dynasty after Augustus' death (Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, Nero) or the years 14—68 (767—821 V. C.), written under Trajan and published between a. 115 and 117. We possess, however, only the first and last third of the work, being the first four books with parts of the fifth and sixth, and (with gaps both at beginning and end) books XI—XVI, i. e. we have lost the whole reign of Caligula, and have only the beginning of the reign of Claudius until a. 47, and a. 66—68 of the reign of Nero. This work observes more strictly the arrangement of Annals than the History.

1. According to the Mediceus I the only genuine title is ab excessu d. Augusti, which would be analogous to the title of the history of Livy, ab urbe condita, and of Pliny the Elder, a fine Aufidii Bassi. Though Tac. himself repeatedly (A. IV 32, cf. III 65. XIII 31) describes his work as annales, he does not give this as the title, but to denote the manner of the relation according to the annual succession of the events. (Hence Jornandes de reb. get. I 2 speaks of Cornelius annalium scriptor, though he means a passage in Agricola). But precisely because the books ab excessu d. Augusti are actually Annals, we need not hesitate for brevity's sake to call them Annales, which title distinguishes them also from the History.

2. The time of publication appears from A. II 61. The boundaries described in that passage presuppose the conquests of Trajan a. 115, which were, however (at least so far as they extended beyond the Euphrates), given up by Adrian immediately on his accession to the throne (August 117: Spartian. Hadr. 5, 1—4. Eutrop. VIII 6). The division into books was the author's own work, as appears from VI 27 (in prioribus libris) and XI 11 (see above 332, 2).

3. The arrangement is intentionally in the manner of Annals, see A. IV 71 in.: ni mihi destinatum foret suum quaeque in annum referre, avebat animus antire statimque memorare exitus etc. Whenever Tac. deviates from it, he considers it his duty to apologize (e. g. VI 38: quae duabus aestatibus gesta coniunxi, quo requiesceret animus a domesticis malis. Cf. XII 40 extr. XIII 9) and for subsequent facts he refers to later parts (in tempore memorabo, I 58 cf. IV 71, VI 22; in loco reddemus II 4 cf. H. IV 67: suo loco reddemus). It is true that from the fragments of the History which scarcely embrace two years we cannot conclude with certainty how far the same design was worked out there; but it was almost a matter of course that it should be more strictly carried ont in the later work, as it extended over a larger number of years and embraced some reigns of considerable extent. Tacitus has, however, succeeded in depriving this arrangement of its monotonous character by abandoning it whenever the subject seemed to excuse his deviation from the traditional order. Niebuhr's distinction of the title of annales and historiae is too refined; see his Essay on the difference between Annales and Historiae, Rh. Mus. II 2 (Bonn 1828) p. 284 sqq. = Minor Hist. and Phil. Essays II p. 229 sqq. (See 37, 4 in the Add.)

4. The first six books have been preserved only in the Medicean I (saec. XI), i. e. books I—IV complete, the commencement of b. V, after which there is a considerable gap, in which also the beginning of b. VI was lost. This gap contained the continuation of a. 29, the whole of a. 30, and the greater part of a. 31. This ms. was discovered in the Westphalian monastery of Corvey, was brought to Rome a. 1508 when it came into the possession of the then Cardinal Medici (subsequently Pope Leo X) and hence finally found its way into the Medicean Library at Florence, where it remains up to the present day. A. 1515 the contents of this ms. were first published by Ph. Beroaldus, at Rome. Against the doubts of Fr. Ritter, on the age and origin of the first ms. of Tac. at Florence (Phil. XVII p. 662—672, see also his ed. of Tac., 1864, p. V sqq.) see L. Urlichs, Eos I p. 243—247. II p. 223—232. The last third of the Annals (b. XI—XVI) we owe to the Mediceus II, in which it is preserved together with the first third of the History (see above 332, 5). But the beginning of b. XI, and about the second half of b. XI are wanting. This ms. is likewise at Florence, but there are a large number of copies of it; see above 332, 5. It is doubtful whether both these mss. are copies of one and the same ori-

ginal; though it is certain that Med. I is a copy of a Fulda ms. saec. IX, which was made either at or for Corvey in the eleventh century. The first part of this Corvey copy (which contained the Dialogus and the Germania) was sent to Hersfeld in the 13th century and there copied; subsequently it disappeared. The single parts of this third (Hersfeld) copy (of dial., Germ., Suet. de gramm. et rhetor.) were then in the 15th century carried to Italy (probably in a copy made by Henoch, see above 329, 4), and then the Agricola was added to them. L. Urlichs, l. l. especially II p. 232.

5. C. Heraeus, studia critica in Mediceos Tac. codices, Cassel 1846, and on the criticism and explanation of Tac., Hamm 1859. 30 pp. 4. E. Wölfflin, Philol. XXVI p. 94—96.

6. Editions of the Annals by Ruperti (Gotting. 1804. 2 vols.), Th. Kiessling (Lips. 1829), C. Nipperdey (Vol. I, Leipzig 1851. Berlin 1855. 1862. 1864; Vol. II, Leipzig 1852. Berlin 1857), F. W. Otto (b. I—VI with extensive notes, Mayence 1854), Orelli-Baiter (Zürich 1859), A. Dräger (School-edition, Leipzig, Teubner 1861 sq. 2 vols). By the Rev. Percival Frost, London 1872.

7. Contributions to the criticism and explanation of the Annals by J. P. E. Greverus (annotatiunculae, Oldenburg 1827. 4.), F. Jacob (Obss. ad T. Ann. et Hist., 4 parts, Lübeck 1837—1842. 4.), O. Müller (de A. III 55. Gotting. 1841. 4.), Bischoff (Obss. in libr. I, Wesel 1845. 4.), C. Halm (Speier 1846. 4.), Schmoller (Explic. loci l. I, Blaubeuren 1849. 4.), Held (ad loc. diffic. Schweidnitz 1851. 4.), Urlichs (in Jahn's Jahrbb. 1854, p. 52 sqq. 154 sqq. 300 sqq.), L. Spengel (on the first book of the A., München 1855. 4. = Commentations of the Munich Academy VII 2. p. 695—727; Notes on T. A., Philologus XXIII p. 644—651), E. Wurm (Philologus VIII p. 361—370. IX p. 86—105), W. G. Pluygers (spec. emend., Leiden 1859. 4.), C. Sirker (Animadvers., Treves 1860; Critical Observ. on T. A., Neuwied 1867. 4.), C. Krafft, (historical and geographical Excursuses on Tac. A. I and II, Maulbronn 1864. 4.), Borghesi (see above 332, 7).

8. E. Egli, On the wars in Armenia A. D. 41—63, a contribution to the criticism of Tac., in M. Büdinger's Investigations on the Imperial History of Rome I (Leipzig 1868) p. 265—363. H. T. Karsten, de Tac. fide in sex prioribus annalium libris, Utrecht 1868. R. Weidemann, The sources of the first six books of T. Ann., Cleve 1868. 4. W. Pfitzner, a critical examination of the Annals. I (b. 1—6), Halle 1869. Tacitus' account of the reign of the Emperor Tiberius (Ann. 1—6) translated and explained by A. Stahr, Berlin 1871. O. Clason, de Tacit. annal. aetate quaestiones geographicae ad mare rubrum et Aegyptum maxime pertinentes, Rostock 1871. 58 pp.

334. On the completion of his Annals Tacitus could supplement the historical account already given by him either

at the commencement or at the end, by relating the reign of Augustus or, as he had originally promised, those of Nerva and Trajan. It seems that he finally preferred the first subject, either because it attracted him more or because Trajan was still reigning. Tacitus did not, however, carry out his intention, no doubt prevented by death. There are no other genuine writings by Tacitus.

1. Hist. I 1: principatum d. Nervae et imperium Traiani . . senectuti seposui. A. III 24: cetera illius aetatis (the Augustan) memorabo si effectis in quae tetendi plures ad curas vitam produxero.

2. Fulgentius exposit. serm. antiq. p. 782 St. = p. 566 sq. M.: Cornelius Tacitus libro facetiarum: „cessit itaque morum elogio in filiis derelicto." Fr. Haase (Ed. p. XIV) considers this as some youthful work of Tacitus, but L. Müller (Fleck.'s Jahrb. 95, p. 789 sq.) is probably right in considering it as a forgery or as mere fiction.

3. Complete editions of the works of Tacitus (cf. Panckoucke vol. VII: Bibliographie de 1055 editions de Tac.): Ed. princeps, Venet. Vendelin. de Spira, c. 1470. fol. (A. XI—XVI, Hist., Germ., Dial.). Ed. Fr. Puteolanus (with Agr., Milan c. 1475. Venet. 1497. fol.), Ph. Beroaldus, the first really complete edition, Rome 1515, and elsewhere, fol.), B. Rhenanus (Basle 1519. 1533. fol.), Ald. (Venet. 1534), J. Lipsius (Antverp. 1574. 8. 1600. 4. 1607. 1668. fol. and elsewhere), C. Pichena (Florent. 1600. 4. Francof. 1607), J. Gruter (Frankf. 1607), M. Bernegger (Strasburg 1638. 1664), J. Fr. Gronovius (Amsterdam 1672. [1673.] 1685. 2 vols), Th. Ryck (Leiden 1687. 12. 2 vols), J. and Abr. Gronovius (Utrecht 1721. 4. 2 vols), J. A. Ernesti (Lips. 1752. 1772. 2 vols; a new ed. by J. J. Oberlin, Lips. 1801. 2 vols), J. Lallemand (Paris 1760. 12. 3 vols), Gabr. Brotier (with Supplements in the manner of Freinsheim's supplements to Livy, Paris 1771. 4. 4 tomi. 1776. 7 tomi. 12. Edinburgh 1796. 4. 4 tomi), Bipont. 1779. 1792. 4 vols. (cur. Fr. Chr. Exter), J. Naudet (Paris 1819. 6 vols.), Imm. Bekker (cum notis vir. doctt., 2 vols., Lips. 1831), G. H. Walther (Halle 1831—1833. 4 vols.), G. A. Ruperti (Hannover 1832 sqq. 4 vols.), N. Bach (Lips. 1834 sq. 2 vols.), Fr. Ritter (recogn., brevi adn. instr., Bonn 1834—1836. 2 vols.; emend., comment. critico illustr., Cantabrig. 1848. 4 vols.; e codd. denuo collatis rec., Lips. 1864), L. Döderlein (Halle 1841—1847. 2 vols.), C. L. F. Panckoucke (the text with a French translation, Paris 1840 sqq., 7 vols.), Fr. Dübner (concisa adnotatione, prooemio de grammatica Tac. et nomenclatore geographico explic., Paris 1845. 12.), J. C. Orelli (rec. atque interpr. est, Zürich 1846. 2 vols. Ed. II, vol. I, 1859), J. Stock (ed. illustr. Dublin 1862. 2 vols.).

Texts by Imm. Bekker (Berol. 1825), Lünemann (Lips. 1825), Fr. Haase (Lips. Tauchnitz 1855, 2 vols.) and especially by C. Halm (Lips. Teubner 1850 sq.; iterum recogn. 1857, 2 vols. Cf. Munich Gel. Anz. 1851, p. 31—63); and Nipperdey (Berol. 1871 sqq.)

4. H. Wölffel, Emendationes in Cornelii Taciti libros, Nürnberg 1856. 68 pp. 8. Fr. Ritter, Notes on Tacitus, Rhein. Mus. XVI. p. 454—469. XVII. p. 99—137. XX. p. 195—217. 518—532. XXI. p. 534—550. Philologus XIX. p. 264—281. 665—679. XX. p. 109—127. 275—292. 648—680. XXII. p. 48—62. 639—680. Fr. Thomae, Observationes criticae in Corn. Tacitum, Bonn 1866. 52 pp. 8. E. Wölfflin, Annual Report on Tacitus, Philologus XXV. p. 92—134. XXVI. p. 92—166.

335. The literary activity of Pliny the younger, the nephew and adopted son of the Elder, belongs to the time of Nerva and Trajan even more exclusively than that of Tacitus. C. Plinius Caecilius Secundus (A. D. 62—113) from Comum held public and municipal offices under Domitian, and finally the Consulate under Trajan (a. 100) and also the place of Imperial Legate in Bithynia (a. 111 sq. or 112 sq.). As Pliny had frequently pleaded in lawsuits before the Centumviri and in the Criminal Courts, he began under Nerva to revise and publish his former speeches. We possess of him the speech in which he returned thanks for the Consulate, a work important enough in its bearing on the history of Trajan, but tiresome by loquacity and the bombastic praises bestowed upon the Emperor. Shortly after Nerva's accession to the throne, Pliny began to compose letters with a view to publication. There are altogether nine books of them, composed and successively edited from a. 97—108, to which is added Pliny's correspondence with Trajan during his presidency in Bithynia, though this is not finished. These letters extend in a studied variety over a large number of subjects, but are chiefly intended to exhibit their author in the most favourable light. Still the great candour with which the author confesses his vanity, and his evident love for good and noble aims compensate the impression of vanity. The diction is fluent and smooth. Pliny ventured even on the composition of verse, but of these lusus and ineptiae nothing has come down to posterity.

1. Next to Cicero scarcely any other ancient writer is so well and so accurately known to us as Pliny, chiefly through his own works, but also through Inscriptions (collected by Mommsen Hermes III p. 108—113). The longest inscription concerns the thermae which he bequeathed to Comum in his will (T. F. I.), but which was somehow or other carried to Milan (Orelli-Henzen 1172, cf. III p. 124). He is there styled C. Plinius L. f. Ouf. Caecilius Secundus, Cos., Augur, Legatus pro pr. provinciae Ponti et Bithyniae consulari potestate, e[x SC. missus ab] Imp.

Caesare Nerva Traiano . . , Curator alvei Tiberis et riparum et cloacar. urb., Praef. aerari Saturni, Praef. aerari milit., [Praetor, Trib. pleb.,] Quaestor imp., Sevir equitum rom., Trib. milit. leg. III gallicae, Xvir stlitib. iudicand.; on the inscription from Vercellae he is also called Fl(amen) divi T. Aug. (at Comum? Mommsen p. 99 sq.). In the reign of Domitian he was Quaestor Caesaris (Ep. VII 16, 2), probably from 1 June 89 until 31 May 90 (Mommsen p. 86), trib. pleb. (Ep. I 23, 2 sqq., cf. IV 16, 2. Panegyr. 95, probably 10 Decbr. 91 — 9 Dec. 92), praetor (Ep. III 11, 2. VII 11, 4. 16. Paneg. 95) c. 93 or 94 (Mommsen p. 37 sq. 89); under Nerva (and Trajan) praef. aerari Sat. from January 98 until 100 or 101 (Mommsen p. 42. 89—91. Stobbe, Philologus XXVII p. 641); under Trajan he became cos. suff. with Iulius Cornutus Tertullus 1 July — 30 Sept. or 1 Sept. — 31 Oct. 100 (Ep. V 14, 5. Paneg. 60. 92. Mommsen p. 91—95), augur a. 103 or 104 (Ep. IV 8. Mommsen p. 44. 95), curator alvei Tib. (Ep. V 14) probably 105 —107 (Mommsen p. 47. 95), Legate in Bithynia a. 111 and 112 or 112 113 (Mommsen p. 55. 96). Pliny appears to have died before 114 either in his province or soon after his return home (ibid. p. 99), at an age of perhaps 52 years, as he was 18 years on the 24 Aug. 79 (Ep. VI 20, 5), and was born 61—62. Pliny was married three times, twice under Domitian (ad Trai. 2, 2), and the last time with Calpurnia (IV 19, cf. VI 4. 7. VIII 10 sq.), though without getting children. His pecuniary circumstances were splendid. J. Masson, C. Plini . . vita ordine chronologico digesta, Amsterdam 1709. Geisler, de Plinii min. vita, Breslau 1862. 16 pp. 4. Tanzmann, de Pl. vita, ingenio, moribus, Breslau 1865. Th. Mommsen, on the life of Pliny the younger, Hermes III p. 31—114 (139). H. F. Stobbe, on the chronology of the letters of Pliny, Philol. XXX p. 347—393 (containing the actions against Priscus and Classicus).

2. Hieronym. ad a. Abr. 2126 = Trai. 13 = 110 A. D. (Petav. and Freher. ad 2125): Plinius Secundus Novocomensis orator et historicus insignis habetur, cuius plurima ingenii opera extant. For his masters in eloquence see above 320, 4. Epist. V 8, 8: unodevicesimo aetatis anno dicere in foro coepi. I 18, 3: causam Iuni Pastoris . . acturus adulescentulus adhuc, in quadruplici iudicio (cf. IV 24, 1). VI 12, 2: in arena mea, h. e. apud centumviros (cf. IV 16. IX 23, 1. Martial. X 19, 14 sq.). Thus he pleaded for Arrionilla (Ep. I 5, 4 sqq., Attia Viriola (VI 33, 1 sq.), Corellia (IV 17, 1 u. 11), Vettius Priscus (VI 12, 2). Also pro Firmanis (VI 18), pro Clario (IX 28, 5) and others Ep. VI 29, 7 sqq.: egi quasdam a senatu iussus. . . (8.) adfui Baeticis contra Baebium Massam (together with Herennius Senecio, a. 93, cf. VII 33). . . adfui rursus isdem querentibus de Caecilio Classico (a. 101, cf. I 7, 2 sqq. III 4. 9). . . (9.) accusavi Marium Priscum (a. 99? cf. II 19, 8. ad Trai. 3). . . (10.) tuitus sum Iulium Bassum (after 105? cf. IV 9, 4 sqq. 13, 1 sq.). . . (11.) dixi proxime pro Vareno (Rufo, a. 106 sq. cf. V 20. 2. VII 6. 10). Other criminal actions are mentioned Ep. VII 6, 8—13.

3. Pliny was accustomed to enlarge and revise, then to polish and finally to publish his speeches after much elaboration. Ep. IV 14, 1. V 8, 6: egi magnas et graves causas, has . . destino retractare, ne tantus ille labor meus . . mecum pariter intercidat. Cf. ib. 12. 1 sq VII 17. VIII 3, 2. IX 10, 2 sq. 15, 2. 28, 5 (est uberior, multa enim postea inserui). Thus he edited the sermo quem apud municipes meos (decuriones) habui bybliothecam dedicaturus (I 8, 2 sqq. 16), an actio pro patria (II 5, 3), that pro Iulio Basso (IV 9, 23), pro Vareno (V 20, 2), pro Attia Viriola (VI 33, 1 sq. cf. Sid. Apoll. Ep. VIII 10), pro Clario (IX 28, 5). For others see VIII 19. IX 4. On his speech to Trajan see n. 12. But to the narrative kind (see IX 13, 14, cf. IV 21, 3 the distinction between actio and libri) belonged Pliny's libelli de ultione Helvidi (to his accuser Publicius Certus) Ep. VII 30, 4 sq. IX 13, 1; also the panegyric life of young Vestricius Cottius (ib. III 10 cf. II 7). Pliny himself says of his speeches: temptavi imitari Demosthenen . . in contentione dicendi (Ep. I 2, 2 sq. cf. VII 30, 5); but even in his time there were some sober judges of his style (e. g. Lupercus), against whom he vainly attempts to defend himself by appealing to Demosthenes, Ep. IX 26, 5. ib. 5: visus es mihi in scriptis meis adnotasse quaedam ut tumida quae ego sublimia, ut improba quae ego audentia, ut nimia quae ego plena arbitrabar. Cf. VII 12, 4: cum suspicarer futurum ut tibi tumidius videretur quoniam est sonantius et elatius. He vividly defends himself against the charge of not being sufficiently concise, ib. I 20, V 6, 42 sqq. cf. VI 2, 5 sqq. Macrob. V 1, 7: pingue et floridum (genus), in quo Plinius Secundus quondam et nunc . . Symmachus luxuriatur.

4. Plin. Ep. VII 4, 1 sqq.: numquam a poetice alienus fui: quin etiam quattuordecim natus annos graecam tragoediam scripsi. . . (3.) mox cum e militia rediens in Icaria insula ventis detinerer, latinos elegos in illud ipsum mare ipsamque insulam feci. expertus sum me aliquando et heroo, hendecasyllabis nunc primum. (7.) transii (from hexameters) ad elegos: hos quoque non minus celeriter explicui. addidi alios (iambos, according to Mommsen's emendation), facilitate corruptus. . . (8.) inde plura metra, si quid otii, maxime in itinere temptavi. postremo placuit exemplo multorum unum separatim hendecasyllaborum volumen absolvere. nec paenitet: legitur, describitur, cantatur etiam. The first mention of this collection occurs ib. IV 24, 2 sqq. accipies cum hac epistula hendecasyllabos nostros, quibus nos in vehiculo, in balineo, inter cenam oblectamus otium temporis. (3.) his iocamur, ludimus, amamus, dolemus, querimur, irascimur, describimus aliquid etc. (4.) ex quibus si non nulla tibi paulo petulantiora videbuntur etc. (8.) . . cogitare me has nugas inscribere Hendecasyllabi. Cf. V 3. 10. VIII 21, 4 (liber et opusculis varius et metris). IX 10, 2 (poemata crescunt, according to Mommsen's emendation). 16, 2 (novos versiculos tibi . . mittemus). 25, 1 (lusus et ineptias nostras) and 3 (passerculis et columbulis nostris). Besides this, Pliny translated into Latin thee Greek epigrams of Arrius Antoninus (above 319, 4) about the same time (ib

IV 18, cf. V 15). Hence perhaps Anthol. lat. 710 R. In general he confesses Ep. IX 29, 1 variis me studiorum generibus, nulli satis confisus, experior.

5. Plin. Ep. I 1, 1: frequenter hortatus es ut epistulas, si quas paulo curatius scripsissem, colligerem publicaremque. collegi non servato temporis ordine (neque enim historiam componebam), sed ut quaeque in manus venerat. This pretended want of design can scarcely be admitted of the first book. On the contrary, Tillemont saw and Mommsen (Hermes III p. 31—53) proved that the whole collection is arranged in chronological order, both as concerns the books and again in the letters themselves (Stobbe, Philol. XXVII p. 640 sq.). Like the works of Martial and Statius, the single books were published successively. Not a single letter obliges us to assume the beginning of the collection before the death of Domitian. The first book dates from the end of 96 and a. 97, II from a. 97—100, III a. 101 sq., IV a. 104 sq., V was published 106, VI a. 106 sq., VII a. 107? VIII and IX a. 107—109. The collection was published complete when Pliny set out for Bithynia. His correspondence with Trajan is generally arranged chronologically, and the Emperor's answer is added to each letter. The fifteenth letter down to 122 are of the time of his Bithynian presidency (Sept. 111 — Jan. 113), without, however, reaching its end. Mommsen l. l. p. 36—59. 99. The persons addressed by Pliny are always denoted by two names in the first book, and generally so in b. III—V, but in b. II and VI—IX always only by one. Cf. n. 10.

6. It is evident that these letters were written with a view to publication even from the very beginning. Every person mentioned in them and which is not either dead or exiled, is praised; the sole exceptions being Regulus (above 321, 3) and perhaps Iavolenus Priscus (see below 337, 3). The names of all others are suppressed in case they are blamed (see II 6. VI 17. VII 26. VIII 22, 4. IX 12. 26, 1. 27, 1). Each letter deals with only one subject, so that letters of introduction, congratulations and condolence succeed accounts of news, descriptions (especially of villas), essays on points of morality (sometimes very trivial, e. g. VII 26. IX 11) in intentional variety. Most of them are devoted to the good and excellent performances or clever sayings, to the principles, mode of life etc. of the author himself, and exhibit him as a tender husband, good friend, humane master of slaves, admired speaker or writer, noble-minded citizen, and liberal patron of good aims. On the other hand, the correspondence with Trajan serves to illustrate the patience and calm insight of the Emperor as contrasted with the fidgety and yet selfconscious bearing of his governor. In VIII 14, 12—14 the very great profusion of words with which a simple question is treated shows scanty practice in business-like habits. But the form and diction are treated with great care; cf. I 1 (n. 5) and VII 9, 8: volo epistulam diligentius scribas. . . pressus sermo purusque ex epistulis petitur.

7. In his virtues and his weaknesses Pliny resembles his model Cicero (M. Tullius, quem aemulari studiis cupio, Ep. IV 8, 4 cf. I 5, 11. IX 2, 2). He has his softness and thirst for praise, but is without his humour and malice as well as without his eminent talent. Pliny who is conscious of his limits always keeps his note-book at hand, not to lose the chance of a 'happy thought'. He candidly confesses: me nihil aeque ac diuturnitatis amor et cupido sollicitat, Ep. V 8, 1 cf. VIII 2, 8. IX 3, 1. 14. (nostro studio et labore et reverentia posterorum). 23. 31. His softness (mollitia animi mei, Ep. IV 21, 5) makes him indulgent in judging others, both in life (Ep. VIII 22. IX 17) and literature (VI 17. 21, 1) so that some blamed him tamquam amicos ex omni occasione ultra modum laudet (VII 28, 1), perhaps silently hoping an equal return. Owing to his mild and tender heart he deeply feels the loss of friends and relations, even of slaves (VIII 16) and easily sheds tears (e. g. V 21, 6. VIII 16. 5. 23, 8). He also has an open heart for the charms of inanimate nature (e. g. I 6, 2. 9, 6. II 17, 3 sqq. V 6, 13 sq. VI 31, 15 sqq. VIII 8. 20, 4 sqq. 10: me nihil aeque ac naturae opera delectant. IX 7, 2 sqq. H. Motz, on the perception of natural beauty p. 68—73 and elsewhere). This quality frequently approaches downright softheartedness and womanly conduct; e. g. VI 4. VII 5. On the whole, Pliny may be said to be great in nothing and small in many things, but he always aimed at good ends (VIII 2, 2: mihi egregium in primis videtur . . agitare iustitiam) and avoided vulgarity.

8. Chr. B. Lehmus, on the character of Pliny the younger, Soest 1776. J. A. Schäfer, (same title) Ansbach 1786—1791. 4. G. E. Gierig, on the life, moral character, and literary position of Pliny the younger, Dortmund 1798. E. Cauvet, étude sur Pline le jeune, Toulouse 1857. Grasset, Pline le j., sa vie et ses oeuvres, Montpellier 1865. 187 pp.

J. Held, on the value of the correspondence of Pliny the younger in its bearing upon Roman literature, Breslau 1833.

Wensch, lexici pliniani spec. I. II. Wittenberg 1837. 1839. 4. H. Holstein, de Pl. min. elocutione, Naumburg 1862. 36 pp. 4.; disp. altera, Magdeburg (Lips. Teubner) 1869. 26 pp. 4. Cf. E. Klussmann, Philol. Anz. 1870, p. 159—165.

9. Apoll. Sidon. Ep. IX 1: addis et causas quibus hic liber nonus octo superiorum voluminibus adcrescat, quod C. Secundus, cuius nos orbitas sequi hoc opere pronuntias, paribus titulis opus epistulare determinet. The correspondence with Trajan was arbitrarily counted as the tenth book by Aldus and is now not found in any ms. But in the 16th century there was one still extant in France, from which the last 81 letters were edited by H. Avantius (1502) and others (Ph. Beroaldus 1502, Catanaeus Mil. 1506), the others (1—41) being added by Aldus 1508 from the ms. which had meanwhile been brought to Italy. Subsequent editors changed the order, by placing together all letters without answers and those to which Trajan's reply is given. But

Keil has restored the original order, though not counted nr. 4. The first methodical treatment of these letters by J. C. Orelli, Turici 1833, emended and augmented with a historia critica epistolarum Plinii et Traiani, ind. lect., Turici 1838. 4. Other contributions by J. Held (Prolegg. ad etc., Schweidnitz 1835. 4.), Gr. Thomsen (Dansk Maanedskrift 1858, p. 425—455. 1859, p. 152—158), Holm (ibid. 1859, p. 158—168) and J. L. Ussing (om de k. Tr. tillagte breve til Pl., Copenhagen 1861. 26 pp. 4).

10. The only manuscript which contains all the nine books of letters is the Mediceus (M) saec. X, of which Titze's Prague Ms. is a faulty copy. From the same source as M is derived the Vatican ms. 3864 (V) saec. X, which, however, contains only b. I—IV. All the other mss. are later and contain either only b. I—V 6 (together 100 letters) e. g. especially the Florentinus (F) saec. XI and the lost Riccardianus, (employed by Corte), or only eight books, omitting b. VIII and counting IX as the eighth, and giving also the last book and the fifth in bad order. The earliest ms. of this kind is the codex archivii Cassinatis 332 of a. 1429. Also the Dresdensis (D) belongs to the same class, though in this as well as in others the text is corrected according to a copy of the class containing 100 letters. D and M give only one name to the person addressed, while F and Riccard. have frequently preserved both names (cf. n. 5 fin.). All mss., however, contain numerous arbitrary changes and interpolations by the grammarians. See H. Keil's preface to his edition, and De Plinii epistulis emendandis disp. I (Erlangen 1865. 23 pp. 4.) and II (Erl. 1866. 23 pp. 4.).

11. The first edition of the letters (Venet. 1471) contained only eight books, that by J. Schurener (Rome 1474?) added part of b. VIII without 8, 3—18, 11). The first complete edition is the Aldine, Venet. 1508. from a ms. different from M. Subsequent editions by J. Gruter (1611), J. Veenhusen (cum notis Casaub., Gruteri, J. Fr. Gronovii etc., Lugd. B. 1669), G. Cortius et P. D. Longolius (Amstelod. 1734. 4.). Ed. F. N. Titze, Prague 1820. A Selection with notes by G. A. Herbst, Halle 1839. With a commentary by M. Döring, Freiberg 1843, 2 vols.

12. The speech in which Pliny returns thanks to Trajan for conferring the Consulate upon him (Ep. II 1, 5. III 13. 18. IV 5. VI 27, 2 sq. Paneg. 1, 6. 2, 3. 3, 1. 90, 3) is called Panegyricus as early as by Sidonius Apollinaris Ep. VIII 10. 'It is very probable that it lost by being enlarged and by too careful elaboration, when it was subsequently written down. As we have it now, pompous and loquacious, full of flattery in the guise of candour . . we understand the judgment of F. A. Wolf (praef. to Cic. p. Marcell. p. XII): enecuisset principem novus consul si ita dixisset ut scripsit'. M. Hertz, Renaissance etc. p. 11. It has come down to us in two texts, both corrupt. The earlier text is represented by the three palimpsest leaves (saec. VI—VIII) from Bobio published by A. Mai in his edition of Symmachus (Mediol. 1815), more accurately by H. Keil, de schedis Ambrosianis rescriptis paneg. Pl., Halle 1869. 16 pp. 4. The other consists of mss

of the fifteenth century (e. g. Vat. 3461) all copied from a ms. of the panegyrici seen a. 1433 at Mayence by J. Aurispa; H. Keil, Jo. Aurispae epistula, Halle 1870. 4.

This speech was edited originally in the Panegyrici veteres of Puteolanus, Cuspinianus (1513) and others, then cum comment. J. Lipsii, Antverp. 1600. 1604. 4. and elsewhere Emend. J. M. Gesner, Gotting. 1735. 1749. Cum notis varr. cur. J. Arntzen, Amstelod. 1738. 4. Cum comm. edit. C. G. Schwarz, Norimb. 1746. 4. Rec. G. E. Gierig, Lips. 1796. Texte revu par Fr. Dübner, Paris 1843.

Critical contributions by J. C. Held, Observationes in Pl. paneg., Baireuth 1824. 4. H. Haupt, Hermes V p. 26—28. J. Dierauer, On the Paneg. of Pliny, in M. Büdinger's Investigations on the Imperial period I (1868) p. 187—217.

13. Complete editions (cf. n. 11) especially by H. Stephanus (cum notis Is. Casauboni, Paris 1591), M. Z. Boxhorn (Lugd. B. 1653), J. M. Gesner (Lips. 1739. 1770; cum notis varr. ed. G. H. Schaefer, Lips. 1805), G. E. Gierig (rec. et prolegg. instr., Lips. 1806), H. Keil (recogn., Lips. 1853, Bibl. Teubner), especially his large edition (with index nominum by Mommsen), Lips. Teubner 1870.

336. Besides these two greatest orators of this period we know from Pliny of a large number of men of all conditions who pleaded before the Senate and in the Law-Courts, and some of whom also published their speeches. Thus we may mention especially Pompeius Saturninus, who also composed verse, and Voconius Romanus. The great number of these practical speakers and the decided preference they seem to have met with in comparison with the school-rhetoricians are proofs of the great importance public life had regained. A respectable representative of this scholastic eloquence is P. Annius Florus by whom we possess an interesting fragment of some length and who is also known as poet. Historical writing exhibits (independently of Tacitus) a certain fondness of biography (Claudius Pollio, C. Fannius, Pliny) and a preference for relating recent events (Pompeius Planta).

1. Plin. Ep. I 16, 1: Pompeium Saturninum. . . (2.) audivi causas agentem . . polite et ornate etc. (3.) senties quod ego cum orationes eius in manus sumpseris, quas facile cui libet veterum, quorum est aemulus, comparabis. (4.) idem tamen in historia magis satisfaciet etc. (5.) praeterea facit versus quales Catullus aut Calvus. quantum (in) illis leporis etc. (6.) legit mihi nuper epistulas: . . Plautum vel Terentium metro solutum legi credidi. To him ib. I 8. V 21 (, 1: litterae tuae . . te recitaturum statim ut venissem pollicebantur). VII 7, 15. IX 38.

2. Plin. Ep. II 13, 4: Voconius Romanus . . (7.) ad hoc ingenium excelsum, subtile, dulce, facile, eruditum in causis agendis. epistulas quidem scribit ut Musas ipsas latine loqui credas. To him ib. I 5. III 13. IX 28 (, 3: nuntias multa te nunc dictare nunc scribere quibus nos tibi repraesentes) and others ad Trai. 4, 4: pro moribus Romani mei, quos et liberalia studia exornant et eximia pietas. He is probably C. Licinius C. f. Gal. Marinus Voconius Romanus, C. I. lat. II 3866 cf. 3865 a.

3. Suet. Vesp. 13: Salvium Liberalem in defensione divitis rei ausum dicere . . et ipse laudavit (Vesp.). Under Domitian he was exiled. Plin. Ep. II 11, 17: postero die (a. 100) dixit pro Mario Salvius Liberalis, vir subtilis, dispositus, acer, disertus. Cf. ib. III 9, 36 (a. 101). Cons. probably under Nerva (Orelli 1170 and the acta of the fratres arvales, to whom he belonged since 1 May 78: C. Salvius C. f. Vel. Liberalis Nonius Bassus); see Pauly's Encycl. I 2 p. 2298, no. 35 and the Index of Keil's Pliny (1870) p. 424.

4. As practical orators Pliny mentions also the following: Catius Fronto (Ep. II 11, 3 and 18. IV 9, 15. VI 13, 2), Claudius Capito (VI 13, 2), Claudius Marcellinus (II 11, 15), Claudius Restitutus (III 9, 16), Cornelius Minicianus (VII 22), Cremutius Ruso (VI 23, 2), Erucius Clarus (Cos. 117, vir . . disertus atque in agendis causis exercitatus, ib. II 9, 4 cf. Dio LXVIII 30), Fabius Hispanus (facundia validus, ib. III 9, 12), C. Fannius (see n. 8), Fuscus Salinator (VI 11. 26), Herennius Pollio (IV 9, 14), Iulius Africanus (VII 6, 11), the grandson of the orator of the same name (above 292, 4), Lucceius Albinus (III 9, 7. IV 9, 13), Minicius (Iustus? cf. ib. VII 11, 4), whose style is characterized by tenuitas (VII 12, 5); Pomponius Rufus (IV 9, 3), Titius Homullus (Ep. IV 9, 15. V 20, 6), Trebonius Rufinus (IV 22, 1 sq.), Tuscilius Nominatus (V 4, 1 sq. 13, 1 sqq.), Varisidius Nepos (IV 4, 1), Ummidius Quadratus (VI 11, VII 24; Cons. a. 118).

5. Plin. Ep. VI 5, 6: et (Iuventius) Celsus (below 319, 2) Nepos ex libello respondit (in the Senate) et Celso (Licinius) Nepos ex pugillaribus. V 13, 6 sq.: Nigrinus trib. pleb. recitavit (in the Senate) libellum disertum et gravem, quo questus est vaenire advocationes etc. cf. V 20, 6 (dixit . . Nigrinus presse, graviter, ornate).

6. As school-declaimers we know in this time (except Licinianus, above 321, 15) the following — Isaeus (Plin. Ep. II 3. Juv. 3, 74. Philostr. vit. soph. I 20) and Iulius Genitor (rhetor latinus, Plin. Ep. III 3, 3 sqq. to him ib. III 11. VII 30. IX 17), also Vettius (Juv. 7, 150). Suetonius too, is called scholasticus by Plin. Ep. I 24, 4. cf. 18, 1 (ne quid adversi in actione patiaris).

7. The introduction to P. Annius Florus' dialogue on the question Vergilius orator an poeta was discovered by Th. Oehler in a Brussels ms. and first edited and commented on by F. Ritschl (Rh. Mus. I. 1842. p. 302—314), then in the editions of Iulius Florus (below 343) by

O. Jahn p. XLI—XLIV and by Halm p. 106—109. Contributions to the criticism of the text by J. Freudenberg (Rh. Mus. XXII p. 30 sq.) and E. Bährens (lect. latt., Bonn 1870, p. 19—22). From this dialogus we gather that the author appeared in the Capitoline contest at Rome as puer sub Domitiano, but was not crowned owing to partiality; dismayed by which he started on his journeys, finally settled at Tarraco and devoted himself to professio litterarum. There his 'interlocutor' meets him and puts the question: quid tu tam diu in hac provincia? nec . . urbem illam revisis ubi versus tui a lectoribus concinuntur et in foro omni clarissimus ille de Dacia triumphus (of Trajan, a. 102 or 106) exultat? And indeed in the reign of Adrian we see him at Rome, as he is no doubt the Florus poeta with whom Adrian exchanged jocular poetry (Spartian. Hadr. 16); cf. Charis. I p. 53, 14 and 140, 6 K. (Annius Florus ad divum Hadrianum: poematis delector). 123, 17 (Florus ad divum Hadrianum). It is also quite credible that he is the author of the pleasing 26 trochaeic sententious tetrameters which are in the codex Salmasianus and Thuaneus entitled Flori de qualitate vitae (Nr. 245—252 in A. Riese, Anthol. lat. p. 168—170) and of the five hexameters Flori on roses (ib. Nr. 87, p. 101). Both in L. Müller's edition of Rutil. Nam. p. 26—31. E. H. O. Müller, de P. Annio Floro poeta et carmine quod Pervigilium Veneris incriptum est, Berlin 1855. 46 pp. On his relation to the Florus of the Bella see below 343, 1.

8. Plin. Ep. V 5, 1: nuntiatum mihi est C. Fannium decessisse, . . hominem elegantem, disertum etc. (2.) . . pulcherrimum opus imperfectum reliquit. (3.) quamvis enim agendis causis distringeretur, scribebat tamen exitus occisorum aut relegatorum a Nerone et iam tres libros absolverat, subtiles et diligentes et latinos atque inter sermonem historiamque medios, ac tanto magis reliquos perficere cupiebat quanto frequentius hi lectitabantur. Cf. ib. 5: primum librum quem de sceleribus eius (of Nero) ediderat etc.

9. Schol. Vallae on Juv. 2, 99: quod bellum (of Galba, Otho, Vitellius) descripsit Cornelius Tacitus, post Cornelium vero, ut Probus inquit, Pompeius Planta, qui ait Bebriacum etc. Plin. Ep. IX 1 (Maximo suo), 1: saepe te monui ut libros quos vel pro te vel in Plantam . . composuisti quam maturissime emitteres: quod nunc praecipue morte eius audita et hortor et moneo. He is probably the Pomp. Planta mentioned by Pliny ad Trai. 7 and 10 as praefectus Aegypti, and Maximus is that Nonius Maximus whose libri are praised by Pliny Ep. IV 20, and to whom also Ep. V 5 (see n. 8) is addressed. A Messius Maximus ibid. III 20. IV 25.

10. On an anonymous person who 'recitaverat verissimum librum' on recent events, see Plin. Ep. IX 27. Cf. ib. 31 (Sardo): legi librum tuum, identidem repetens ea maxime quae de me scripsisti.

11. Plin. Ep. VII 31, 5: Claudius Pollio quam fideliter amicos colat multorum supremis iudiciis, in his Anni Bassi, gravissimi civis, credere potes, cuius memoriam tam grata praedicatione prorogat . .

ut librum de vita eius (nam studia quoque sicut alias bonas artes veneratur) ediderit.

12. Pliny hints (Ep. V 8) that after the revision and edition of his letters he intended to turn to historical composition. But the brilliant performances of Tacitus were calculated to deter him, and his rhetorical and biographic works on Helvidius and Vestricius Cottius (above 335, 3) remained his sole achievement in the department of history. The conjecture of H. Nissen (Rh. M. XXVI p. 544—548) that Pliny took a share in the edition and preparation of his uncle's history (see above 307, 5) is not very convincing.

337. Jurisprudence is represented under Trajan by a number of excellent men. Thus we mention the last Proculians Neratius and Juventius Celsus who both attained the consular dignity and were advisers of Adrian, both also fertile writers. On the side of the Sabinians we have Javolenus Priscus, and probably Pliny's friend Titius Aristo, a man of great strength of character, also Minicius who was commented on by Salvius Julianus. Of less importance and less known are Laelius Felix, Varius Lucullus, Arrianus, Octavenus, Vivianus, and others.

1. Pompon. Dig. I 2, 2, 53: successit . . patri Celso Celsus filius et Priscus Neratius, qui utrique consules fuerunt, Celsus quidem et iterum (see n. 2), but Ner. Pr. probably with the grandfather of M. Aurelius, Annius Verus (Dig. XLVIII 8, 6), probably under Domitian, perhaps a. 83 according to Sickel and Borghesi in Mommsen I. R. N. 4931 (from Altilia): L. Neratio L. f. Vol. Prisco, praef. aer. Sat., Cos., Leg. pr. pr. in prov. Pannonia (a. 98), in exact agreement with which we have ibid. 4932 from Saepinum, in which also a younger Ner. Pr. (son to the jurist?) is mentioned (L. Neratius L. f. Vol. Pr. . . . . VIIvir epul., leg. Aug. pr. pr. . . . inferiore et Pannonia), whom Dirksen (Commentations of the Berl. Acad. 1852, p. 202—204) considered to be the jurist, relying on a spurious inscription (of Pratilli), Orelli 753 = Mommsen 520*). Spart. Hadr. 18, 1: cum iudicaret in consilio habuit . . iurisconsultos et praecipue Iulium Celsum (cf. Muratori Inscr. p. 2005, 1. Orelli 2369), Salvium Iulianum, Neratium Priscum aliosque according to which Neratius must have attained to a high old age. His influence was greatest under Trajan; see Spart. Hadr. 4, 8: frequens opinio fuit Traiano id animi fuisse ut Neratium Priscum . . successorem relinqueret, . . usque eo ut Prisco aliquando dixerit: commendo tibi provincias, si quid mihi fatale contigerit. Cf. Dig. XXXVII 12, 5: divus Traianus . . consilio Neratii Prisci et Aristonis etc. About 64 passages of his works are inserted into the Digest (see Hommel, Palingenesia I. p. 501—512): Responsorum libri III, Membranarum libri VII and Regularum

libri XV; there are also quoted Neratius libro IV° Epistolarum (Dig. XXXIII 7, 12. § 35 and 43; from which is perhaps epistola Neratii ad Aristonem, ib. XIX 2, 19, 2), libri ex Plautio (Dig. VIII 3, 5, 1 see above 311, 5) and a liber de nuptiis (Gellius IV 4, 4). See also n. 3. J. C. Sickel, de Neratio Prisco icto, Lips. 1788. 4. Rudorff, History of Roman Law I p. 181 sq. K. Viertel, de vitis ictorum (1868) p. 26—30.

2. P. Iuventius Celsus T. Aufidius Hoenius Severianus (Dig. V 3, 20, 6. Orelli-Henzen 7182), son to the Jurist Iuv. Celsus (above 311, 4) one of the conspiracy against Domitian a. 95 (Dio LXVII, 13), Praetor 106 or 107 (Plin. Ep. VI 5, 4), Cons. I probably under Trajan, II under Hadrian a. 129 (Dig. l. l. Cod. Iust. VII 9, 3. Gruter p. 573, 2). His works: Digestorum libri XXXIX, arranged in agreement with Adrian's code of laws (b. 1—12 and 24—27 according to the order of the edict, b. 13—23 on wills and legacies, 28—39 on other points of Civil Law), 142 passages of which occur in the Digest, very lengthy ones VIII 6, 6. XXVIII 5, 59. XXXIII 10, 7. XLVII 2, 67; see also fragm. Vat. 75. 77. 79. 80. Merely quoted are his Commentarii in at least 7 books (Dig. XXXIV 2, 19, 6). Epistolae in at least 11 (ib. IV 4, 3, 1) and Quaestiones in at least 19 books (ib. XII 1, 1. XXVIII 5, 9, 2. XXXIV 2, 19, 3). In these fragments Celsus appears fond of appealing to the Jurists of the Republic (especially Servius, Labeo and Tubero) and frequently alleges oral explanations by his father (Dig. XXXI 20: et Proculo placebat et a patre sic accepi. ib. 29: pater meus referebat etc.). Grecisms Dig. XIII 3, 3. XXXIII, 10, 7. He displays much sharpness and at times even rudeness. The earlier Jurists called a rude reply to a foolish question 'responsio Celsina' to a 'quaestio Domitiana', on account of Dig. XXVIII 1, 27: Domitius Labeo Celso suo salutem. Quaero an etc. (whether a lawyer who had drawn up a will might also witness it). Iuventius Celsus Labeoni suo salutem. Aut non intellego quid sit de quo me consulis aut valide stulta est consultatio tua. plus enim quam ridiculum est dubitare an aliquis etc. Cf. ib. III 5, 10, 1: istam sententiam Celsus eleganter deridet. Hommel. Palingenesia I p. 149—172. Heineccius, de P. Iuventio Celso Icto eximio, Frankf. a. O. 1727. 4. = Opp. II. p. 518—532. Rudorff, Hist. of Roman Law I p. 181.

3. Pompon. l. l. (see n. 1): successit . . Caelio Sabino Priscus Iavolenus, . . Iavoleno Prisco Aburnius Valens et Tuscianus, item Salvius Iulianus. Dig. XL 2, 5: Iulianus: . . ego, qui meminissem Iavolenum, praeceptorem meum, et in Africa et in Syria servos suos manumisisse cum consilium praeberet. Plin. Ep. VI 15: Passennus Paulus . . scribit elegos. . . is cum recitaret ita coepit dicere: 'Prisce, iubes.' ad hoc Iavolenus Priscus (aderat enim, ut Paulo amicissimus): 'ego vero non iubeo.' cogita qui risus hominum. . . est omnino Priscus dubiae sanitatis, interest tamen officiis, adhibetur consiliis atque etiam ius civile publice respondet. There may have been little fear of his sanitas or even deliratio (ib. 4). Pliny has no perception of a joke and his vanity was perhaps offended by Iavolenus. It is very doubtful

whether Iavolenus was still alive under Pius, as the mss. have Diaboleno Capitol. Ant. Pi. 12, 1. His juridical works are excerpted in the Digest in 206 places. We know as such: libri XV ex Cassio, Epistolarum libri XIV, ad Plautium or ex Plautio libri V, libri ex Posterioribus Labeonis or Posteriorum Labeonis (above 260, 2) a Iavoleno epitomatorum, at least six. Hommel, Paling. I p. 197—220. It is questionable whether in those places where Priscus is merely mentioned he is meant or Neratius; for Dig. VII 8, 10, 2 (et Priscus et Neratius putant) Mommsen follows the translation of Stephanos (*καὶ φασι Προκουλλός τε ἅμα καὶ Νεράτιος*) in writing et Proculus et Neratius. G. A. Jenichen, de Pr. Iav. icto incomparabili, Lips. 1734. 4. H. van Alphen, spicilegia de I. Pr. icto, Utrecht 1768 and in Oelrichs thesaur. nov. III 1. J. G. Lindner, prolusio de I. Pr. ad Plin. Ep. VI 15, Arnstadt 1770. 4. C. L. Neuber, on the Classical Writers on Roman Law (Berl. 1806) p. 146—182.

4. Plin. Ep. I 22, 1 sqq. (c. a. 100): perturbat me longa et pertinax valetudo Titi Aristonis, quem singulariter et miror et diligo. nihil est enim illo gravius, sanctius, doctius etc. (2.) quam peritus ille et privati iuris et publici; quantum rerum, quantum exemplorum, quantum antiquitatis tenet! etc. (3.) . . et tamen plerumque haesitat, dubitat diversitate rationum, quas acri magnoque iudicio ab origine causisque primis repetit etc. (6.) in summa, non facile quemquam ex istis qui sapientiae studium habitu corporis praeferunt huic viro comparabis. . . in toga negotiisque versatur, multos advocatione, plures consilio iuvat. From the succeeding observations it also becomes certain that he professed the Stoic system. At that time he recovered, as we find that Pliny addressed to him Ep. V 3 (Titio Aristoni suo) a. 105 and VIII 14 a. 108 (1: cum sis peritissimus et privati iuris et publici etc. 10: scientia tua, cui semper fuit curae iura . . sic antiqua ut recentia . . tractare). Dig. XXXVII 12, 5 (above n. 1). Pliny does not mention any writings by him, nor are any excerpted in the Digest, though occasionally (especially by Pomponius, below 345, 8) his notes (notat, adnotat etc.) on (Labeo, Cassius and) Sabinus (according to which Aristo was a Sabinian), Dig. II 14, 7, 2 (eleganter Aristo Celso respondit). IV 8, 40 (Cassium audisse se dicentem Aristo ait). XX 3, 3 (Aristo Neratio Prisco scripsit etc. Cf. XL 4, 46). VII 1, 7, 3. VII 8, 6 (Ar. apud Sabinum). XXVIII 5, 17, 5. XXIX 7, 9. XXXIII 9, 3, 1. fragm. Vat. 68. 83. 88. 199; once (Dig. XXIX 2, 99) Aristo in decretis Frontinianis (above 322?). Gell. XI 18, 16: memini legere me in libro Aristonis icti, haudquaquam indocti viri, etc. Dig. XXXVII 5, 6 (when Salvius Aristo addresses a legal question to Julianus) we should probably strike out Salvius or at all events some other Aristo should be understood. J. J. Enschede, de T. A., Lugd. B. 1829. Th. Mommsen, Zeitschr. für Rechtsgesch. VII Weimar 1868) p. 474—478 IX. p. 87 sq. n. 13.

5. Dig. XLI 1, 19: Aristo ait; . . quod et Varium Lucullum ali-

quando dubitasse. He must, therefore, have been an older contemporary of Aristo. Mommsen: Varronem Lucullum (cf. Cic. p. Tull. 8)?

6. A certain Minicius is known as a writer on law by the notes of Julian on his work which are quoted 40 times in the Digest (ex Minicio, apud or in Minicium). Very doubtful is his identity with the (L.) Minicius Natalis to whom divus Traianus rescripsit (Dig. II 12, 9), who was Consul a. 107 together with Q. Licinius Granianus (Mommsen I. R. N. 4496. Bull. archeol. 1846 p. 42) repeatedly mentioned in inscriptions as well as his son who bore the same name (L. Minicius L. f. Gal. Natalis Quadronius Verus, cos., procos. prov. Africae etc.), the praef. rei alimentariae under Adrian. Annali dell' inst. arch. 1849 p. 223—226. E. Hübner, Monthly Reports of the Berl. Ac. 1860, p. 232 sq. F. Kämmerer, de Minicio Natali icto romano, Rostock 1839. K. Viertel, de vitis ictorum p. 20—26.

7. Gellius XV 27, 1: in libro Laelii Felicis ad Q. Mucium (above 141, 2) primo scriptum est Labeonem (above 260, 1 sq.) scribere etc. Cf. ib. 4: in eodem Laeli Felicis libro haec scripta sunt etc. (on republican institutions, especially the comitia). He is perhaps the jurist Laelius who was still alive under Adrian, see Dig. V 4, 3: Laelius scribit se vidisse . . mulierem quae ab Alexandria perducta est ut Hadriano ostenderetur. Cf. ib. XXXIV 5, 7. Also ib. V 3, 43 (idque et Laelius probat). Mercklin, Philologus XVI p. 168—172, refers to him also Macrob. I 6, 13 (M. Laelius augur refert etc.) and Gell. XIII 14, 7: quod ego in Elydis, grammatici veteris, commentario offendi, reading there Felicis (cf. Rhein. Mus. XVIII p. 297—300), but M. Hertz (Rhein. Mus. XVII p. 580 sqq.) proposes Heraclidis with more probability.

8. Ulpian. Dig. V 3, 11: Arrianus libro II de interdictis. XLIII 3, 1, 4: bellissime Arrianus scribit. Cf. XXVIII 5, 19: quam sententiam et Iavolenus probat et Pomponius et Arrianus. XXXVIII 10, 5 (from Paulus). XLIV 7, 47 (from Paulus). He is perhaps the Arrianus Maturus to whom Pliny addressed Ep. I 2. II 11 sq. IV 8. 12. VI 2. VIII 21. Cf. ibid. III 2, 2 sqq. A certain Arrianus Severus, praef. aerarii in the time after Trajan, Dig. XLIX 14, 42 (from Aburius Valens).

9. Dig. XXXVIII 1, 47 from Aburius Valens: Campanus scribit etc. Cf. Pompon. ib. XL 5, 34, 1 from Pomponius: Campanus ait etc.

10. Dig. XXXI 49, 2: quod (Labeonis) merito Priscus Fulcinius falsum esse aiebat. XXV 2, 3, 4: Mela, Fulcinius aiunt. XXXIX 6, 43 from Neratius libro I Responsorum: Fulcinius (putat or dicit) etc. Cf. XXIV 1, 29 (from Pomponius): . . Fulcinius scripsit. XXV 1, 1, 3 (Fulcinius inquit).

11. Paulus Dig. IV 6, 35, 9: Vivianus scribit Proculum (above 276, 5) respondisse; and XIII 6, 17, 4: Vivianus scripsit. Cf. XXIX

7, 14: quidam referunt . . apud Vivianum Sabini et Cassii et Proculi expositam esse controversiam. See also ib. IX 2, 27, 24. XIX 5, 17. XXI 1, 1, 9. 17, 3. below n. 13. K. Viertel p. 15 sq. places him before Celsus and Octavenus.

12. Dig. XXIII 2, 44, 3 (from Paulus): Octavenus ait. XL 9, 32, 2 (from Terentius Clemens): idem Octavenus probat. Pomponius Dig. XL 5, 20 (bellissime Aristo et Oct. putabant) and 4, 61, 2 (hoc amplius Oct. aiebat). XXX 9 (O. scripsit). From Dosith. 12 it appears that he knew the lex Iunia Norbana of a. 772. But he is not acquainted with the Sctum Iuventianum and should, therefore, be placed later than Trajan. K. Viertel, de vitis ictorum (Königsb. 1868) p. 13—15.

13. Dig. XXXVII 14, 10 from Terentius Clemens: id etiam Proculo placuisse Servilius refert, where Mommsen thinks of placuisse Viviano (n. 11).

14. Dig. III 5, 30 from Iulianus: Valerius Severus respondit etc. Cf. Ulp. ib. III 3, 8 pr.: Valerius Severus scribit. One C. Val. Sev. was cos. suff. 124 A. D. Orelli-Henzen 5455.

15. Dig. XXXVII 12, 3 from Paul. VIII ad Plaut.: Paconius ait. Against the conjectures proposed by A. Schmidt in Bekker and Muther's Jahrb. d. gem. Rechts III 1859. p. 391 sqq. see K. Viertel, de vitis ictorum p. 10—13.

338. The principal grammarians in the time of Trajan were Urbanus, Velius Longus, and probably also Flavius Caper. Under the name of Caper we possess two small treatises de orthographia and de verbis dubiis, which are, however, but scanty excerpts of his original works. Urbanus was a commentator on Virgil, and the same may be said of Velius Longus, of whom we possess a treatise de orthographia. Caesellius Vindex (a man who had to struggle against much enmity) wrote, probably about this time, a work entitled Stromateus or lectiones antiquae in alphabetic order and in the form of a dictionary. Cloatius Verus should also be assigned to this time.

1. An observation of Urbanus directed against Cornutus (see Longus ap. Schol. Veron. Ae. V 488, p. 96, 10 sqq. K.) is quoted by Serv. Ae. V 517. Hence it follows that Urbanus was later than Cornutus (above 294, 2) and somewhat earlier than (Velius) Longus. His labours on Virgil were more praiseworthy in intention than in execution. Ribbeck, proll. ad Verg. p. 167—169.

2. Gellius XVIII 9, 4: Velio Longo, non homini indocto, fidem esse habendam, qui in commentario quod fecisset de usu antiquae

lectionis scripserit etc. Charis. p. 175, 14 K.: Velius Longus in II Aeneidos (i. e. in his Commentary on Aen. II). ib. p. 113, 29 sq. (cf. 556, 22) K.: Velius Longus de hac regula dixit in V ea parte (in his note on Ae. V 380). Hence also ibid. p. 210, 7 K.; see Lachmann on Lucr. p. 146. Non doctum modo sed omni fere ex parte egregium, accuratum et prudentem et elegantem Aeneidos (nam de ceteris libris nihil traditur) interpretem habuerim, qui Probi exemplo ad uberiores de rebus maxime grammaticis quaestiones digressus est; Ribbeck prolegg. p. 169(—171). In the extant treatise of Vel. Long. de orthographia (p. 2213—2228 P.) Virgil is frequently quoted. The author appears there as a careful observer, though he accumulates facts without much discrimination; Brambach, on Latin spelling p. 96 sq. Long. proved in a special commentation that thermae Titianae (not Titinae) was the correct appellation.

3. The statement of Pomp. p. 154, 13 K. (Gramm. V): Caper, ille magister Augusti Caesaris, elaboravit vehementissime et de epistulis Ciceronis collegit haec (?) verba uti dixerat ipse Cicero 'piissimus', is certainly erroneous. Cf. Excerpta ib. p. 327, 15: Caper, antiquissimus doctor. If Caper ever instructed an Emperor, he may have taught a Flavius, certainly not Augustus, as he must have lived after Valerius Probus and Suetonius. He is, therefore, identical with the grammarian Flavius Caper who quoted Probus (Charis. p. 118, 1 K. from Romanus: Fl. Caper . . Valerium Probum putare ait) and used him as his principal source, if we may believe appearances. It would be certain that he wrote not only before Romanus (who quotes him repeatedly) but also before Terentius Scaurus, if the quotation in Dausquius (Orthographia I p. 162) 'Scaurus libro IX de orthographia: raro Capri testimonio s... exprimitur' were anyway trustworthy. See Christ, Philol. XVIII p. 166, and Steup de Probis p. 192 (who thinks it to be derived from Agroec. p. 2269 P. and Priscian I p. 170, 9). Suetonius does not mention Caper among the earlier grammarians, probably because he was still living in his time, or perhaps because he was later. As far as the tendency of his studies is concerned, Fl. C. should not be placed later than saec. II. Prisc. II p. 772 P. = 354, 9: Caper, antiquitatis doctissimus inquisitor. Charisius, Servius, and Priscian often quote passages of his works, entitled de latinitate (= orthographia) or de lingua latina, also de dubiis generibus or dubii generis or dubii sermonis, also enucleati sermonis (identified by Christ p. 168 sq. with the work de latinitate) and on ex. Jerome c. Rufin. II 9 (II p. 497 Vall.): in Capri commentariis indicates merely grammatical works. Caper probably did not write commentaries on Plautus and Terence (Ritschl, Par. I p. 361—364) or on Virgil (Ribbeck, prol. p. 166) nor did he write on Cicero, in spite of Agroec. prooem. where Caper is called multis litterarum operibus celebratus, in commentando etiam Cicerone praecipuus. The works de orthographia (p. 2239—2246 P.) and de verbis dubiis (p. 2247—2250 P.) which bear his name are not remarkable for the abundance of quotations from the ancient writers by which Caper is distinguished

They are meagre and desultory, the one even in alphabetical order, that de orthogr. less disfigured by the additions of the compiler. F. Osann, de Fl. Capro et Agroecio grammaticis (Giessen 1849. 4.) p. 3. 5—20. W. Christ, Philol. XVIII p. 165—170. W. Brambach, on Latin spelling p. 43 sq.

4. Gellius VI (VII) 2, 1 sq.: turpe erratum offendimus in illis celebratissimis commentariis lectionum antiquarum Caeselli Vindicis, hominis hercle pleraque haud indiligentis. (2.) quod erratum multos fugit, quamquam multa in Caesellio reprehendendo etiam per calumnias rimarentur (especially his younger contemporaries Terentius Scaurus and Sulpicius Apollinaris). The same work is quoted ib. II 16, 5 sqq. III 16, 11. XI 15, 2 sqq. XX 2, 2 and probably also meant IX 14, 6. XVIII 11. The arrangement was alphabetical; see Charis. p. 117, 13 K. (Vindex A litterae libro I). 239, 21 (Caesellius Vindex libro B litterae). 195, 26 (Caes. Vind. libro L). The identity of the contents renders it probable that Stromateus was merely another title of the same work; see Priscian p. 210, 7 (Caesellius Vindex in stromateo). 230, 11 (Caesellius in stromateo) cf. p. 229, 10 Htz. F. Ritschl, Parerga I. p. 360. To him we should probably also refer the excerpts of Cassiodorus (p. 2314 sqq. P.) ex orthographo Caesellio and ex Lucio Caecilio Vindice; see Gräfenhan, Hist. of class. Philol. IV. p. 121 sq., cf. p. 68—71. W. Brambach, on Latin spelling p. 38—41. Arnob. adv. gent. I 59 extr.: Epicados omnes, Caesellios, Verrios ac Scauros teneatis et Nisos. Rufin. de metr. p. 2713 P. J. Kretzschmer, de Gellii fontibus (1860) p. 95—98.

5. Gellius XVI 12, 1 sqq. Cloatius Verus, in libris quos inscripsit verborum a Graecis tractorum (also in Macrob. III 18, 4), non pauca hercle dicit curiose et sagaciter conquisita; neque non tamen quaedam futilia et frivola. . . (5.) commode haec sane omnia et conducenter. sed in libro quarto faenerator, inquit, appellatus est quasi φαινερώτωρ, ἀπὸ τοῦ φαίνεσθαι etc. (6.) idque dixisse ait Hypsicraten quempiam grammaticum, cuius libri sane nobiles sunt super his quae a Graecis accepta sunt. This Hypsicr. is mentioned by Varro de l. l. V 88 (cohortem in villa Hypsicrates dicit esse graece χόρτον) and perhaps by Festus v. aurum (Paul. p. 8 M.). Cloatius might thus have belonged to the Augustan period. But he is evidently more familiar to Gellius than Hypsicr. and therefore nearer to his own time. Besides this etymological work, Cloatius wrote Ordinatorum graecorum libri, which seem to have rather contained illustrations of subjects; a second book of them is quoted by Macrob. III 6, 2 (on the altar of Apollo at Delos) and a fourth ib. 18, 8 (on nux) and 19, 2 (an enumeration of the various kinds of apples in alphabetical order).

6. Gellius XX 11, 1 sqq.: P. Lavini liber est non incuriose factus, is inscriptus est de verbis sordidis. in eo scripsit sculnam volgo dici etc. . . (4.) sculnam autem scriptum esse in logistorico Varronis . . idem Lavinius in eodem libro admonet. The Laevinus mentioned by Macrob. III 8, 3 is not identical with this Lavinius for the simple

reason that the quotation from him is evidently in metre; he might rather be identical with Laevius (above 138, 5).

7. On L. Cotta, who wrote on the history of literature, see above 156, 13 [in the Add.].

339. Several grammarians wrote likewise in the reign of Trajan: e. g. Hyginus by whom we possess fragments of a large work de munitionibus. In the treatise de limitibus (constituendis) which is also attributed to him Frontinus is also much used. Balbus is the author of an extant work on the elementary notions of geometry, but not of the work de asse. Not much later than Trajan is the gromatic writer Siculus Flaccus, whose technical work de condicionibus agrorum we possess complete and in a good text.

1. The fragments of the gromatic writer Hyginus may be seen especially in Lachmann's edition of the Works of the Roman Gromatics I (1848) p. 108—134. The whole was divided into three parts, de limitibus (p. 108—113), de condicionibus agrorum (p. 113—123), de generibus controversiarum (p. 123—134). Cf. Blume, Rhein. Mus. VII p. 142—154. Lachmann, Grom. II p. 136—141. On the original connexion see p. 123: hae sunt condiciones agrorum quas cognoscere potui. nunc de generibus controversiarum perscribam quae solent in quaestionem deduci. On its date of composition (perhaps a. 103, Hultsch, metrolog. script. II. p. 6. not. 4) cf. p. 121, 7 sqq. (nuper quidam evocatus Augusti, . . cum in Pannonia agros veteranis ex voluntate . . imperatoris Traiani Aug. Germanici adsignaret) and p. 131, 17 sqq. (according to which veteran soldiers who had received estates in Samnium from Vespasian were still alive). The work of Frontinus (above 322, 3) is made use of, but independently; the diction is somewhat more technical, and shows a careful acquaintance with the subject, and the Latin is after all good. C. Lachmann, l. l. II p. 139. On another work of Hygin. ib. I p. 133, 14 sqq.: cuius edicti (by Domitian) verba, itemque constitutiones quasdam aliorum principum itemque divi Nervae in uno libello contulimus. Hyginus' name is also prefixed to a treatise de castrametatione or de munitionibus castrorum, the beginning of which is mutilated; the last editor of it, C. C. L. Lange (Gotting. 1848) in his Prolegomena critica et historica in Hyg. de mun. castr. libellum, (Gotting 1847, p. 51—63) has successfully defended its claim to this name.

2. The assumption of Blume and Lachmann of two gromatics of the name of Hyginus, the later one of whom was to be considered as the author of the work de limitibus constituendis (in Lachmann's Works of the Rom. Grom. I p. 166—208) has been successfully impugned by L. Lange, prolegomena l. l. p. 44—51, and Gött. Gel. Anz. 1853, p. 527—530.

3. In the Arcerianus (see above 322, 2 extr.) Balbus' work bears the title: Balbi ad Celsum expositio et ratio omnium formarum (i. e. geometrical figures; but in the extant part the writer treats only of the mensurae), in Lachmann's Ed. of the Grom. I p. 91—108 cf. Lachmann ibid. II. p. 131—136. Th. Mommsen ibid. II, p. 146—150. 151—157. It is a manual of geometry for landsurveyors, mostly derived from Euclid and Heron, but of which we possess only a very small part. Hultsch, metrolog. script. II p. 7—13. According to the pref. the author had already commenced his work, when intervenit clara sacratissimi imperatoris nostri (i. e. Trajan) expeditio (p. 92, 7 sq.). In the field he learned by practice the value of the venerabilis △i (i. e. trianguli, according to Hultsch; Gud. di) ratio. postquam ergo maximus imperator victoria Daciam proxime reseravit (probably by the first war in Dacia) statim ut e septentrionali plaga annua vice transire permisit ego ad studium meum . . reversus multa . . recollegi (p. 93, 6 sqq.) Celsus to whem the work is dedicated had made an invention in a gromatic instrument (dioptra according to Hultsch p. 8 sq.), invento tuo p. 92, 16, and seems to be an officer of higher rank. Balbus is repeatedly quoted by the later gromatics, but it is not clear whether lost parts of the same work or other writings by the same author are meant.

4. In the Arcerianus the subscriptio of the liber coloniarum (Rom. Grom. I p. 239) is: huic addendas mensuras limitum et terminorum ex libris Augusti et Neronis Caesarum, sed et Balbi mensoris, qui temporibus Augusti omnium provinciarum et formas civitatium et mensuras compertas in commentariis contulit et legem agrariam per diversitates provinciarum distinxit ac declaravit. It appears, therefore, that the author of this subscriptio considered a certain land-surveyor Balbus to be the source of the lib. col., and him he placed under Augustus, probably because the lists by Balbus of the ager divisus adsignatus appeared to him as the results of Augustus' Survey of the whole Empire. If the extant lists of towns (liber coloniarum) are actually derived from Balbus, we should assume that they were continued by other surveyors after his death, as they go down to the age of M. Aurelius and Commodus (a. 177—180). Th. Mommsen, Works of the Rom. Grom. II p. 176—181. The text of this lib. col. revised by Lachmann, ibid. I p. 209—262. An essay on it by Mommsen ibid. II p. 157—188, according to which we should discriminate two texts: a better one (lib. col. I in Lachmann's ed.), chiefly represented by the Arcerianus (A in Lachmann's work) in the Palatinus (P) saec. IX or X with the later one (liber col. II in Lachmann, p. 252 sqq.), the chief source of which is the Gudianus saec. IX or X. The text handed down in the Arc. is on the whole the work of a good epoch, full of information and precise and technical in diction; it was epitomized about A. D. 450; but the later text (of the sixth century) is full of confusion and ignorant statements (l. l. especially p. 165—174. 181 sqq.)

5. The treatise de asse minutisque eius portiunculis, first edited by Fabius Calvus of Ravenna in his translation of Hippocrates (Rome 1525) from the last leaves of the cod. Arcerianus (Th. Mommsen in the Grom. II p. 150 sq., cf. Lachmann ibid. p. 134 sq.), better by J. Fr. Gronovius in his edition of Maecianus and by the subsequent editors of the latter (see below 356), last of all by F. Hultsch (Metrolog. scr. II p. 72—75), is precise and full of important and interesting information. It must, however, be of the third century (or rather that would be the period of the work from which it is excerpted), as the tremissis is mentioned among the parts of the as, a coin not struck until Alexander Severus; see W. Christ, Reports of the meetings of the Munich Academy 1863, p. 105 sqq. F. Hultsch, metrol. scr. II p. 14—16.

6. The work of Siculus Flaccus de condicionibus agrorum is in its present shape limited to Italy. It begins: condiciones agrorum per totam Italiam diversas esse plerisque etiam remotis a professione nostra hominibus notum est; after which this fact is explained on historical grounds. The style is in its way careful. The manner in which Domitian is mentioned p. 163, 13 L. (de quibus Domitianus finem statuit) renders it probable that Fl. wrote not long after his reign. More about his age is not known to us; see L. Lange, Götting. Gel. Anz. 1853, p. 530 sq. This work has come down to us in the second class of the mss. of the Land-surveyors (see n. 4) the nomina limitum being appended to it; in those of the first class some leaves have got mixed up with Hyginus (Lachmann II p. 132. 137 sq.) The work is found in the collection of the Gromatics, last of all in that by Blume, Lachmann and Rudorff I (Berlin 1848) p. 134—165. A separate edition by J. C. Schwarz, Coburg 1711. 4.

7. Under Trajan was written the τακτικὴ θεωρία which bears the name of Aelianus. Cf. Köchly and Rüstow, the Greek Tacticians II 1.

8. A treatise entitled In artem medendi isagoge professes to be the work of Soranus Ephesius, insignis peripateticus et vetustissimus archiater, i. e. no doubt the famous methodician of that name, of whom we still possess works on surgery and gynaecology in Greek and who probably practised at Rome under Trajan and Adrian. This work (printed in the collections of the medici vett. by Torinus 1528 and Aldus 1547) is so insignificant and absurd, that is should rather be set down as a production of the Middle Ages.

B. The second century A. D. 117—211.

340. The reign of Adrian inaugurates a new era the general character of which is very different from the silver age. The exhaustion resulting from the excitement of the preceding years is evident in the complete inability of this period to produce anything original or independent. It is,

however, very accessible to foreign influence. Yet only few writers, who had been trained in the time of Quintilian, e. g. Suetonius, Florus, and perhaps also Justinus, followed the better models; want of taste and feebleness caused the majority to mix all manners of style and hunt up rare and far-fetched expressions. This was especially the prevailing state of things since Adrian, a vain and crotchety character, ruled the world and since the African Fronto decided on all literary questions. The treasures of the past were searched with much diligence, and in Suetonius this age possessed so to say a Varro on the reduced scale of the Imperial period. But after him all study was carried on with a constant increase of pedantry. These generations did not succeed in properly employing what had already been gained, nay they did not even know how to accept it. Hence arose the necessity of contracting the riches of the past, and the number of epitomizers was constansly increasing. Erudition took possession of the whole life, and the affectation of it became the fashion; there were plenty of grammarians and professors of rhetoric, and some of them filled high posts. But not guided by historical discrimination and swayed by vain rhetoric without any tact for style, erudition drifted on unadvisedly and wasted its treasures.*) In general, Greek literature prevailed, which was just reviving in a kind of Indian summer caused by the new Sophists. Greece and the grecized East furnished the majority of talents, who wrote in their native language, e. g. Plutarch, Appianus, Arrianus, and above all Lucian. But even some writers of the West, e. g. Favorinus, wrote only in Greek, and others both in Greek and Latin, e. g. Suetonius and Adrian, Fronto, Apuleius, Tertullian and Modestinus. Literature lost its national character, and became universal. It was also promoted by the habit of the rhetoricians to deliver lectures throughout the Empire, a habit adopted also by Latin lecturers, e. g. Apuleius. Only technical studies showed independent life. Medicine boasts of such a man as Galenus (c. a. 131—201); but he, being a native of Asia minor, wrote in Greek. Jurisprudence did not only maintain the traditions of the past, but also developed them

*) See e. g. Gellius XIV 6, 3 qq.

with sagacity and genius. A number of brilliant names — especially Julianus, Pomponius and Gaius — succeeded each other in rapid continuation and finally culminated in Papinianus. They influenced the development of the Law both in the character of teachers and of writers and partly by composing the Imperial rescripts, which formed, after the completion by Julianus of the law resulting from edicts, the sole source of new laws. In diction and style the Jurists represented also a purer taste. While Jurisprudence, erudition, and declamation swayed this century, poetry receded. The sole performance that deserves to be mentioned is the Pervigilium Veneris, a work composed at the close of this time. The prevalence of erudition manifested itself even here in the reappearance of the metrical forms of the Pre-Augustan time, such as had been employed by Varro, Laevius and Plautus, and which were now treated with considerable elegance, but without tact for proper employment. The intellectual activity combined with the mental impotence of this age resulted in Superstition. A wide-spread tendency for the supernatural element produced many impostors, but offered also a favourable soil to the new religion. Christianity which had hitherto only shown itself in Greek literature, now began to cast its shade upon Roman literature as well. The Christian doctrine of sin and mercy and a better life took hold of the poor and oppressed and of the female sex; it filled them with such eagerness for death as to rouse even the attention of the men, and the grand doctrine of one God, the creator of Heaven and Earth, produced an impression upon the most cultivated minds all the greater as they had long since become estranged from polytheism. It is true that there appeared in Christianity itself opposite tendencies hostile to one another. Buth even this served to draw public attention in this direction, and a living centre was formed in the removal of extreme and the equalizing of opposite directions. One part of the Christian writers, e. g. Minucius Felix and Lactantius, endeavoured to preserve ancient formal training and to adapt it to the spirit of Christianity*); the other part, the earliest representative of

*) See also Jerome ad a. 2220 = A. D. 204: Musanus (Arm.: Musianus) postrae philosophiae scriptor agnoscitur.

which is Tertullian, then Commodianus, were influenced by eastern culture and attempted to keep aloof from ancient culture; they even returned to the indifference of the earliest Romans concerning formal polish. Under the common influence of place*) and climate as well as of national (Semitic) peculiarities and also of the Christian and biblical mode of thought and style a peculiar diction gradually developed itself in the eastern and southern parts of the Empire, which was chiefly represented in Literature by natives of the North of Africa, and is therefore commonly called African Latin. In those parts there was altogether a very stirring mental life. The old tendencies as well as the new were for long provided with defenders from the North of Africa; from there came such men as Fronto and Apuleius; Tertullian, Cyprian and St. Augustin. As the personal likings of the ruler continued to influence the course of literature, this century is divided into three portions: the time of Adrian, (a. 117—138), that of the Antonines (a. 138—176), and lastly that of Commodus and Septimius Severus (a. 176—211).

1. On the whole century see M. Hertz, Renaissance and Rococo in Roman Literature, a Lecture. Berlin 1865. 50 pp.

1. The time of Adrian, A. D. 117—138.

341. P. Aelius Hadrianus (a. 76—138) was a peculiar character, in whom the most opposite qualities were combined. Superstitious and sceptical, pedantic and witty, meditative and suspicious, good-natured and cruel, he remained the same only in so far as his humour and crotchets were ever changeful and in cherishing a high idea of his own worth. He showed interest in everything, but zeal and perseverance in nothing. His restlessness was akin to morbidity, but as it caused his ceaseless peregrinations throughout the Empire, it led to many useful institutions. Literature gained and suffered most from his preference and caprice. But his own productions did not exceed dilettantism even here.

1. Spartianus' vita Hadriani. A. Haakh in Pauly's Encycl. III p. 1028—1045. J. Gregorovius, the Hist. of the Emperor Adrian and of

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**) Apoll. Sid. ep. VIII 11: urbium cives africanarum, quibus ut est regio sic mens ardentior.

his time, Königsberg 1851. 282 pp. C. Peter, Hist. of Rome III 2 (Halle 1869) p. 168—187. C. Knaut, Adrian as ruler and man, Berlin 1871. 43 pp. 4.

2. Adrian was born on 24 January 76 (829) at Rome, though his family was descended from Italica in Spain, like that of Trajan, to whom he was related. Consul 109, adopted by Trajan a short time before his death (August 117). † at Bajae on 10 July 138.

3. Spart. Hadr. 14, 8 sqq.: fuit poematum et litterarum nimium (omnium) studiosissimus; arithmeticae, geometriae, picturae peritissimus. iam psallendi et cantandi scientiam prae se ferebat; . . idem armorum peritissimus. . . idem severus, laetus; comis, gravis; lascivus, cunctator; tenax, liberalis; simulator, verus; saevus, clemens, et semper in omnibus varius. 15, 10 sq.: quamvis esset oratione et versu promptissimus et in omnibus artibus peritissimus, tamen professores omnium artium semper ut doctior risit, contempsit, obtrivit. cum his ipsis professoribus et philosophis libris vel carminibus invicem editis saepe certavit. 16, 1 sqq.: famae celebris tam cupidus fuit ut libros vitae suae scriptos a se libertis suis litteratis dederit, iubens ut eos suis nominibus publicarent. nam et Phlegontis libri Hadriani esse dicuntur. Catachannas (cf. Fronto Epist. p. 35 and 155 N.) libros obscurissimos Antimachum imitando scripsit. . . amavit praeterea genus vetustum dicendi. . . Ciceroni Catonem, Vergilio Ennium, Sallustio Caelium (above 142, 5 sq.) praetulit, eademque iactatione de Homero ac Platone iudicavit. mathesin sic scire sibi visus est ut etc. sed quamvis esset in reprehendendis musicis, tragicis, comicis, grammaticis, rhetoribus, oratoribus facilis, tamen omnes professores et honoravit et divites fecit, licet eos quaestionibus semper agitaverit . . in summa familiaritate Epictetum et Heliodorum philosophos et, ne nominatim de omnibus dicam, grammaticos, rhetores, musicos, geometras, pictores, astrologos habuit, prae ceteris, ut multi adserunt, eminente Favorino. doctores qui professioni suae inhabiles videbantur ditatos honoratosque a professione dimisit. 20, 2 sqq.: apud Alexandriam in museo multas quaestiones professoribus proposuit et propositas ipse (ipsi O. Jahn) dissolvit. . . fuit memoriae ingentis, facultatis immensae. nam ipse et orationes dictavit et ad omnia respondit. ioca eius plurima extant; nam fuit etiam dicaculus. Victor Caess. 14, 1 sq.: Aelius Hadrianus eloquio togaeque studiis accommodatior . .. Romae . . Graecorum more . . gymnasia doctoresque curare occepit, adeo quidem ut etiam ludum ingenuarum artium, quod Athenaeum vocant, constitueret. Spartian. Hel. 4, 2: litteratis, quorum Hadrianus speciosa societate gaudebat.

4. Dio LXIX 3: *ἦν Ἁδριανὸς . . φύσει φιλολόγος ἐν ἑκατέρᾳ τῇ γλώσσῃ, καί τινα καὶ πεζὰ καὶ ἐν ἔπεσι ποιήματα παντοδαπὰ καταλέλοιπεν. φιλοτιμίᾳ τε γὰρ ἀπλήστῳ ἐχρῆτο καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο καὶ τἆλλα πάντα καὶ τὰ βραχύτατα ἐπετήδευεν.* Spart. Hadr. 3, 1: quaesturam gessit . „ in qua cum orationem imperatoris in senatu agrestius pronuntians risus esset usque ad summam peritiam et facundiam Latinis operam dedit.

16, 5: controversias declamavit. Photius Bibl. cod. C (I p. 86 Bk.): Ἀδριανοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως μελέται διάφοροι, εἰς τὸ μέτριον τοῦ λόγου ἀνηγμέναι καὶ οὐκ ἀηδεῖς. Charis. II p. 222, 21 sqq. K.: divus Hadrianus in oratione quam de Italicensibus . . in senatu habuit. A funeral speech on his mother-in-law, Matidia the Elder; see Th. Mommsen, Trans. of the Berlin Academy 1863 p. 483 sqq. A speech addressed in the camp to his troops, Renier Inscr. de l'Alger. 5 (where A II we read: Catullini legati mei) from Lambaese. A letter in Henzen's acta arv. (1868). A libel against the physicians that could not cure him, Epiphan. περὶ μέτρων p. 170 A. He gave grammatical explanations in the taste of his time in his sermones; see Char. II p. 209, 12 sq. Obiter divus Hadrianus sermonum I quaerit an latinum sit, quamquam (inquit) apud Laberium haec vox esse dicatur. Anecdotes (concerning oral and written sayings) of Adrian are collected in Dositheus. Θείου Ἀδριανοῦ ἀποφάσεις καὶ ἐπιστολαί. D. Adriani sententiae et epistolae ed. Goldast, Genf 1601; in Schulting's iurisprud. anteiustin. (Lugd. 1717. 4.) p. 855 sqq., and in Fabricius Biblioth. graeca XII. (Hamburg 1740) p. 516—554. The Rescripts of Adrian are collected by Hänel, Corpus legum p. 88—101.

5. Spart. Hadr. 14, 7 sqq.: oracula . . quae Hadrianus ipse composuisse iactatur. . . de suis dilectis multa versibus composuit. Apulei. apol. 11: divus Hadrianus, cum Voconi amici sui poetae tumulum versibus muneraretur, ita scripsit: Lascivus versu, mente pudicus eras . . ipsius etiam divi Hadriani multa id genus legere me memini. See above 336, 7. Spart. Hadr. 25, 9 sq.: moriens hos versus fecisse dicitur: Animula etc. tales autem nec multo meliores fecit et graecos. Six dry epigrams under his name (though two are also attributed to Germanicus Caesar) in Brunck's Analecta II p. 285 = II p. 260 Jacobs; Hendecasyllabics in an inscription of Thespiae, Ἐφημ. ἀρχ. 1869, nr. 408. Aeli Hadriani epitaphium Sorani Batavi and Borysthenis equi, in Meyer's anthol. lat. nr. 209 and 211; metrical lists of the Amazons attributed to him in some mss., see in Riese's Anthol. lat. I 1. p. 257, in L. Müller's Rutil. Nam. p. 25 sq.

342. The most important literary character of this time is C. Suetonius Tranquillus (perhaps A. D. 75—160), who had been solicitor and writer under Trajan and then was for some time private secretary to Adrian, and subsequently filled his leisure with literary studies in the manner of Varro, chiefly in the departments of the history of culture and of literature, always paying attention to linguistic peculiarities. The national and Roman element was treated by him in the first place but without partiality, part of these works being, as it seems, even written in Greek. The philosophical element appears also in the fashionable form of natural philosophy, but there

it is strongly represented. Everywhere we notice a preference for the description of individual peculiarities and events, and this is most evident in the viri illustres (of which work we possess considerable fragments) and in the Lives of the twelve Emperors from Caesar until Domitian, which we possess almost complete. His work shares indeed the indifference of all rhetorical works to chronological accuracy, and is somewhat deficient in the relation of military and political events, and altogether it is monotonous; but it is derived from good sources with great care and intelligent judgment, and contains rich materials in a concise and simple style.

1. Suet. Domitian. 12: interfuisse me adulescentulum memini (at Rome) cum a procuratore . . inspiceretur nonagenarius senex an circumsectus esset. Gramm. 4: me adulescentulo repeto quendam Principem nomine declamare etc. (above 321, 2). Ner. 57: cum post viginti annos (after Nero's death or the first mission of Vologaesus, i. e. a. 88 and before 91, when Vologaesus died), adulescente me, extitisset (a Pseudo-Nero) etc. Suetonius' adulescentia must therefore have been under Domitian, and his birth perhaps A. D. 75. In the time of Trajan we receive information on Suetonius in Pliny's Epp. I 18 (an action of Suet. is postponed on account of an unlucky dream). 24 (Request for Tranquillus, contubernalis meus and scholasticus, concerning the purchase of an agellus). III 8 (Suet. asks ut tribunatum, quem a Neratio Marcello — i. e. perhaps a. 100 — impetravi tibi, in . . propinquum tuum transferrem). V 10 (Suetonius is requested, perhaps a. 105, to edit his scripta or volumina). IX 34 (an inquiry concerning some recitations of Pliny). ad Trai. 94 (Suetonium Tranquillum, probissimum, honestissimum, eruditissimum virum, . . in contubernium adsumpsi tantoque magis diligere coepi quanto hunc propius inspexi. On account of his infelix matrimonium the ius trium liberorum is solicited for him, about a. 112) and 95 (the permission of that request). Sparti. Hadri. 12, 3: Septicio Claro praef. praet. (a. 119—121) et Suetonio Tranquillo epistularum magistro multisque aliis, quod apud Sabinam uxorem iniussu suo familiarius se tunc (during Adrian's absence) egerant quam reverentia domus aulicae postulabat, successores dedit. Cf. Suet. Aug. 7: quae (imago Augusti) dono a me principi (i. e. Adrian) data inter cubiculi lares colitur. Subsequently Suetonius seems to have devoted himself exclusively to literary pursuits. Fronto still says Epist. p. 118 sq. N.: succidaneum sibi Tranquillum nostrum paravit etc. . . invenit me Tranquillus etc. . . Tranquilli industriae etc. cf. ib. p. 182 N. (internatium . . Suetonius Tranquillus spinam sacram appellat, according to which Suetonius was then dead).

2. Suidas II p. 1190 sq. Bernh.: *Τράγκυλλος ὁ Σουητώνιος, χρηματίσας* (cf. Plin. Ep. I 18) *γραμματικὸς ῥωμαῖος, ἔγραψε περὶ τῶν παρ'*

Ἕλλησι παιδιῶν βιβλία ά (see n. 4), *περὶ τῶν παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις θεωριῶν καὶ ἀγώνων βιβλία β'* (S. T. in libro ludicrae historiae primo, Gell. IX 7, 3; cf. n. 4), *περὶ τοῦ κατὰ Ῥωμαίους ἐνιαυτοῦ βιβλίον ά* (see n. 3), *περὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς βιβλίοις σημείων ά* (Reifferscheid p. 419 sq.), *περὶ τῆς Κικέρωνος πολιτείας ά, ἀντιλέγει δὲ τῷ Διδύμῳ. περὶ ὀνομάτων κυρίων, καὶ ἰδέας ἐσθημάτων καὶ ὑποδημάτων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἷς τις ἀμφιέννυται* (Suetonius in libro de genere vestium, Serv. Aen. VII 612, cf. n. 3), *περὶ δυσφήμων λέξεων ἤτοι βλασφημιῶν καὶ πόθεν ἑκάστη* (Extracts from it in Greek in E. Miller, Mélanges p. 413—426: *Σουητίνου Τρογκύλου περὶ* etc. cf. ib. p. 389—394), *περὶ Ῥώμης καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ νομίμων καὶ ἠθῶν βιβλία β'* (see n. 3), *συγγενικόν, Καισάρων ιβ' — περιέχει δὲ βίους κατὰ διαδοχὰς αὐτῶν ἀπὸ Ἰουλίου ἕως Δομετιανοῦ — βιβλία η', στέμμα* (? cf. Reifferscheid p. 370) *Ῥωμαίων ἀνδρῶν* (de illustribus viris). Besides this *Τράγκυλλος ἐν τῷ περὶ ἐπισήμων πορνῶν* (Lyd. de magistr. III 64), S. Tr. in libro de vitiis corporalibus (Serv. Ae. VII 627; see n. 3), Suetonius in libro qui est de institutione officiorum (on State and Court positions and their history, Reifferscheid p. 346—349 cf. p. 465 sq.), tres Suetonii libri quos de regibus dedit (Auson. Epist. 19, cf. n. 4), Suet. Tr. de rebus variis (Charis. II p. 236, 17 pom. Iulius Romanus); lastly Prata in at least ten books (see n. 3). Cf. J. Regent, de C. Suetonii vita et scriptis, Breslau (1856) 63 pp. The fragments of the deperditi libri are collected in Roth's edition p. 275—306, and especially in S. Tr. praeter Caesarum libros reliquiae ed. A. Reifferscheid, Lips. (Teubner) 1860. XX and p. 1—360, together with his Quaest. Sueton. ib. p. 361—478.

3. In Reifferscheid's Quaest. Suet. (especially ch. II and III p. 426 sqq.) it is partly proved, partly made very probable that some of the titles enumerated by Suidas were rather separate headings of the parts of large works. The **Prata** e. g. seem to have contained discussions of Roman institutions in the first eight books (hence probably = *περὶ Ῥώμης* in Suidas), most of them in agreement with Varro, so that explanations of words and of institutions were kept side by side, with quotations from earlier writers. The work *περὶ ὀνομάτων κυρίων* thus may well have been part of the same work, and also the treatise de genere vestium etc. The fourth book seems to have dealt with the laws, the fifth with the 'mores' = *περὶ τῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ νομίμων καὶ ἠθῶν*. The eighth book explained Roman chronology, the feriae, dies fasti etc. and may thus have been identical with the work *περὶ τοῦ κ. Ῥ. ἐνιαυτοῦ*. The other books treated of subjects of natural philosophy with a certain predilection for curious parts and in pursuance of the parallelism of physical and ethical phenomena which was so much liked at Rome since the time of Sextius, who considered man a 'little world', but here also philological details were treated carefully. The ninth book was perhaps entitled de mundo and treated of wind and weather, sea and shore, and their proper appellations; the tenth book appears to have been de animantium naturis. It is possible that botany was treated in the eleventh and mineralogy in the twelfth book.

This work was much used by later writers, e. g. by the Schol. Germanic. (above 270, 10), Ambrosius, Servius, and especially by Isidore, through whom the parts on natural philosophy became very important in the Middle Ages. But the grammatical parts also, chiefly those concerning synonyms, were much excerpted and employed in other ways. We may, perhaps, refer to this source the Differentiae sermonum published from a ms. at Montpellier by d'Orville (Remmi Palaemonis ex libro Suetoni Tranquilli qui inscribitur Pratum), printed in Roth's Suetonius p. 306—320 (cf. ib. p. XCV—C) and by Reifferscheid p. 274—296 (cf. ib. p. 450—452). See above 277, 3 extr. On the whole they are a mixture of some good (old) and numerous worthless observations which seem to belong to the beginning of the Middle Ages. The first part deals, in the manner of the later grammarians, with synonyms and spelling; the second half is alphabetically arranged (I—V) and contains a citation of Nigidius Figulus, so that it may perhaps be referable to Suetonius. Cf. Brambach, Lat. Spell. p. 42.

4. The three books de regibus seem to have contained an account according to the three parts of the world (Europe, Asia and Africa) and to have been used by Africanus in his chronicles. The fact that in them (as well as in the Pornographia, Reifferscheid p. 466 sq.) the characters of the earliest time were levelled in the manner of Euhemerus, facilitated the employment of this work for certain tendencies. Reifferscheid p. 458—461. Here also several traces lead us to the assumption of the existence of a History by Suetonius of the war between Pompey and Caesar, Antony and Octavian, which Cassius Dio and Jerome made use of (Reifferscheid p. 469—472). The ludicra historia (Reifferscheid p. 461—465) contained perhaps four books: *περὶ τῶν παρ' Ἕλλησι παιδιῶν καὶ ἀγώνων βιβλία β'* und *περὶ τῶν παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις παιδιῶν καὶ θεωριῶν βιβλία β'*. The fragments are collected by Reifferscheid p. 322—331; 332—346; on the first part see also E. Miller, Mélanges de litt. grecque (Paris 1868) p. 435 sq. cf. p. 395 sq.; on the second the liber de puerorum lusibus ap. Serv. Ae. V 602.

5. Reifferscheid (p. 455. 462) doubted, while Roth maintained, that Suetonius had also written in Greek. The parts of the historia ludicra concerning the Greek games could of course just as well have been translated by some later writer as composed in Greek originally; but the parts of the work *περὶ δυσφήμων λέξεων* edited by E. Miller (l. l. p. 413 sqq.) are so specifically Greek in contents and design as to exclude the assumption of mere translation into Greek. We should therefore consider this facility of writing in two languages as a symptom of the increase of cosmopolitism and the preponderance of Greek literature, which soon became more frequent; see above p. 206. The horizon enlarged only as for as quantity was concerned, but the depth and accuracy of Varro were lost. Suetonius retained, however, Varro's sobriety apart from the errors of the antiquarians of his time (Reifferscheid p. 422 sq. 449); he professed the principles of Cicero and even

pleaded for Cicero against his detractors (n. 2). The adherents of Fronto attempted, therefore, to obscure Suetonius (Reiff. p. 473 sq.), but in vain; from the third century Suetonius occupied more and more the position formerly held by Varro.

6. Suetonius' diction aims above all at simplicity, lucidity and brevity (Vopisc. Firm. 1, 2: Suetonio . . familiare fuit amare brevitatem); he always prefers the real expression, though it should even be improper, and hence he also uses a considerable number of Greek words (Thimm p. 27—35). His aiming at brevity has caused many harsh omissions, and also his numerous participial constructions, which are more than even in Livy but lack his art (Thimm p. 90 sqq.). But even Suetonius could not quite escape the influence of his age; he betrays himself in many grecisms (Thimm p. 36 sq.), poetical phrases (ib. p. 61 sqq.) and constructions, especially a careless use of the ablative (p. 74 sqq.), subjunctive (p. 80 sqq.) and infinitive (p. 85 sqq.) and also in his endeavours to diversify his diction. H. R. Thimm, de usu atque elocutione C. Suetonii Tranquilli, Königsberg (1867) 98 pp.

7. Of the works of Suetonius we possess only part of the viri illustres and the Lives of the Emperors. The work de viris illustribus treated in all probability de poetis, oratoribus, historicis, philosophis, grammaticis et rhetoribus, limiting it thus to literature and to the Roman part of it. After a list of the men treated of was given in the first place, the earlier history of the department in question was related and the principal representatives of it vere then discussed in chronological order. As it seems, Suetonius opened his series of orators with Cicero, and that of historians with Sallust; the preceding writers, whom Suetonius appears to have considered as possessed only of historical interest, may have been touched upon in his introduction. Juvenal, Tacitus and Pliny the younger were not included in Suetonius' account, which (like his Caesares) terminated with the time of Domitian. His sources were chiefly Varro and the scriptores de viris ill. (see above 207, 2), as well as Asconius and Fenestella. Of the earlier parts of the work we possess the excerpts made by Diomede (Reifferscheid p. 370—379) and Jerome (in his Latin version of Eusebius' Chronicles) from the book de poetis are extant the lives of Terence, Horace, and partly of Lucanus (Virgil and Persius), thanks to the mss. of these poets; from the book de historicis we possess fragments of a life of Pliny the Elder. Last of all, of that part which was probably the last, de grammaticis et rhetoribus, a section of peculiar interest and which was therefore copied separately at an early time, we possess the index (which in some instances supplies the praenomina), and the greater portion (25 of 26) is preserved in copies of the same ms. (of Henoch) which contained also the Dialogus and the Germania of Tacitus; see above 329, 4. In general see Reifferscheid p. 363—425 (de poetis p. 370—405). H. Dörgens, on Suetonius' work de viris ill., Leipzig s. a. (1857). Suet. de gramm. et rhett. libelli . . rec. et adn. crit. instr. F. Osann, Giessen

1854. H. Dörgens, Suetonius' Viri illustres in 4 books; the Latin text restored, translated and explained, Leipzig 1863. See also Th. Mommsen, Philologus I p. 180 sqq. and below 425, 8.

8. Suetonius' principal work is de vita Caesarum, dedicated to the praef. praet. C. Septicius Clarus (Lyd. de magistr. II 6), who held this position a. 119—121, hence published a. 120. The work is divided into eight books, so that the first six Emperors (Caesar until Nero) form one book each, the three Emperors of a. 69 the seventh, and the three Flavii the eighth. The beginning of the life of Caesar is missing, but Lydus seems still to have possessed it. The materials are collected from good sources with considerable care and judgment; Velleius, Josephus and Plutarch have not been employed, Tacitus also being rarely made use of and never mentioned, which is also the case with Pliny (above 308, 5) and Cluvius Rufus (above 309, 2). De Suetonii fontibus et auctoritate treatises by F. C. L. Schweiger (Gotting. 1830. 4.) and A. Krause (Berlin 1831. 86 pp.). Lehmann, Claudius p. 39 sqq. Oct. Clason, Plut. and Tac. (Berlin 1870) p. 70—73. Tac. and Suetonius, Breslau 1870. 134 pp. S. G. Dedering, de Suet. vita Caesaris P. I. Jena 1870. 47 pp. The work is biographical, not properly historical, so that an account of contemporary events and pragmatical treatment might well be omitted, but a comprehensive sketch of the character of the subject of each biography ought not to have been omitted. The author does not possess the slightest psychological insight. Numerical statements but rarely occur, nor is there much chronological discrimination or political valuation. His Lives are not works of art. The treatment is monotonous: the early history of the Emperor, chronologically arranged, his reign according to certain sections (his virtues and vices, mode of life, personal habits etc.), last of all death and signs announcing it, burial, subsequent events. In collecting details, even minute and obscene ones, Suetonius is indefatigable, and we may believe that he has never knowingly gone against or concealed truth. He rarely gives his individual judgment, though he is not wanting in moral earnestness (cf. e. g. Tib. 42 sqq. 49) and Commodus knew well why eum qui Tranquilli librum vitam Caligulae continentem legerat feris obici iussit (Lamprid. Comm. 10). That Suetonius was unable to flatter appears from his terminating with Domitian. Cf. C. L. Roth's pref. p. IX—XVI.

9. All the mss. of Suetonius have the same gap at the beginning andare, therefore, derived from the same original, which was, however, faulty and not free from interpolations. After the time of Charlemagne that ms. was repeatedly copied. The earliest and by far best ms. is the Memmianus (so-called from its earliest possessor de Mesmes), of the end of saec. IX, now at Paris (nr. 6115). Next to it we have the Vaticanus Lipsii saec. XI or XII, (G. Becker in the Symb. phil. Bonn. p. 687 sqq.), also the Mediceus tertius saec. XI. Other classes are represented by Mediceus I and Paris. 6116; the numerous mss. of

saec. XV are worthless. Roth praef. p. XVII sq. XX—XXXII. On Excerpts in miscellaneous mss. ib. p. XXXII—XXXIV. See also Becker's Quaest. critt. (n. 11).

10. There were at one and the same time three Edd. princ., two of which appeared at Rome 1470, one Ven. 1471. The most important later editions are those of Phil. Beroaldus (Bologna 1493. 1506), Des. Erasmus (1518), Rob. Stephanus (Paris 1543), Is. Casaubonus (Geneva 1595. 4. Paris 1610. fol.), J. G. Graevius (Utrecht 1672. 1691. 1703. 4.), S. Pitiscus (Utrecht 1690. Leovard. 1714. 2 vols.), P. Burmann (Amstelod. 1736. 4. 2 vols.), J. A. Ernesti (Lips. 1748. 1775; recogn. F. A. Wolf, Lips. 1802. 4 vols.), Fr. Oudendorp (Lugd. Bat. 1751), J. H. Bremi (with explanations, Zürich 1800. 1820), C. G. Baumgarten-Crusius (Lips. 1816, 3 vols.), C. B. Hase (Paris 1828. 2 vols.), and especially rec. C. L. Roth, Lips. Teubner 1858.

11. Critical and exegetical contributions by D. Ruhnken (scholia ed. J. Geel, Lugd. B. 1828), H. E. Dirksen (Berlin 1850. 4.), G. Becker (Quaestiones criticae de Suet. Caess., Königsberg 1862. 4.; in Fleckeisen's Jahrbb. 87, p. 193 sqq. 89, p. 839 sqq. and Symbola philol. Bonn. p. 687—694), R. Unger (Suetoniana, Friedland 1864. 4.), and others.

343. An abridgment of Roman History until Augustus, Bellorum omnium annorum DCC libri duo, was composed by Florus, chiefly from Livy, but especially with rhetorical purposes, not without spirit, but with little taste, and much phraseology, historical truth being frequently misrepresented either intentionally or unconsciously.

1. The title is in the cod. Bamberg.: Iuli Flori epitomae de T. Livio bellorum omnium annorum DCC libri duo. As the agreement in the name of Florus and in the period (n. 3), also in the rhetorical character and in many phraseological details (n. 4) tempt us to identify the author of the Bella with the rhetorician and poet P. Annius Florus (above 336, 7), as Mommsen and Halm do, we should be obliged to consider Iuli as a corruption of Publi, and Annei in the inferior mss. (n. 5) as a depravation of Annii. See Halm in Fleckeisen's Jahrb. 69, p. 192 sq.

2. Malalas VIII p. 211, 2 Bonn: *καθὼς ὁ σοφώτατος Φλῶρος ὑπεμνημάτισεν ἐκ τῶν Λιβίου συγγραμμάτων.* Livy is often copied verbatim, especially in rhetorical phrases, but he is not the sole source of the abridgment; see U. Köhler, qua rat. Liv. ann. (1860) p. 23—25. 27—29. Lucan is also employed, O. Jahn p. XLVII sq. Meinert, Wiener Jahrbb. XXVIII p. 186—191. See also Caesar and Sallust (Heyn p. 36—53). The author intends to give a panegyric on the Roman People. Praef. 3: in brevi quasi tabella totam eius imaginem amplectar, non nihil, ut spero, ad admirationem principis populi collaturus si pariter atque insemel uni-

versam magnitudinem eius ostendero. He intended non tam narrare bella romana quam romanum imperium laudare (Augustin. civ. dei III 19). Hence he always prefers the account most favourable to the Romans, wherever he may chance to find it. Heyn p. 13—19. Independently of these intentional misrepresentations errorum nullum fingi potest genus cuius non luculenta exempla unaquaeque libri eius pagina suppeditet, U. Köhler p. 26, who gives a list of the writer's mistakes, confusions, contradictions, chronological and geographical errors etc. ib. p. 27, cf. O. Jahn p. XXXIV. XLVI sq. Spengel p. 340—342. Heyn p. 3—9. 19—35. The arrangement is chiefly chronological, but aims also at a certain disposition according to the subject-matter, e. g. in the chapters de seditionibus (I 17, cf. II 2, 5), res in Hispania gestae (I 33). The author follows the division according to the various ages (see above 265, 3), i. e. infantia, adolescentia, iuventus, senectus, as he populum rom. quasi unum hominem considerat (praef. 4). Jahn p. XXXVIII sq. Spengel p. 345 sq. After the account of the regal period (I 1) we get (I 2) a rhetorical 'anacephalaeosis' concerning it, and likewise another at the close of the first book with rhetorical complaints of the increase of moral decay. The last bellum is (II 33) b. cantabricum et asturicum, after which (II 34) pax Parthorum et consecratio Augusti. The first book treats of the good time of the Roman people, the second of its decline (since the time of the Gracchi). There is a great deal of moralizing (Spengel p. 328—331). As a specimen of the political views of the writer we quote II 1: seditionum omnium causas tribunicia potestas excitavit, quae specie quidem plebis tuendae, . . re autem dominationem sibi adquirens, studium populi . . aucupabatur. Specimens of ridiculous exaggerations are given by Spengel p. 337 —339.

3. On the time of composition see praef. 8: a Caesare Augusto in saeculum nostrum haut multo minus anni ducenti, quibus inertia Caesarum quasi consenuit atque decoxit, nisi quod sub Traiano principe movit lacertos et praeter spem omnium senectus imperii quasi reddita iuventute reviruit. F. N. Titze (De epitomes . . quae . . Flori . . fertur aetate probabilissima etc. Linz 1804, and in his edition, Prag 1819) placed Florus under Augustus and considered all contradictory passages to be spurious; see against him Meinert, Wiener Jahrb. XXVIII (1824) p. 169—201. Gossrau, de Flori qua vixerit aetate, Quedlinburg 1837. 4. (under Trajan).

4. O. Jahn p. XLVII: totus sermo declamatorem arguit et cuiusvis generis artificiis, figuris, sententiis male acuminatis ita refertus est ut pauper scriptoris ingenium et iudicium male formatum neminem latere possit. See the praefatio of Graevius. The multitude of bombastic and exaggerated passages bear down the few good ones. See Spengel p. 322—326. 343 sq. Just as the rhetorician's horizon is limited, his command of words is scanty, and he frequently repeats himself; he is especially fond of quasi, which he uses 125 times in his 81 chapters (quippe he has 75 times), and also of exclamations (Spengel p. 336 sq.).

He imitates Lucan (n. 2) and Tacitus (E. Wölfflin, Philol. XXIX p. 557 sq.) In his use of post he agrees with Tertullian, see Binsfeld, Rhein. Mus. XXVI p. 313. The bella have many phrases in common with the dialogue of P. Annius Florus (above 336, 7), e. g. per diversa terrarum in Halm's ed. p. 107, 11 and Bella I 40, 27. 41, 1. II 7, 2; victor gentium populus (rom.) ib. p. 106, 26 and Bella I 44, 3. II 1, 3. 34, 61. Halm in Fleckeisen's Jahrb. 1854, p. 192 sq.

5. Later centuries and the Middle Ages liked this abridgment on account of its brevity and rhetoric. Jahn p. XLVIII sq. Especially Jordanes employed it much (ib. p. VI sq.), and at a later time Malalas (n. 2) quotes Florus probably from a Greek translation. Hence the number of mss. of Florus is very great. The best is the Bambergensis saec. IX (B. in Jahn's ed.). It resembles the ms. used by Jordanes de success. regn. All the other mss. are derived from a worse and interpolated source; the earliest of them is the Nazarianus (n) saec. IX at Heidelberg in which the work is divided into four books and attributed to L. Annaeus Florus. Jahn p. V—XV, and on the relation of B to L ib. p. XV—XXXIV.

6. Ed. princeps Paris 1470. 4. The principal later editions are those by Camers (Vienn. 1518. 4.), E. Vinetus (with Solinus 1554. 4. and elsewhere), J. Gruter (Heidelberg 1597), Cl. Salmasius (ap. Commel. 1609 and elsewhere), J. G. Graevius (Utrecht 1680), C. A. Duker (Lugd. B. 1722), J. F. Fischer (Lips. 1760), F. N. Titze (Prague 1819). The first critical edition is by O. Jahn (Juli Flori epit. etc. rec. et emendavit, Lips. 1852); then recogn. C. Halm, Lips. Teubner 1854.

7. Critical contributions by F. E. Köhler (Observ. criticae in Jul Fl., Gotting. 1865. 42 pp.), J. Freudenberg (Rhein. Mus. XXII. p. 25—30), J. P. Binsfeld (Quaest. Florianae crit., Düsseldorf 1869. 11 p. 4.). E. Bährens (lectiones latt., Bonn 1870, p. 5—19), H. Sauppe (de arte critica in Flori Bellis recte facienda, Gott. 1870. 19 pp. 4.), H. Müller (Fleckeisen's Jahrb. 103 p. 565—575, and Rh. Mus. XXVI p. 350—352).

8. On Florus see besides such earlier works as Heintze (de Floro non historico, sed rhetore, Weimar 1787 = Syntagm. opusc. p. 250 sq.) A. Baumstark in Pauly's Enc. III p. 490—494. H. G. Plass, disp. de auctoribus eius quae vulgo fertur L. Annaei Flori epitome rerum rom., Verden 1858. 16 pp. L. Spengel, on the historical work of Florus, in the Transactions of the Munich Academy XXXVI (historical and philol. Cl. IX) 1861. p. 319—350. Jos. Reber, the History of Florus, Freising 1865. 71 p. C. Heyn, de Floro historico, Bonn 1865. 53 pp.

344. To the same period belongs, in all probability, Justinus' abridgment of history, and Juventius Martialis' History of Caesar. The other historical writers were Greeks und wrote in Greek, e. g. Cassius Longinus and Phlegon.

1. On Justinus see above 253, 3. 4. 6—11.

2. Sidon. Apoll. Epist. IX 14; si omittantur quae de titulis dictatoris invicti (i. e. Julius Caesar) scripta Patavinis sunt voluminibus, quis opera Suetonii, quis Iuventii Martialis historiam, quisve ad extremum Balbi ephemeridem (above 193, 1) fando adaequaverit?

3. Cassius Longinus, according to Eusebius Chron. I 41 (Mai scriptt. vett. nova collectio VIII p. 198) the author of XVIII libri quibus olympiades CCXXVIII complexus est. He may, therefore, have lived about Ol. 228=A. D. 135 sqq. Cf. n. 4. H. Peter, hist. rom. I p. CLXXIV sq. Euseb. hist. eccles VI 13, 7: *μνημονεύει* (Clem. Alex.) . . *Κασσιανοῦ ὡς καὶ αὐτοῦ χρονογραφίαν πεποιημένου.*

4. On Phlegon sec. 341, 3. His chief work were the 14 books of *Ὀλυμπιάδες*, quibus olympiades CCXXIX summatim continentur (Euseb. chron I 41). Cf. A. Westermann in Pauly's Real-Enc. V. p. 1540 sq.

345. Of the Jurists of this time the most influential is the Sabinian Salvius Julianus, who was charged by Adrian with collecting the Edicts of the praetors in the Republican time, which he examined and published in proper order; besides which he also wrote original legal works (especially a Digest). He enjoyed a high authority for several centuries. Junior contemporaries of this authority were the jurists Aburnius Valens, Pactumeius Clemens and Sex. Pomponius, the last important as the author of a short history of law and jurisprudence down to the time of Adrian which was also embodied in the Digest; but Pomponius was altogether a fertile writer on jurisprudence and remained active until a very high old age.

1. Pompon. Dig. I 2, 2 fin.: Iavoleno Prisco (successit) Aburnius Valens et Tuscianus (of whom nothing further is known), item Salvius Iulianus. See above 337, 3. The latter was ex Adrumetina colonia (Spart. Did. Iulian. 1, 2) in Africa and (on the mother's side) proavus of the subsequent Emperor Didius Iulianus, bis consul (cf. Dig. XL 2, 5), praefectus urbi et iuris consultus (Spart. Did. Iul. 1, 1). Spart. Hadr. 18, 1: cum iudicaret in consilio habuit . . iuris consultos et praecipue Iulium Celsum (cf. above 337, 2), Salvium Iulianum etc. Fronto ad Caes. IV 1 sq. Julian is ill and Fronto visits him to please M. Aurelius. Even the Divi fratres Dig. XXXVII 14, 17 pr.: plurium etiam iuris auctorum, sed et Salvii Iuliani amici nostri (cf. M. Aurel. ap. Fronto Ep. ad. Caes. IV 2), clarissimi viri, hanc sententiam fuisse (he was dead then, as this shows). His sepulchre was miliario quinto via Labicana (Spart. Did. Iul. 8, 10).

2. Eutrop. VIII 17: Salvii Iuliani, qui sub divo Hadriano perpetuum composuit edictum. Hieronym. ad a. Abr. 2147 (Hadriani 15=131 A. D.): Salvius Iulianus perpetuum composuit edictum. On the date see Mommsen,

on the Chronogr. (1850) p. 673, n. 1. Justinian's Constit. *Δέδωκεν* 18: *Ἁδριανὸς .. ὅτε τὰ παρὰ τῶν πραιτώρων κατ' ἔτος ἕκαστον νομοθετούμενα ἐν βραχεῖ τινι συνῆγε βιβλίῳ, τὸν κράτιστον Ἰουλιανὸν πρὸς τοῦτο παραλαβών.* Constit. Tanta (Cod. I 17, 2 of a. 533) 18: et ipse Iulianus, legum et edicti perpetui subtilissimus conditor, in suis libris hoc retulit . . et divus Hadrianus in compositione edicti et scto quod eam secutum est etc. A. F. Rudorff, Edictum perpet. (Lips. 1869) p. 9 sq. Cod. III 33, 15 (of a. 530): summum auctorem iuris scientiae Salvium Iulianum. IV 5, 10 (of a. 530): sublimissimum testem adducit Salvium Iulianum, summae auctoritatis hominem et praetoriani edicti ordinatorem. VI 61, 5 (of a. 473): Iuliani, tantae existimationis viri atque disertissimi iurisperiti, Africanus and Terentius Clemens.

3. Original works by Julianus Digestorum libri XC (Ind. Flor.), 376 fragments of which were admitted into Justinian's Digest, both the title and the design of Julian's work influencing Justinian's collection. It contained continuous explanations on jurisprudence in connexion with the questions of auditores and answers returned by the professor. Th. Mommsen, Journal for Jurispr. IX p. 82—88. The first 58 books followed the order of the Edict and were composed and published under Adrian; the later books under Antoninus Pius; see H. H. Fitting (above 39, 5) p. 4—7. Cf. Rudorff's Hist. of Roman Law I p. 171. K. Viertel, de vitis ictorum, Königsb. 1868, p. 6—8. Notes on this work were written by Ulpius Marcellus and Cervidius Scaevola, as early as in the reigns of Pius, then by Mauricianus and Paulus. Julian himself wrote notes on Urseius Ferox (above 311, 3) in four books (Ind. Flor.; but see also Viertel, de vitis ictorum p. 18—20), which were epitomized in 41 places of the Digest, and on Minicius (above 337, 6) in six books (? cf. K. Viertel p. 24—26). There are four fragments of Julian's liber singularis de ambiguitatibus in the Digest. In general see Hommel Paling. I p. 223—318. The quotation Iulianus libro I ad edictum (Dig. III 2, 1) is due to a confusion of the revision of the Edictum by Julian (n. 2) with an original work; Zimmern, Hist. of Roman private Law I. 1 p. 132, n. 16.

4. Heinneccius, de Salvio Iuliano, Ictorum sua aetate coryphaeo, Halle 1732. 4 = Opp. II. p. 798—818. VII. p. 196—261. F. A. Biener, de S. I. meritis de edicto praetorio rite aestimandis, Lips. 1809. 4.

5. L. Fulvius C. f. Pupin(ia) Aburnius Valens (Orelli 3153 cf. Dig. XXXII 78, 6). As the inscription in Orelli 3153 (where he is called clarissimus iuvenis) proves that he was nominal praef. urbi a. 118 (before entering the Senate), he must have been born a short time before a. 100. He wrote Actiones in at least seven books (Dig. XXXVI 4, 15) and libri fideicommissorum, also in at least seven books (Dig. XXXIII 1, 15), which latter work is used in 19 places in the Digest. Cf. Hommel, Paling. II p. 533—536. As the latter quotes not only Iavolenus (ib. XXXIII 1, 15), but also (Salvius) Iulianus (ib. IV, 4, 33: Iulianus . . respondit XXXII 94: Iulianus . . putavit) and as Trajan is designated as

divus (XLIX 14, 42), he seems to have survived Julian. He is no doubt the Fulvius (so Mommsen instead of Salvius) Valens in Capitol. Ant. Pi. 12, 1: usus est iuris peritis . . Fulvio Valente. Cf. Dig. XLVIII 2, 7, 2: divus Pius Salvio Valenti rescripsit. P. F. Smeding, de Salvio Aburnio Valente eiusque quae in Dig. adsunt fragmentis, Lugd. Bat. 1824. Zimmern, Hist. of Roman private Law I 1. p. 334 sq. K. Viertel, de vitis ictorum p. 30—33. Th. Mommsen, Journal of Rom. jurispr. IX p. 90, n. 21.

6. Pompon. Dig. XL 7, 21, 1: Pactumeius Clemens aiebat etc. He is best known to us from an inscription found at Constantine, Renier, inscr. de l'Alg. 1812 = Henzen 6483: P. Pactumeio P. f. Quir. Clementi, Xvir stlit. iud., Quaest., Leg. Rosiani Gemini (Dig. XLVIII 5, 6, 2. XLVIII 6, 6) soceri sui procos(ulis) in Achaia, trib. pleb., fetiali, legato divi Hadriani Athenis . . , praetori urbano, leg. divi Hadriani ad rationes civitatium Syriae putandas, legato eiusdem in Cilicia, Consuli (suff. a. 138 according to Borghesi), legato in Cilicia Imp. Antonini Aug., leg. Rosiani Gemini procos. in Africa, iurisconsulto, patrono IV coloniarum. Cf. ib. 1813 sq.

7. Sex. Pomponius lived and wrote both under Adrian and M. Aurelius or at least under the divi fratres. The expression in his Epistolae b. VII (Dig. XL 5, 20) is significant: ego discendi cupiditate, quam solam vivendi rationem optimam in LXXVIII^{um} annum aetatis duxi. As he styles Antoninus divus in the same book (Dig. I 12, 14), he wrote this at the very earliest a. 162, and could not, therefore, have been born earlier than A. D. 84. That he was a contemporary of Julian, appears partly from the fact that he terminates his history of jurisprudence (n. 10) with the latter, partly because they quote each other mutually (n. 8). Pomponius himself seems to have survived Julian, as Julian used only one work of Pomp., while Pomp. used several of Julian's; see n. 8. As his teachers Pomp. names the Jurists Pegasus (Dig. XXXI 43, 2: P. solitus fuerat distinguere), Aristo (ib. XL 5, 20: putabat. XXXVI 1, 72: aiebat, cf. XXXIX 5, 18. Fragm. Vat. 83. 88) and Octavenus (XL 4, 61: aiebat. 5, 20: putabat). He frequently appeals in his works to the veteres, especially Q. Mucius, Ser. Sulpicius, Trebatius, Alfenus, Labeo.

8. On the relation between Julian and Pomponius. Pomp. uses Julian's Digest and frequently quotes him, at least in his libri ex Plautio, Epistolae et variae lectiones, and also in the libri ad edictum; cf. Dig VI 1, 21 (Pomponius libro XXXIX^{o} Ad edictum scribit etc. Iulianus autem etc. idque Pomponius libro XXXIV^{o} Variarum lectionum probat). XIV 6, 19 (Iulianus scribit). XXXIX 2, 18, 4 (Pomponius relata Iuliani scriptura dicit non se improbare etc.). XL 4, 40 (from Pomp. libr. V. ex Plaut.: Iulianus ait). 61 (et Iul. ait). XL 5, 20 (apud Iulianum ita scriptum est. . . ea quae Iulianus scribit, from Epist. VII). XLIX 14, 35 (from Epist. XI: apud Iulianum scriptum est). Fragm. Vat. 75 (Pomponius ait libro VII ex Plautio, relata Iuliani sententia. . . urgetur

tamen Iuliani sententia argumentis Pomponii). Julian (in his Digest) employs Pomp.'s books ad Sabinum; cf. Fragm. Vat. 88 (Iulianus subicit Sextum quoque Pomponium referre). Dig. XXVIII 5, 41 (ut refert Sex. Pomponius, cf. Mommsen, Journal of jurispr. VII p. 478 note). XVII 2, 63, 9 (ait Iulianus Sextum Pomponium referre Sabinum respondentem etc.). Cf. Fitting p. 8 sq. 11. 12. 13. The succession of Iulianus et Pomponius Dig. XXVIII 2, 9, 2. XLV 1, 2, 5. Cf. Gai. Inst. II 218 (Iuliano et Sexto placuit). There is no valid reason to distinguish two Jurists of the name of Pomponius. Rudorff, Hist. of Roman Law I p. 172 sq. Fitting p. 13 sq. Mommsen l. l. p. 478 sq.

9. The works of Pomponius. Enchiridii liber singularis, Ad Sabinum libri XXXV and Fideicommissorum libri V, all written under Adrian, the Notes ad Sabinum before Julian's Digest; Ad edictum at least 79 books, written before Julian's Edition of the Edictum perpetuum under Antoninus Pius; Ex Plautio libri VII, under Antoninus Pius, and probably also Senatusconsultorum libri V; Epistolarum et variarum lectionum libri (Dig. IV 4, 50. L 12, 14), if these two titles belong together, at least 41 books, of the time of the divi fratres (see n. 7). Probably not before Antoninus Pius the work de stipulationibus in at least eight books, and under Pius at the very latest the Regularum liber singularis. We do not know the date of Enchiridii liber I. The same holds good of the collection of the legal views of Aristo (above 337, 4) from his notae, decreta, responsa and epistulae; see Dig. XXIV 3, 44 (from Paulus): Nerva et Cato responderunt, ut est relatum apud Sex. Pomponium Digestorum ab Aristone libro quinto; ibidem Aristoni consensit. The works of Pomp. are used in the Digest in altogether 585 places; see the collection in Hommel, Palingenesia II. p. 303—386. They were valued both for their casuistry and for the excerpts they contained from the works of earlier Jurists.

10. The Enchiridion (liber sing.) seems to have contained an explanation of the fundamental Law of nations (Dig. L 16, 249) and a sketch of the History of Roman law and jurisprudence until Julian (Dig. I 2, 2). See above I p. 246, d. Separate editions by E. Böcking (Bonn 1831) and F. Osann (recogn. et annot. crit. instr., Giessen 1847). §. 41—44 cum notis ed. E. Schrader, Berlin, 1837. 14 pp. 4.

11. H. B. Reinold, de Sex. Pomponio icto, Würzburg 1710 (= Opusc. p. 592—548). Heineccius de Sex. P. eximio aevi sui icto, Opp. III 2. p. 66—126. Zimmern, Hist. of Roman private Law I 1. p. 337—340. Fitting (above 39, 5) p. 8—14.

346. Rhetoricians of the time of Adrian were the learned Spaniard Antonius Julianus and Castricius. The majority and those who possessed most authority wrote in Greek, e. g. Adrian himself, Polemon, Lollianus, Dionysius of Miletus,

Favorinus and others. Only the scholastic declamations of Calpurnius Flaccus (a writer not known to us from other sources) were written in Latin. They are in existence.

1. Gellius I 4, 1: Antonius Iulianus rhetor perquam fuit honesti atque amoeni ingenii. doctrina quoque ista utiliore ac delectabili veterumque elegantiarum cura et memoria multa fuit. ad hoc scripta omnia antiquiora tam curiose spectabat et aut virtutes pensitabat aut vitia rimabatur ut iudicium esse factum adamussim diceres. ib. 8: ad hunc modum Iulianus enodabat diiudicabatque veterum scriptorum sententias, quae apud eum adulescentes delectitabant. XIX 9, 2: venerat nobiscum ad eandem cenam Antonius Iulianus rhetor, docendis publice iuvenibus magister, hispano ore florentisque homo facundiae et rerum litterarumque veterum peritus. Specimens of his erudition ib. IX 1, 2 sqq. XV 1, 4 sqq. XVIII 5, 5 sqq. XIX 9, 8 sqq. XX 9. That he instructed Gellius, appears from Gell. XVIII 5, 1: cum A. I. rhetore, viro hercle bono et facundiae florentis, complures adulescentuli, familiares eius, Puteolis aestivarum feriarum ludum . . agitabamus. Cf. ib. IX 15, 1 sqq. cum A. I. rhetore per feriarum tempus . . Neapolin concesseramus. XV 1, 1 sqq: declamaverat A. I. rhetor . . feliciter. . . ergo familiares eius circumfusi undique eum prosequebamur domum. Later published writings seem to be alluded to ib. XVIII 5 12: hoc tum nobis Iulianus . . dixit, sed eadem ipsa post etiam in pervulgatis commentariis scripta offendimus. Minuc. Fel. Oct. 33, 4: si Romanis magis gaudes, ut transeamus veteres, Antonii Iuliani de Iudaeis require: iam scies nequitia sua hanc eos (the Jews) meruisse fortunam. This is perhaps an allusion to a speech de Iud. with numerous historical allusions.

2. S. Castricius, rhetoricae disciplinae doctor, qui habuit Romae locum principem declamandi ac docendi, summa vir auctoritate gravitateque et a divo Hadriano in mores atque litteras spectatus, quo . . usus sum magistro. Gellius XIII 22, 1. cf. XI 13, 1. I 6, 4. II 27, 3. Fronto epist. ad am. II 2 (Castricius noster).

3. On Adrian's declamations see above 341, 3; on Aelius Verus below 149, 2; on Heliodorus below 347, 8.

4. Philostr. vit. soph. II 14 (p. 71, 24 sqq. Bibl. Teubner) on Herodes Atticus *Πολέμωνα* (n. 6) *καὶ Φαβωρῖνον* (n. 5) *καὶ Σκοπελιανὸν ἐν διδασκάλοις ἑαυτοῦ ἦγε καὶ Σεκοῦνδῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ ἐφοίτησεν, . . τοὺς δὲ χριτικοὺς τῶν λόγων Θεαγένει τε τῷ Κνιδίῳ καὶ Μουνατίῳ τῷ ἐκ Τραλλέων συνεγένετο καὶ Ταύρῳ τῷ Τυρίῳ* (below 348, 2) *ἐπὶ ταῖς Πλάτωνος δόξαις.*

5. Hieronym. ad a. Abr. 2148 = Hadr. 16 = 134 A. D.: Favorinus et Polemo rhetores insignes habentur. Favorinus of Arelate (Arles), the pupil of Dion (Chrysostomos), on friendly terms with Plutarch and Fronto (see below 352, 1), a writer on general culture, e. g. the author of philosophical treatises (*Πυρρώνειοι τρόποι* and *Ἀπομνημονεύματα*) and

of a *Παντοδαπὴ ἱστορία*, acquainted also with Roman literature and opposed to the antiquarian party (Gellius I 10, cf. VIII 2. XVIII 7. XX 1, 20); see Philostr. vitae soph. I 8 with Kayser (Heidelberg 1838) p. 181—183. J. L. Marres, de Favorini Arelatensis vita, studiis, scriptis, Utrecht 1853. 146 pp. See below 358, 1.

6. On (Ausonius) Polemo, in Smyrna (c. a. 85—140) see Philostr. vitae soph. I 25 with C. L. Kayser's notae p. 267 sq. L. Preller in Pauly's Enc. V. p. 1793 sq.

7. (L. Egnatius Victor) Lollianus *προὔστη τοῦ Ἀθήνῃσι θρόνου* (of Sophists,) *πρῶτος*, see Philostr. v. soph. I 23 with Kayser p. 261 sq.

8, Dio LXIX 3: *τὸν Φαουωρῖνον τὸν Γαλάτην τόν τε Διονύσιον τὸν Μιλήσιον τοὺς σοφιστάς* etc. On the latter see Philostr. vitae soph. I 22; see below 347, 9. 351, 4.

9. The 51 declamationes of Calpurnius Flaccus (Excerptae X rhetorum minorum) were first published by Petr. Pithoeus, together with the declamations wrongly attributed to Quintilian, (above 320, 11), Paris 1580; then in the editions of the latter by J. Fr. Gronov (Lugd. B. 1665), U. Obrecht (Strassburg 1698. 4.) and P. Burmann (Lugd. B. 1720. 4.). The time of this Calp. Fl. is quite uncertain.

347. The principal grammarian of the age of Adrian is Q. Terentius Scaurus, the author of a work on Latin grammar and poetry, and of commentaries on Plautus and Virgil, perhaps also on Horace. We possess by him only a small treatise de orthographia, which is of importance for the history of the language. To the same period belong also Velleius Celer, Aelius Melissus, and Domitius; among the Greeks the grammarians Vestinus and especially Heliodorus.

1. Gellius XI 15, 3: Terentius Scaurus, divi Hadriani temporibus grammaticus vel nobilissimus, inter illa quae de Caeselli (above 320, 4) erroribus composuit. Cf. Capitolin. Ver. 2, 5: audivit (Verus) Scaurinum grammaticum latinum, Scauri filium qui grammaticus Hadriani fuit. His principal work is quoted by Charisius and Diomede (from Romanus) and in the Explanationes in artem Donati (Keil IV p. 486 sqq.). Charis. I p. 133, 1 K.: Scaurus in arte grammatica. 136, 16: Scaurus artis grammaticae libris. But ib. 146, 36: Scaurus libro III we are obliged by the connexion of the text to understand of the autobiography of M. Aemilius Scaurus (above 131, 10). Rufin. Excerpt. p. 2711 P. = 384 Gaisf.: Scaurus in commentario Plauti in Pseudulo dicit etc. Ritschl, Parerga p. 375 sq. Commentaries on the Aeneid and perhaps also on the Bucolica; see Ribbeck Prolegg. p. 172. Charis. p. 202, 26 sq. K.: impariter Horatius epistolarum (II 3, 75): versibus

impariter iunctis, ubi Q. Terentius Scaurus in commentariis in artem poeticam libro X etc. The illusion raised by this of an extensive work on Horace's A. p. is destroyed by ib. 210, 19 sqq. Maro (Aen. I 1): Troiae qui primus ab oris, ubi Q. Ter. Sc. commentariis in artem poeticam libro X etc. Gräfenhan (Hist. of class. Phil. IV p. 300 sq.) proposes grammaticam in the place of poeticam. The quotations of definitions of rhetorical figures (e. g. hypozeuxis, macrologia) by Scaurus are rather in favour of a manual of poetry which comprised also rhetoric. The only uncertain trace of a commentary on Horace is in Porphyr. on Hor. S. II 5, 92 (II p. 308 H.): capite obstipo: tristi ac severo. Scauro inclinato dicit; cf. Zangemeister (above 235, 10) p. 40 sqq. The fragments of Scaurus do not exhibit an antiquarian tendency, and he seems to have rather belonged to the Ciceronians.

2. The small treatise de orthographia ad Theseum (ap. Putsche p. 2249—2264) is valuable for the old forms it contains. p. 2262: haec sunt quae urgenti tempore complecti tibi in presentia potui, Theseu. si quid exemplis defecerit vel quaestionibus, subiungetur. nam quod ad rem maxime pertinet, regulam vides. Then follow detailed observations in loose order, which do not, however, all relate to orthography; at least the stylistic observations concerning the use of prepositions are possibly by a different author. The close is: brevitatem huius libelli, si tibi videtur adglutinabis ei quem de litteris novis (Bergk: of the Emperor Claudius) habes a me acceptum. W. Brambach, on Lat. spelling p. 47—49. On the mss. of the treatise see Usener, Rhein. Mus. XXIV p. 108 sq.

3. Priscian. X 57, p. 547 Htz.: Velleius (D: Vellius) Celer respondens Hadriano imperatori per epistulam de hoc (the quantity of ambitus) interroganti . . ostendit etc. He is perhaps identical with *Κέλερ τεχνογράφος, βασιλικῶν μὲν ἐπιστολῶν προστάτης, Διονυσίῳ δὲ τὸν ἐκ μειρακίου χρόνον διάφορος* ap. Philostr. vit. soph. I 22. Comp. n. 9.

4. Gellius XVIII 6, 1 sqq.: Aelius Melissus in nostra memoria fuit Romae summi quidem loci inter grammaticos id temporis; sed maiore in litteris erat iactantia et *σοφιστείᾳ* quam opera. is praeter alia quae scripsit complura librum composuit . . cui titulus est . . de loquendi proprietate.

5. Gell. XVIII 7, 1 sqq.: Domitio, homini docto celebrique in urbe Roma grammatico, cui cognomentum Insano factum est, quoniam erat natura intractabilior et morosior, ei Domitio Favorinus noster cum forte . . obviam venisset atque ego cum Favorino essem etc.

6. Q. Octavius Avitus belongs perhaps to this time, see above 221, 3.

7. On Sulpicius Apollinaris, whose influence commenced in this time, see below 353, 2.

8. On Iulius Vestinus see Suidas s. v.

9. Dio LXIX 3: *Διονύσιος* (above 346, 8) *πρὸς τὸν αὐτοῦ* (Adrian) *ἴδιον Ἡλιόδωρον, τὸν τὰς ἐπιστολὰς αὐτοῦ διαγαγόντα, εἰπεῖν λέγεται ὅτι Καῖσαρ χρήματα μέν σοι καὶ τιμὴν δοῦναι δύναται, ῥήτορα δέ σε ποιῆσαι οὐ δύνεται.* Cf. n. 3. He was all the more important as grammarian, as he is no doubt identical with the writer on metres, on whom see R. Westphal, allg. Metrik. (1865) p. 137—146 = Metrik² I (1867) p. 214 sqq. O. Hense, Investigations concerning Heliodorus, Leipzig (Teubner) 1870. 170 pp.

348. Philosophical studies were in this period chiefly represented by the Greeks, e. g. by Plutarch and the Platonic philosopher Calvisius Taurus. Among the technical writers the most eminent is Caelius Aurelianus, an African author on medic art, by whom we possess two works on acute and chronic diseases, in which he appears as a methodical physician and accurate observer. His diction is, however, obscure and incorrect.

1. Hieronym. ad a. Abr. 2135 = Hadr. 3 = 119 A. D.: Plutarchus Chaeroneus et Sextus et Agathobulus et Oenomaus philosophi insignes habentur. Ad 2142 = Hadr. 10 = 126 A. D.: Quadratus discipulus apostolorum (cf. de vir. ill. 19) et Aristides Atheniensis noster philosophus libros pro christiana religione Hadriano dedere compositos. See alsō above 346, 4.

2. Hieronym. ad a. Abr. 2161 = 145 A. D.: Taurus Berytius platonicae sectae philosophus clarus habetur. Gellius VII 10, 1: philosophus Taurus, vir memoria nostra in disciplina platonica celebratus. XVIII 10, 3: Calvisius Taurus philosophus. See also above 346, 4. On the method of his instruction see Gell. I 26, 1 sqq. II 2, 1 sqq. (ad philos. T. Athenas visendi eius gratia venerat vir clariss.) VII 13, 1 sqq. X 19. XVII 8 and 20. XVIII 10, 3 sqq. XIX 6, 2 sq. XX 4. All his works were in Greek.

3. On a version of the genealogiae of Hyginus see above 257, 7.

4. On a chorographia derived from Pliny's n. h. see above 308, 7.

5. Caelius Aurelianus of Sicca in Numidia lived between Soranus (above 294, 8) and Galenus, as he never mentions the latter, while Soranus is his chief source. Cf. acut. II 1: Soranus, cuius haec sunt quae latinizanda suscepimus. II 28: cuius verissimas apprehensiones latino sermone describere laboramus. chron. II 7: Mnaseas et Soranus, cuius etiam nos amamus iudicium. The work on acute diseases (celerum or acutarum passionum) consists of three books (Paris 1533 and 1826), the one on chronic diseases (tardarum or chronicarum passionum) of five (Basil. 1529 fol. Ald. 1547). Both edited together Lugd. 1566, better Amstelaed. 1709. 4. (cur. J. C. Amman, with notes by v. Almeloveen) = Venet. 1757. 4. Lausanne 1774. Also in the collected

editions of the medici veteres. Cf. V. Rosen, on a fragment of C. A., Hermes IV p. 141—144. Both works are remarkable for their faithful and vivid description of diseases, and for numerous quotations of earlier writers and their opinions; the Latin is interesting as a specimen of African latinity. Cassiod. div. script. inst. II 31 recommends him. A number of other works of Aur. which he occasionally refers to (see Amman's ed. p. 710), such as muliebrium passionum libri, de passionum causis, have been lost. C. G. Kühn, de C. A. inter methodicos medicos haud ignobili, Lips. 1816. 4. = Opusc. acad. II p. 1 sqq. Choulant, Manual of the bibliography of earlier medical art 206—209. See, however, below 456, 3 and 4.

6. On the basis capitolina with a votive inscription of various quarters and numerous vici of Rome addressed to Adrian (on the Capitol) see Gruter p. 249 sqq. E. Braun, Philologus Suppl. II p. 405 sqq. H. Jordan, on an Investigation of the so-called Capitoline map of Rome, Monthly Reports of the Berlin Academy, 1867, p. 526—548. A. Klügmann, Philol. XXVII p. 474—493.

349. Adrian's time did not produce any poets of name. Annianus, however, wrote a poem on the charms of rural life (Falisca) and composed Fescennine verses. Adrian himself composed Latin verse, and so did also Annius Florus, L. Aelius Verus, Voconius and others. It agreed with the dilettante character of these pursuits that such metres as the iambic dimeter became now favourites.

1. On Adrian's poems see above 341, 3 and 5; on Annius Florus above 336, 7; on Voconius above 341, 5.

2. Spartian. Hadrian. 23, 11: adoptavit (a. 135?) Ceionium Commodum Verum invitis omnibus eumque Aelium Verum Caesarem appellavit. Aelius 2, 6: hic . . primum L. Aurelius Verus est dictus, sed ab Hadriano adscitus in Aeliorum familiam . . et appellatus est Caesar. 5, 1 sq.: fuit . . eruditus in litteris, . . eloquentiae celsioris, versu facilis. 4, 7: cum de provincia Aelius redisset atque orationem pulcherrimam, quae hodieque legitur, sive per se seu per scriniorum aut dicendi magistros pararet, qua kalendis Ianuariis Hadriano patri gratias ageret, . . kalendis ipsis Ianuariis (a. 891 = 138) perit. This L. Ceionius Commodus Verus Aelius (Helius) Caesar is the father of L Verus (below 360, 1 and 6).

3. Gell. VI 7, 1: Annianus poeta praeter ingenii amoenitates litterarum quoque veterum et rationum in litteris oppido quam peritus fuit et sermocinabatur mira quadam et scita suavitate. ib. 3: se audiente Probum grammaticum (above 296) . . legisse dicit. This shows that Ann. was not probably born after a. 70. IX 10, 1: Ann. poeta et plerique cum eo eiusdem Musae viri. XX 8, 1: A. poeta in fundo suo quem in agro Falisco possidebat . . me et quosdam item alios familia-

res vocavit. Auson. cento nupt. (Idyll. XIII) s. f.: nam quid Anniani fescenninos? Lachmann ad Terent. Maur. p. XIII—XV considers A. to be the poeta Faliscus to whom Terentian. v. 1816—1821 ascribes ludicra carmina, cf. ib. 1998: talia docta Phalisca legimus. Mar. Vict. p. 122, 12 K. (Gramm. VI.): quod genus metri Annianus Faliscum carmen inscribit. L. Müller, Rh. Mus. XXV p. 337—344 and in his edition of Rutil. Nam. p. 34—44.

4. Gellius XIX 7, 1: in agro Vaticano Iulius Paulus poeta, vir bonus et rerum (cf. XIII 18, 2: morum) litterarumque veterum inpense doctus, herediolum tenue possidebat, eo saepe nos ad sese vocabat etc. Cf. ib. V 4, 1 and XVI 10, 9 (I. P. poeta, vir memoria nostra doctissimus). I 22, 9 (homo in m. n. d.). Perhaps (according to H. Meyer) he is identical with that Paulus who commented on Antipater and Afranius (above 142, 5 extr.) H. Peter, hist. latt. I p. CCXXXI sq.

5. Suid. v. *Μεσομήδης* (II p. 791 sq. Bernh.): *Κρής, λυρικός, γεγονὼς ἐπὶ τῶν Ἀδριανοῦ χρόνων, ἀπελεύθερος αὐτοῦ ἢ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα φίλος. γράψει οὖν εἰς Ἀντίνοον ἔπαινον . . καὶ ἄλλα διάφορα μέλη.* Capitolin. Ant. Pi. 7, 7 sq.: salaria multis subtraxit quos otiosos videbat accipere . . unde etiam Mesomedi lyrico salarium imminuit. Hieronym. ad a Abr. 2160 = 144 A. D.: Mesomedes Cretensis citharicorum carminum (in Greek) musicus poeta agnoscitur. We possess his hymn on Nemesis.

3. The time of the Antonines,
A. D. 138—180.

a) Antoninus Pius, A. D. 138—161.

350. Antoninus Pius (a. 86—161), though he did not write himself, still gave literature peace and space by his excellent reign. The genius of the nation had, however, already sunk so much that a man like Fronto could be the highest authority, and that a certain life was visible only in the departments of jurisprudence and of grammar. Greek literature possessed in this time, besides vain declaimers and Pausanias, the ingenious writer Lucian and the astronomer Ptolemy.

1. T. Aurelius Fulvus Boionius Arrius Antoninus, born 19 Sept. 86, Cons. 120, Procos. in Asia probably 128, adopted, after the death of Verus (n. 3) by Adrian 25 Feb. 138 as T. Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus, Emperor after Antoninus Pius, frequently abridged d. A. or d. P. See G. R. Sievers in Pauly's Encyclop. I 1 p. 1192—1197 and in his Studies on the Hist. of the Roman Emperors (Berlin 1870) p. 171—224. X. Bossart and J. Müller, On the Hist. of the Emperor A. P., in M. Büdinger's Investigations on Roman Imperial Hist. II (1868) p. 289—321.

2. Capitolin. Anton. Pi. 2, 1: fuit . . eloquentiae nitidae, litteraturae praecipuae. 11, 3: rhetoribus et philosophis per omnes provincias et honores et salaria detulit. Cf. Modestin. Dig. XXVII 1, 6 from an *ἐπιστολὴ Ἀντωνίνου τοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς: αἱ μὲν ἐλάττους πόλεις δύνανται πέντε ἰατροὺς ἀτελεῖς ἔχειν καὶ τρεῖς σοφιστὰς καὶ γραμματικοὺς τοὺς ἴσους* (the larger ones seven physicians and four professors, the greatest ten physicians and five *ῥήτορες* and *γραμματικοί*). (§. 7.) *περὶ δὲ τῶν φιλοσόφων ἡ αὐτὴ διάταξις τοῦ Πίου οὕτω λέγει. φιλοσόφων δὲ οὐκ ἐτάχθη ἀριθμὸς διὰ τὸ σπανίους εἶναι τοὺς φιλοσοφοῦντας.* Capitol. Ant. Pi. 11, 3: orationes plerique alienas dixerunt quae sub eius nomine feruntur; Marius Maximus eius proprias fuisse dicit. An oratio of A. P. and Verus (gratiarum actio) is mentioned by Fronto ep. ad Caes. V 38 sq. Two letters of A. P. to Fronto in Naber's ed. of Front. Epist. p. 163 sq. 167 sq. The Rescripts issued by A. P. are collected by Haenel, Corpus legum p. 101—114.

3. Pausanias' ten books of *Περιήγησις τῆς Ἑλλάδος* were composed in long intervals, b. I and II still under Adrian, and not finished before a. 185. Cf. Hans Reichardt in Pauly's Encycl. V p. 1258—1264.

4. On Lucian of Samosata (born c. a. 120) cf. L. Preller in Pauly's Encycl. IV p. 1165—1181. Wissowa, on the interior history of the second century of the Christian era from Lucian, Breslau 1848. 1853. 4. W. A. Passow, Lucian and history, Meiningen 1854. 24 pp. 4.

5. On the astronomer, mathematician and geographer Claudius Ptolemaeus at Alexandria see the article by Bähr in Pauly's Encycl. VI 1, p. 238—242, nr. 51, and also E. Schönfeld, ib. I 1, p. 783—787.

351. The chief character of this time is the rhetorician M. Cornelius Fronto of Cirta (probably 90—168), who held under Adrian a conspicuous position as orator, and under Antoninus Pius taught M. Aurelius and L. Verus. He was Consul 143. We possess by him the greater part of his correspondence with M. Aurelius both as heir apparent and as Emperor. The rhetorician appears in these letters vain, pretentious and perverse, with little genius and much want of taste, but well-versed in early Roman literature for which he frequently pleads and which he endeavours to make more generally known; at the same time his character appears honourable, sincere and candid; he never makes a wrong use of his high position, is faithful as husband and friend and gives fatherly advice to his pupils, whose gratitude subsequently shed resplendent lustre round his name.

1. Fronto's birth-day was soon after New-Year; see ep. ad Caes. V, 32 cf. 30 sq. and p. 94 Naber. Cirtensis noster, Minuc. Fel. Oct. 9;

cf. Fronto p. 242: *Λίβυς τῶν Λιβύων*, also p. 122. 200 sq. His official career previous to his Consulate in an inscription ap. Renier, Inscr. de l'Alg. 2717: M. Cornelio T. f. Quir. Frontoni IIIvir. capital., Q. provinc. Sicil., Aedil. pl., Praetori, municipes Calamensium patrono. He refuses to become the patron of Cirta ep. p. 200 sq. Consul 143 = 896 V. C. in July and August; see ep. ad Caes. II 1. 7. 8. 10. p. 32. 34. 243, 1. 254 extr. Auson. grat. act. p. 290 sq. Bip. In his character of proconsul he was to govern Asia (ad Caes. V 36 ad Ant. Pi. 8), but obtained remission on account of his health (p. 169). He lived to see the reign of the divi fratres (a. 161—169) and Commodus invested with the dignity of Caesar (Oct. 166; cf. ep. p. 161 sq.: malim mihi nummum Antonini aut Commodi aut Pii), but does not appear to have lived until the death of L. Verus (Jan. 169).

2. His personal circumstances. Fronto p. 232: quinque amisi liberos; . . quinque omnes unumquemque semper unicum amisi. At last only one daughter remained to him called Gratia like her mother (Gr. maior and minor, ad Caes. II 13. IV 6. p. 36. 70) and who was married to C. Aufidius Victorinus (see below 361, 2). She had two sons, the one of whom, Victorinus Fronto (Fr. p. 181 sq.) was educated in the house of his grandfather Fronto, the other died in Germany at the age of three years. Cf. Fr. p. 137: in paucissimis mensibus et uxorem carissimam et nepotem trimulum amisi; p. 236: uxorem amisi, nepotem in Germania amisi, . . Decimanum (a friend) nostrum amisi (after the commencement of 162; cf. p. 94: incolumitate filiae, nepotum). Fronto has much to complain of his health (especially ad Caes. V). There was scarcely any part of his body which did not trouble the gouty old gentleman (Gell. II 26, 1. XIX 10, 1); he complains of pains brachii, cubiti, umeri, genus, tali, cervicum, inguinis and inguinum, digitorum in sinistro pede, plantae, manus dexterae, nervorum, articulorum, membrorum omnium; oculorum, internati, of cholera, morsus ventris cum profluvio, fauces miseras, tussis, sleepless nights etc. He tried hydropathic treatment, e. g. p. 169: victu tenui et aqua potanda malam valetudinem . . mitigare. He possessed the Maecenatiani horti (p. 23). His great grandson Leo is mentioned by Apoll. Sid. ep. VIII 3.

3. His personal character. Fronto p. 235 sq. (after the death of his grandson): mors cum aderit . . quae mihi conscius sum protestabor: nihil in longo vitae meae spatio a me admissum quod dedecori aut probro aut flagitio foret; nullum in aetate agunda avarum, nullum perfidum facinus meum extitisse, contraque multa liberaliter, multa amice, multa fideliter, multa constanter, saepe etiam cum periculo capitis consulta. cum fratre optimo concordissime vixi . . honores quos ipse adeptus sum numquam improbis rationibus concupivi. . . studia doctrinae rei familiari meae praetuli (cf. p. 135, 2: nostrae res haud copiosae; but see also Gell. XIX 10, 1 sqq.). . . verum dixi sedulo, verum audivi libenter. . . quod cuique potui pro copia commodavi. . . neque me parum gratus quispiam repertus segniorem effecit ad beneficia quaecumque possem prompte impertienda. Cf. M. Aurel. epist. III 17: a

Marco Cornelio meo, oratore maximo, homine optimo. The great tenderness exhibited towards him by his pupils, even after their accession to the throne, is the best testimony in his favour; so also his letters ad amicos, cf. p. 165: numquam ita animatus fui, Imp. (Ant. Pi.), ut coeptas in rebus prosperis amicitias si quid adversi increpuisset desererem. In the amiable letter concerning his grandson p. 181 sq. the tenderhearted grandpapa shows even a tinge of humour.

4. Fronto p. 244: *ἤρων τότε μὲν Ἀθηνοδότου τοῦ σοφοῦ, τότε δὲ Διονυσίου* (above 346, 8) *τοῦ ῥήτορος*. p. 73: a meo magistro et parente Athenodoto ad imagines quasdam rerum . . animo comprehendendas . . institutus sum. p. 154: meus magister Dionysius. Cf. p. 169: Alexandriam ad familiares meos scripsi. As Cirtensis, he may have studied there. Dio LXIX 18 (a. 136): *Κορνήλιος Φρόντων, ὃ τὰ πρῶτα τῶν τότε Ῥωμαίων ἐν δίκαις φερόμενος*. Even under Antoninus Pius he pleaded in the Law-Courts; ad Caes. V 27 (ad agendum ad forum ibam). 34 (in plurimis causis a me defensus). p. 169 (duas amicorum causas . . tutatus sum) and p. 252 (a. 143): nec tu consilium causarum agendarum dimiseris aut tecum simul omnia ora taceant. As such juridical speeches we know those pro Bithynis (ad amic. I 14 sq. p. 183 sq.), pro Ptolemaeensibus (Charis. p. 138, 11 K.), in Heroden Atticum (ep. p. 111 extr. = 138, 3 cf. p. 42 sq.), pro Demonstrato Petiliano (ep. p. 111 = 137), in Pelopem (Sidon. epist. VIII 10: M. Fronto, cum reliquis orationibus emineret, in P. se sibi praetulit). There were also political speeches, e. g. ep. p. 25: divom Hadrianum . . laudavi in senatu saepenumero . . et sunt orationes istae frequentes in omnium manibus, and his gratiarum actio for the Consulate in the Senate (p. 105, cf. p. 163. 239), the gratiarum actio in senatu pro Carthaginiensibus (p. 260 sq.) and others.

5. His relation to M. Aurelius and Verus. Capitolin. Antonin. phil. 2, 4 sq.: oratoribus usus est graecis Aninio Macro, Caninio Celere, et Herode Attico; latino Frontone Cornelio (cf. Dio LXXI 35). sed multum ex his Frontoni detulit, cui et statuam in senatu petit. Eutrop. VIII 12: latinas litteras eum Fronto, orator nobilissimus, docuit. Hieron. ad a. Abr. 2180 = 164 A. D. (a date nearly coinciding with the year in which he died, see n. 1): Fronto orator insignis habetur, qui M. Antoninum Verum latinis litteris erudivit. Orelli 1176 from Pisaurum: M. Corneli Frontonis oratoris, consulis, magistri imperatorum Luci et Antonini. The tenderness exhibited by M. Aurelius towards his tutor in his letters (e. g. I 2. II 2 sq. III 17 sqq.) and Fronto's love for his pupil is truly boundless (see e. g. p. 50: quid est mihi osculo tuo suavius? ille mihi suavis odor etc. 74, 1 sq.: si quando te . . video in somnis numquam est quin amplectar et exosculer), frequently Fronto flatters him, but occasionally he tells him the truth (especially p. 74, 7 sqq. cf. 64 sq. 66. 95 sqq.). When his pupil, after his accession to the throne, had given up rhetorical studies and devoted himself to philosophy, Fronto tried everything, from sadness to bitterness, to

make him recede from this supposed error. Cf. p. 142. 144—146. 148. 153 sq. 161. So p. 150: tu mihi videre . . laboris taedio defessus eloquentiae studium reliquisse, ad philosophiam devertisse, ubi nullum prooemium cum cura excolendum, nulla narratio breviter et dilucide . . collocanda, nullae quaestiones partiendae, nulla argumenta quaerenda, nihil exaggerandum etc. The succeeding description of the supposed paradise lost by the Emperor sounds almost comical. But he is very serious p. 155: fateor . . unam solam posse causam incidere qua causa claudat aliquantum amor erga te meus, — si eloquentiam neglegas. Somewhat maliciously he writes to him p. 227: Chrysippum tuum, quem quotidie ferunt madescere solitum, and even more strongly to his son-in-law: non sine metu fui ne quid philosophia perversi suaderet (to M. Aurelius). His pupil confesses to have learnt from Fronto (*εἰς ἑαυτ.* I 11), *τὸ ἐπιστῆσαι οἷα ἡ τυραννικὴ βασκανία καὶ ποικιλία καὶ ὑπόκρισις καὶ ὅτι ὡς ἐπίπαν οἱ καλούμενοι οὗτοι παρ' ἡμῖν εὐπατρίδαι ἀστοργότεροί πως εἰσί.* Cf. to Fronto III 12 (p. 49): me felicem nuncupo . . quod verum dicere ex te disco.

6. The favourite authors of Fronto, whose study he strongly recommended to his pupils, were Plautus, Ennius, Cato, Gracchus, Lucretius, Laberius, Sallustius; cf. p. 62. ad Caes. II 3 sq. 13 sq. III 11. 18. IV 5 and other passages. He does not mention Terence and Virgil; but we find in him allusions to Virgil, Horace (Hertz, Renaissance p. 47 sq. n. 76) and Tacitus (ep. p. 144 = Hist. IV 6). He has a decided antipathy to Seneca, both as philosopher and as his enemy in point of style; see above 283, 1. Ironically he says p. 224: ut homo ego multum facundus et Senecae Annaei sectator. He sometimes praises Cicero, especially whenever his authority appears useful against the detractors of eloquence, e. g. p. 145 (tribunalia Catonis et Gracchi et Ciceronis orationibus celebrata). Cf. p. 125 and 84, 2 sq. (ut aestimes nostrum mediocre ingenium quantum ab illo eximiae eloquentiae viro abfuat). He prefers Cicero's letters to his speeches, see above 170, 1. He also professes p. 63: eius scripta omnia studiosissime lectitavi. But repeatedly the adjective *tullianus* has in Fronto a somewhat contemptuous meaning; cf. p. 23. 25, 76 (oratiunculae). 98 (sententiae). His views on Cicero's style and diction are given p. 63 sq., e. g.: mihi videtur a quaerendis scrupulosius verbis procul afuisse, vel magnitudine animi vel fuga laboris vel fiducia. . . itaque . . in omnibus eius orationibus paucissima admodum reperias insperata atque inopinata verba, quae nonnisi cum studio atque cura atque vigilia atque multa veterum carminum memoria indagantur (which is Fronto's special force and fault). Yet he confesses: multo satius est volgaribus et usitatis quam remotis et requisitis uti, si parum significet (p. 63 sq. cf. III 1. p. 40. 161 sq.)

7. Extant works. His correspondence with M. Aurelius as heir apparent (M. Caesar) in five books, and as Emperor (Antoninus Augustus) originally also five books (ad Marcum invicem IV, Charis. p. 197. Cf. p. 223, 8 sq. K.; ad Antoninum quinto, ib. p. 223, 27 sq.), but of which scar-

cely two have come down to us. Further: (p. 113—138 N.) ad Verum Imp. Aurelium Caesarem two books, in which we notice II 1 the exaggerated praise of an epistola of Verus. Besides these collections, we have a correspondence with Antonius Pius (p. 163—171) and two books ad amicos (p. 172—201), also letters in Greek (p. 174. 239—251). Also addressed to M. Aurelius are the treatises de eloquentia, on its value when compared with philosophy (p. 139—148), and de orationibus (p. 155—162), likewise the letter de bello parthico (p. 217—222) and that entitled Principia historiae (p. 202—210), a panegyric on the military actions of Verus (or rather his lieutenant Avidius Cassius) in the East. To M. Aurelius as Caesar he dedicates the laudes fumi et pulveris and laudes neglegentiae (p. 211—216), which he says were written facetiarum et voluptatis causa (p. 212 cf. 228, 2): and to him as Emperor he addressed the Letters de feriis alsiensibus (223—231), a cheerful summons to employ his holidays for recreation. There is also the Emperor's letter of condolence to Fronto concerning his grandson's death, and Fronto's reply to it (p. 231—236). Likewise the *ἐρωτικὸς* (p. 255—259), a pendant to the two in Plato's Phaedrus, and to which letters of M. Caesar are prefixed from the year of Fronto's Consulate. The tale of Arion (p. 237 sq.) serves likewise a rhetorical purpose. Lastly an insignificant grammatical treatise, de differentiis vocabulorum (in Gothofredus p. 1327—1335, Putsche p. 2191—2203; also in Mai's and Niebuhr's editions of Fr.), bears Fronto's name, but its sole claim to it seems to consist in a certain employment of the works of Fronto.

8. On the time when these letters were composed see Naber's edition p. XX—XXX. The second book ad Caes. belongs to the time of Fronto's Consulship; in the first Caesar appears to be 22 years (p. 23, 3), in the fourth 25 years old (p. 75, fin.). Being a correspondence between a professor of rhetoric and his pupil, these letters do not furnish much information on the history of the time, but are on the contrary frequently monotonous and full of repetitions (p. 111=137 sq.; p. 135=176, 1 sq.; p. 149—159), yet they are interesting and instructive. Latin and Greek are mixed up sometimes in quite a macaronic manner (in hac *εἰκόνε* III 8 p. 47, 1). But at the same time Fronto adheres even in these letters to his peculiar manner, his distorted and trifling diction and the addition of antiquarian and scarce words (e. g. fraglo), and he cannot rid himself of showing the schoolmaster both after his pupil had become Emperor, and in his grief, de nepote amisso p. 233, 7 sqq. he says: fata fando appellata aiunt: hoccine est recte fari? Even stronger specimens of his elocutio novella (p. 153), the ornatae et pompaticae orationes (p. 55, 1) with their elaborate (ad Caes. II 1) dressing are his rhetorical treatises, those on history being at the same time models of the worst kind of historical composition, in which history is merely treated as a vehicle of rhetorical diction. Very unjust is the criticism of Eumenius (paneg. Constant. 14, 2): Fronto romanae eloquentiae non secundum, sed alterum decus. Similarly the oral explanations of Fronto and his contemporaries abounded

in pedantic erudition, to judge by the specimens mentioned by Gellius II 26. XIII 29. XIX 8. 10. 13. None of his treatises seem to bear an earlier date than a. 160.

9. The works of Fronto (except de differentiis) were made known by A. Mai, who discovered part of them at Milan in the Ambrosian, part at Rome in the Vatican Library in a palimpsest originally belonging to the monastery of Bobbio; he published them Mediol. 1815 and Rome 1823 and 1846. The ms. is of the sixth century, but cannot always be made out. The Milan edition was reprinted Frankf. 1816, better by Niebuhr (with additions by Buttmann and Heindorf) Berolini 1816. From a collation by du Rieu recensuit S. A. Naber, Lips. (Teubner) 1867. XXXVI and 296 pp.

10. Critical contributions by L. Schopen (Bonn 1830. 1841. 4.), H. Alan (Dublin 1841), A. Philibert Soupé (de Fr. reliquiis, Amiens 1853), J. Mähly (Philologus XVII p. 176—178. XIX p. 159—161), M. Haupt (de emendatione librorum Fr., Berlin 1867. 4.), R. Ellis (Journal of philology. I London 1868, p. 15 sqq.). A. Eussner, Rh. Mus. XXV p. 541—547. R. Klussmann, Emend. fronton., Gött. 1871. 30 pp.

11. Frdr. Roth, Observations on the works of M. Corn. Fronto and the age of the Antonines, Nürnberg 1817. 24 pp. 4. = Collected Lectures (Frkf. 1851) n. 3. Niebuhr Minor writings II p. 52 sqq. F. A. Eckstein in Ersch and Gruber's Enc. I 51, p. 442—446. M. Hertz, Renaissance etc. p. 26—29. — H. E. Dirksen, Helps in the explanation of some passages of Fronto, Posthumous writings I p. 243—253.

12. Firmic. Mat. math. II praef. (p. 15 ed 1551): Antiscia Hipparchi secutus est Fronto, quae nullam vim habent nullamque substantiam. et sunt quidem in Frontone pronuntiationis atque apotelesmatum verae sententiae, antisciorum vero inefficax studium: quod quidem secutus est quia rationen veram non fuerat assecutus. . . apotelesmata et Fronto verissime scripsit, quae Graecorum libris ac monumentis abundantissime continentur. We do not know what Fronto Firm. means here, perhaps the Stoic philosopher (above 324, 3).

352. Friends of Fronto were the rhetoricians Favorinus and Herodes Atticus, and the historian Appianus, all of whom however composed only in Greek, as did also Arrianus. L. Fabius Severus of Tergeste is mentioned as a historian.

1. Gellius II 26, 1: Favorinus philosophus cum ad M. Frontonem consularem, pedibus aegrum visum iret etc. Fronto p. 215 N.: Favorinus noster. See above 346, 5.

2. The two tutors and rhetoricians (351, 5) Fronto and Herodes Atticus were indeed often at variance, but as it seems rather owing to the latter (cf. 351, 4), and M. Aurelius was obliged to mediate between

them (Fronto p. 60 sq.). At last, however, they appear to have agreed for good. Fronto p. 111 ad 138: fieri amicissimum, tam hercule quam est Herodes summus nunc meus, quamquam extet oratio (against him). See on this Ti. Claudius Atticus Herodes of Marathon (a 101—177.) Philostr. vit. soph. II 1 and K. Keil in Pauly's Enc. I 2. p. 2096—2104. H. Kämmel in Jahn's Jahrbb. 102, p. 1—24. See below 354, 6.

3. On Appianus of Alexandria see A. Westermann in Pauly's Encycl. I 2 p. 1340—1345. A letter addressed by him to Fronto and in which he offers him a present of two slaves, also Fronto's reply in which he declines to accept it, p. 244—251 Naber.

4. Hieronym. ad a. Abr. 2163 = 147 A. D.: Arrianus philosophu (and historian) Nicomedensis agnoscitur et Maximus Tyrus. Arrianus was governor of Cappadocia a. 131. Cf. Westermann in Pauly's Enc. I 2. p. 1752—1767. About the same time lived also Artemidorus ὁ Δαλδιανὸς, who wrote on dreams (Westermann ibid. p. 1790 sq. no. 2).

5. In Latin we possess in this time a funeral speech on Murdia L. f. mater, ap. Orelli 1860; A. F. Rudorff, on the laudatio Murdiae, Berlin 1869. 47 pp. 4. (Trans. of the Berlin Acad.)

6. On the quaestor urbanus L. Fabius Severus, the son of Fabius Verus at Tergeste, see the decree in Orelli-Henzen 7168, where we read e. g.: ut qui a prima sua statim aetate id egerit uti . . et dignitate et eloquentia cresceret. nam ita multas et magnificas causas publicas apud optimum principem Antoninum Aug. Pium adseruisse egisse, vicisse . . ut quamvis ad modum adulescens senilibus tamen et perfectis operibus et factis patriam suam obstrinxerit. . . civilia studia, quae in eo quamvis admodum iuvene iam sint peracta adque perfecta etc. . . causis publicis patrocinando, quas . . sua eximia ac prudentissima oratione semper nobis cum victoria firmiores remisit.

353. Erudition and grammar were popular in this period, and every where, in the streets and in the market-places, in public buildings as well as private houses, at dinner and in visiting sick people, questions of scholarship were discussed before attentive audiences; the same being also done in writing in the form of questions and answers, in the manner of the Jurists. The principal representative of this manner is C. Sulpicius Apollinaris of Carthage, who taught Gellius and Pertinax, the author of quaestiones epistolicae and of metrical arguments on Plautus, Terence and on the Aeneid. Beside him we should chiefly mention Arruntius Celsus who likewise devoted himself to the investigation of archaic literature.

1. Details which may serve to illustrate his manner. Gellius XIX 13, 1: stabant forte una in vestibulo palatii fabulantes Fronto Cornelius

et Festus Postumius (below 360, 1) et Apollinaris Sulpicius, atque ego ibi adsistens cum quibusdam aliis sermones eorum quos de litterarum disciplinis habebant curiosius captabam. XVIII 4, 1: in Sandaliario forte apud librarios fuimus, cum ibi in multorum hominum coetu Apollinaris Sulpicius iactatorem quempiam Sallustianae lectionis inrisit inlusitque. XIII 20, 1: cum in domus Tiberianae bybliotheca sederemus . . prolatus forte liber est etc. tum quaeri coeptum est etc. XIX 10, 1 sqq.: memini me quondam et Celsinum Iulium Numidam (cf. ib. 7, 2) ad Frontonem Cornelium, pedes tunc graviter aegrum, ire et visere. . . offendimus eum cubantem . . circumundique sedentibus multis doctrina aut genere aut fortuna nobilibus viris. A calculation of the expense of a bath occasions a discussion of the expression praeterpropter.

2. Gell. IV 17, 11: equidem memini Sulpicium Apollinarem, virum praestanti litterarum scientia, . . dicere. XII 13, 1: Sulpicium Ap. doctum hominem. XIII 18, 2 sq.: ad S. A., hominem memoriae nostrae doctissimum, . . nam id tempus ego adulescens Romae sectabar eum discendi gratia. ib. 20, 5: Apollinaris, ut mos eius in reprehendendo fuit, placide admodum leniterque. XVI 5, 5: Sulpicium Ap. memini dicere, virum eleganti scientia ornatum. XVIII 4, 1: A. S., vir in memoria nostra praeter alios doctus. On Gellius' relation to him see below 361, 1. Capitolin. Pert. 1, 4 (see n. 5). Gellius XV 5, 3: Sulpicius Ap. in quadam epistula scriptum reliquit. Cf. ib. XIII 18, 3. In his quaestiones epistolicae he paid great attention to Virgil (cf. Gellius II 16, 8 sqq.), of whose Aeneid Sulpicius had perhaps published an edition, for which he seems to have composed the three distichs ap. Sueton. p. 63 Rffsch. (de qua re Sulpicii Carthaginiensis extant . . versus), and also the arguments on the twelve books in six hexameters each, always beginning with the first line of the book in question; see Riese's anth. lat. 653. As he also wrote arguments on the plays of Terence in twelve senarii each (which in the Bemb. bear the heading: C. Sulpici Apollinaris periocha), Ritschl's conjecture (Trin. ed. I p. CCCXVIII) is very probable, that the Plautine arguments in 15 senarii (above 88, 2) are also by him. Gräfenhan, Ztschf. f. A. W. 1847, p. 19 sq. Ribbeck, prolegg. in Verg. p. 173 sq.

3. Arruntius Celsus (Charis. p. 213, 18. 222, 6 and 30 K.) is a grammarian already used by Julius Romanus and whose short explanations of Plautine and Terentian phrases as well as of Aen. XII are repeatedly quoted by Charisius, Donatus (ad Phorm. I 2, 32) and Priscian, generally by the name of Celsus, more rarely of Arruntius. He does not seem to have written complete commentaries on those poets. Ritschl's Par. p. 367—370. Ribbeck prolegg. p. 25 sq.

4. Jul. Capit. v. Antonin. philos. 2, 3: usus . . grammaticis . . latinis Trosio Apro et Polione et Eutychio Proculo Siccensi.

5. A learned dilettante was Erucius Clarus, qui praef. urbi et bis consul fuit, vir morum et litterarum veterum studiosissimus, Gell. XIII

18, 2 and 3 (vir eruditus) cf. VII 6, 12. He is probably Sex. Erucius, son to the orator Erucius Clarus under Trajan (above 336, 4), to whom as iuveni probissimo Pliny procured the Quaestorship and the tribuneship of the people (Plin. Epist. II 9) and who was cos. II a. 146, praef. urbi later than a. 138; Steup de Prob. p. 74—77. Cf. Fronto p. 165 N. Dio LXVIII 30.

6. Gellius II 3, 5: venit nobis in memoriam Fidium Optatum, multi nominis Romae grammaticum, ostendisse mihi librum etc.

7. Capitol. Pert. 12, 7: adhibebat (cenis) . . Valerianum, qui cum eo docuerat, ut fabulas litteratas haberet.

8. In the same time (according to Mommsen and Bücheler) we should place the Auruncan Fusius Philocalus, magister ludi litterari, summa quom castitate in discipulos suos, idemque testamenta scripsit cum fide in an inscription Hermes I p. 148 = Bücheler, Greifswald Index Summer 1870, p. 19 sq. H. Nissen, however, observes that the characters of the inscription and the technical execution of the monument should prevent us from removing Philoc. from the first part of the Imperial period.

9. Anonymous grammarians and scholars of this time occur in Gellius e. g. XIX 10, 7 (grammaticum haud incelebri nomine Romae docentem). 13, 4 (grammatico cuipiam latino, Frontonis familiari). V 4, 2 (grammaticus quispiam de nobilioribus). XIV 5, 1 (quos grammaticos non parvi in urbe Roma nominis). Cf. I 7, 4 (amicus noster, homo lectione multa exercitus, cui pleraque omnia veterum litterarum quaesita XX 10, 2 . . erant). V 21 (vir adprime doctus, meus amicus). X 1, 1—3. XIV 6, 1.

354. Philosophy, especially the Stoic system, had not indeed so many adherents as rhetoric, but increased in importance ever since the heir apparent manifested a bent to it. Originality did not distinguish a single one of these philosophers, but Junius Rusticus possessed a very honourable character. Christianity was now defended in a dogmatic manner, at least in the East.

1. On the relative scarcity of the *φιλοσοφοῦντες* see above 350, 2.

2. Capitol. M. Ant. philos. 2, 6 sqq. philosophiae operam vehementer dedit, et quidem adhuc puer. . . usus est etiam Commodi magistro . . Apollonio Chalcedonio stoico philosopho (cf. ad Front. V 36: Apollonius magister meus philosophiae). 3, 2 sq.: audivit et Sextum Chaeronensem Plutarchi nepotem (cf. Dio LXXI 1. Philostr. vit. soph. II 1, 9), Iunium Rusticum, Claudium Maximum (see in 4) et Cinnam Catulum, stoicos. peripateticae vero studiosum audivit Claudium Severum. Dio LXXI 35: *διδασκάλους εἶχε τῶν ἐκ φιλοσοφίας λόγων τόν τε Ῥουστικον τὸν Ἰούνιον καὶ Ἀπολλώνιον τὸν Νικομηδέα, τοὺς Ζηνωνείους λόγους μελετῶντας.* Hieronym. ad a. Abr. 2165 = 149 A. D.: Apollonius stoicus

natione Chalcidicus et Basilides Scythopolitanus philosophi inlustres habentur, qui Verissimi quoque Caesaris praeceptores fuerunt. M. Aurelius himself (*εἰς ἑαυτ.* I 6 sqq.) mentions among those who influenced his philosophical studies the following: *Διόγνητος, Ἀπολλώνιος, Σέξτος, Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ πλατωνικός, Κάτουλος.* Fronto p. 115, 6 sqq.: quid nostra memoria Euphrates, Dio, Timocrates, Athenodotus? quid horum magister Musonius?

3. Capitol. l. l. (see n. 2): Iunium Rusticum . . et reveritus est et sectatus, qui domi militiaeque pollebat, stoicae disciplinae peritissimum, cum quo omnia communicavit publica privataque consilia, . . quem et consulem iterum designavit (II a. 162), cui post obitum a senatu statuas postulavit. Dig. XLIX 1, 1, 3 from a rescriptum divorum fratrum: . . ad Iunium Rusticum amicum nostrum, praef. urbi. M. Aurel. *εἰς ἑαυτ.* I 7: *παρὰ Ῥουστίκου . . τὸ μὴ ἐκτραπῆναι εἰς ζῆλον σοφιστικὸν . . καὶ τὸ ἀποστῆναι ῥητορικῆς καὶ ποιητικῆς καὶ ἀστειολογίας . . καὶ τὸ ἀκριβῶς ἀναγιγνώσκειν . . καὶ τὸ ἐντυχεῖν τοῖς Ἐπικτητείοις ὑπομνήμασιν, ὧν οἴκοθεν μετέδωκεν.* Themist. or. XIII. XVII. Orelli 1190 (L. Iunius Rusticus philosophus stoicus). He is perhaps identical with Q. Iun. Rust., Consul (under Antoninus Pius) with Q. Flavius Tertullus (Gruter p. 131, 3). See above 314, 6.

4. The Stoic Claudius Maximus (n. 2) is probably that *Μάξιμος* whom M. Aurelius *εἰς ἑαυτ.* I 15 (*παράκλησις Μαξίμου τὸ κρατεῖν ἑαυτοῦ*) mentions as having influenced his education, and VIII 25 as having died (before his wife Secunda). He is probably that Claudius Maximus before whose tribunal, when Proconsul in Africa, c. 150, Apuleius had to appear on a charge of practising magic arts. See his apol. 19 (virum tam austerae sectae tamque diutinae militiae). 25 (vir severus). 36 (pro tua eruditione legisti profecto Aristotelis . . multiiuga volumina etc.). 48 (doctrinae tuae congruens; cf. ib. 91). 64 (scit me vera dicere Maximus, qui . . legit in Phaedro diligenter etc.).

5. Gellius XIII 8, 4: Macedo philosophus, vir bonus, familiaris meus, . . censebat. On Iulius Aquilinus see below 361, 9.

6. Hieronym. ad a. Abr. 2192 = 176 A. D.: Atticus platonicae sectae philosophus agnoscitur (but this is rather the year when he died, see above 352, 2).

7. M. Aurel. VIII 25: *ὁριμεῖς μὲν Χάραξ καὶ Δημήτριος ὁ Πλατωνικὸς καὶ εἴ τις τοιοῦτος, πάντα ἐφήμερα, τεθνηκότα πάλαι.*

8. Hieronym. ad a. Abr. 2157 = 141 A. D.: Iustinus philosophus librum pro nostria religione scriptum Antonino tradidit. 2170 = 154 A. D.: Crescens cynicus agnoscitur, qui Iustino nostri dogmatis philosopho . . persecutionem suscitavit.

9. Lucian's friend, the Epicurean *Κέλσος*, who had written against magic arts, and to whom Lucian dedicated his *Ἀλέξανδρος* (c. 1. 21. 61) is identified by the Schol. on Alex. 1 with the learned and saga-

cious enemy of Christianity, against whom Origenes wrote his eight books contra Celsum and on whom see F. C. Baur, Ecclesiastical History of the last three centuries, third ed., p. 382—409.

355. Historical pursuits and studies were not much favoured by the prevalence of rhetorical phraseology and the calmness of the time. It is possible that L. Ampelius wrote his liber memorialis about this time, a meagre abridgment of the most important information concerning astronomy, geography and chiefly history. The abridgment of the history of Rome in the time of the Republic, which is also conspicuous for a great predilection for miracles and fictitious tales, and which bears the name of Granius Licinianus, should be placed in this time, at least in the shape in which it has come down to us.

1. The liber memorialis (in fifty chapters) is dedicated to a certain Macrinus (Macrino suo) who is not designated more accurately. If he were the same as the Emperor (from April 217 to June 218) and who was assassinated on 8 June 218 at the age of 51 (or 52) years, the work would appear to have been written about the end of the century. But the name of Macrinus is by no means uncommon. On the other hand the latest name mentioned in this work is that of Trajan (47, 7: fortuna Traiani principis; cf. 23: Caesar Dacicus), and in treating of the wars with the Parthians the author does not mention that of L. Verus. Besides Nepos and the source of the liber de viris illustribus (and in the first chapters Nigidius Figulus) especially Florus is used. There are some curious passages concerning the constitution of the Roman state. c. 29 and 18 extr.: ex eo (Augustus) perpetua Caesarum dictatura dominatur. c. 30 it is pronounced a mixed constitution, probably owing to the use of a republican source: nam et regiam potestatem consules habent et penes senatum consilii publici summa est et plebs habet suffragiorum potestatem. We may also allege the extensive treatment of Eastern affairs as an argument in favour of the Non-Italian origin of the author. In later centuries the name of Ampelius is more frequent, especially in the cod. Theodos.

2. The first edition of Ampelius by Claudius Salmasius, Lugd. Bat. 1638 (after Florus) from a codex Iureti now lost; then in the editions of Florus by Duker and others. Separately by C. H. Tzschucke (cum notis, Lips. 1793), F. A. Beck (with a comm., Leipzig 1826); by E. Wölfflin (Lips. Teubner 1854), from Salmasius' copy of the codex.

3. C. E. Gläser, on the age of Amp., Rh. Mus. II (1843) p. 145 sq. E. Wölfflin, de L. Amp. libro mem. quaestiones criticae et historicae, Gotting. 1854. 50 pp. F. Bücheler, Rhein. Mus. XIII p. 179 sqq. H.

Jacob, quaestiones Amp., Cleve 1860. 4. (p. 18—25). Critical contributions by L. Urlichs (Rhein. Mus. XVII p. 632—637), M. Zink (Eos II p. 317—328), A. Eussner (Spec. crit., Würzburg 1868, p. 37—42).

4. Macrob. I 16, 30: apud Granium Licinianum libro secundo. Serv. Aen. I 737: Granius Licinianus coenae suae (V?). Solin. polyh. II 12 (p. 37, 12 M.): Liciniano placet. Merely Granius ap. Fest. v. ricae p. 277 M. Solin. II 40 (p. 44, 18 M.: Gr. tradit). Arnob. adv. nat. III 31. 38. VI 7. The latter quotatious may also relate to Granius Flaccus (Macrob. I 18, 4), in libro quem ad Caesarem (the Dictator?) de indigitamentis scriptum reliquit (Censorin. d. n. 3, 2) or in libro de iure papiriano (above 61, 1), which is very probable at least of Festus.

5. A. 1853—55 P. de Lagarde (Bötticher; cf. Philol. IX p. 394 sq.) and subsequently G. H. Pertz discovered in London at the British Museum Licinianus in an Egyptian codex ter scriptus (at the uppermost a Syriac translation of Chrysostomus' Homilies, underneath this a Latin grammarian, and quite below Licinianus), consisting of 13 parchment leaves, more closely examined a. 1856 by his son C. A. F. Pertz and edited Berol. 1857. 4.: Gai Grani Liciniani annalium quae supersunt etc. The praenomen, however, rests on an unsafe reading. The fragments are of b. XXVI, XXVIII and XXXVI, and turn on events of a. 591 and 676 V. C. The arrangement is in the manner of Annals. Miracles, anecdotes and curiosities are treated at great length, and the author likewise vigorously impugns Sallust's manner (see above 204, 3). The account appears not to have been carried beyond Caesar's death and to have embraced about 40 books; the Olympieion at Athens, which Adrian completed, is, however, mentioned (p. 8 sq. Bonn.: aedes Olympii Iovis Atheniensis diu imperfecta permanserat). This fact as well as the attention paid to Sallust while the periods are intentionally kept asunder (tempora reprehendit sua), also the antiquarian affectation (Ariobardianen, Archelauo), suit the time of the Antonines best. To go lower down is inadvisable on account of the quotation in Solinus or rather his source, the chorographia pliniana (above 308, 7). Cf. Mommsen, Solinus p. XXVIII. The Bonn editors (Bücheler and others) assume, on account of the archaic forms already mentioned, that the work was published under Augustus and epitomized in the time of the Antonines, while Madvig fixes its composition in the third or fourth century of the Christian era. In giving up the idea of the Augustan period, we must also drop the attempt to identify the author with Granius Flaccus.

6. Editions by Pertz (n. 5) and: Grani Liciniani quae supersunt emendatiora edidit philologorum Bonnensium heptas, Lips. (Teubner) 1858. XXII and 64 pp.

On Lic. see especially G. Linker in Fleckeisen's Jahrbb. LXXVII p. 633—640 and J. N. Madvig in the Trans. of the Copenhagen Society of Sciences, December 1857.

7. Critical contributions by C. G. Schmidt (Philologus XIII p. 224—226), G. Linker (Fleckeisen's Jahrbb. 77, p. 628—633), K. Keil (ibid. p. 640—650), J. A. Wynne (Philologus XV p. 357—362), H. Heerwagen (Nürnberg 1858. 4.), D. Comparetti (Rhein. Mus. XIII p. 457 sqq.), C. M. Francken in Fleckeisen's Jahrbb. Suppl. III 2 p. 235 sqq.

8. On Fronto's historical works see above 351, 7 and 8.

356. The Roman Jurists were in this time divided into practicians who returned answers to legal inquiries or pleaded in actions, with or without any public position, and actual professors of Law. Most of the first class were pupils of Julian; e. g. Vindius and Sex. Iulius Africanus, a man known by the difficulty of his definitions, then Terentius Clemens, Iunius Mauricianus and Saturninus. M. Aurelius' teacher in legal matters, L. Volusius Maecianus, wrote, besides juridical works, a treatise (still extant) on the divisions of money, weights and measures. One of the Jurists most highly valued in the succeeding centuries was Ulpius Marcellus under Pius and M. Aurelius.

1. Gellius XIII 13, 1: cum . . in lucem fori prodissem quaesitum esse memini in plerisque Romae stationibus ius publice docentium (cf. fragm. Vat. 150: neque geometrae neque hi qui ius civile docent. Dig. XXVII 1, 6, 12. L 13, 1, 5: iuris civilis professores) aut respondentium etc. Part of the latter had an official character; see above I p. 387. Capitolin. Antonin. Pi. 12, 1: multa de iure sanxit ususque ex iuris peritis Vindio Vero (n. 2), Fulvio Valente (above 345, 5), Volusio Maeciano (n. 7), Ulpio Marcello (n. 8) et Diaboleno (cf. above 337, 3).

2. M. Vindius Verus (n. 1) was Cons. 138. Fragm. Vat. 77: Vindius dum consulit Iulianum in ea opinione est. Maecian. Dig. XXXV 2, 32, 4: Vindius noster. Cf. Ulpian. ib. II 14, 7, 18 (Vindius scribit). V 1, 5 (Pomponius et V. scripserunt). Paul. ib. II 9, 2, 1 (putat V. . . idque Iulianus scribit etc. Pomponius et V. scribunt).

3. Gellius XX 1, 1 sqq.: Sex. Caecilius in disciplina iuris atque in legibus populi rom. noscendis interpretandisque scientia usus auctoritateque inlustris fuit. ad eum forte . . philosophus Favorinus accessit etc. in illis tunc eorum sermonibus orta mentiost legum decemviralium. . . eas leges cum Sex. Caecilius, inquisitis exploratisque multarum urbium legibus, . . eleganti . . brevitate verborum scriptas diceret etc. On his relation to Julian, see Paul. Dig. XIX 1, 45 pr.: idque et Iulianum agitasse Africanus refert. Ulp. Dig. XXV 3, 3, 4: Iulianus Sexto Caecilio Africano respondit. XXX 39 pr.: Africanus l. XX° Epistolarum apud Iulianum (in a work of J.) quaerit. Afric. Dig. XII 6, 38 pr.:

id maxime consequens esse ei sententiae quam Iulianus probaret. Cf. ib. XII 1, 23 and XIII 7, 31: Iulianus ait. His works (besides the Epistolae): Quaestionum libri IX, discussions of maxims and legal cases, frequently in the shape of questions and answers, probably following the oral lectures of Julian (Mommsen, Ztschr. f. Rechtsw. IX p. 90—93), composed at the latest at the commencement of the reign of Pius (Fitting, Age of the Writings etc. p. 15). In the Digest we find 131 fragments of this work, collected by Hommel, Paling. p. 3—26. With the Jurists of the last centuries Africani lex is a proverbial expression to denote something difficult. The passages in which Caecilius or Sextus is quoted (e. g. Gai. II 218: Iuliano et Sexto placuit) should in all probability likewise be understood of him. Mommsen, Ztschr. f. Rechtsgesch. VII p. 479. IX p. 92, n. 29. In general see Cujacius Tractat. IX ad Afr., Opp. II p. 1253 sqq. F. Kämmerer, Observ. iur. civ. (Rostock 1827) I p. 74 sqq. Zimmern, History of Roman private law, I 1, p. 350—352.

4. Terentius Clemens, the author of twenty books ad legem Iuliam et Papiam, from which there are thirty-five passages in the Digest (Hommel, Palingenesia II p. 499—502). Dig. XXVIII 6, 6 he speaks of Iulianus noster (hoc ita interpretari I. n. videtur) and in other places also pays attention to his Digest, whence his work would appear to belong to the last time of Pius. Fitting, Age of the Writ. p. 16.

5. Iunius Mauricianus wrote under Pius (Dig. XXXI 57: divus Hadrianus . . et proxime Imp. Antoninus. XXXIII 2, 23: nuper Imp. Antoninus . . rescripsit. XLIX 14, 15) also Ad legem Iuliam et Papiam libri VI and at least two books De poenis (Dig. II 13, 3) and notes on Julian's Digest; cf. Ulp. Dig. II 14, 7, 2: puto recte Iulianum a Mauriciano reprehensum in hoc etc. VII 1, 25, 1: Iulianus quidem libro XXXV° Digestorum scripsit; . . Marcellus vero et Mauricianus etc. sed Iuliani sententia humanior est.

6. Venuleius Saturninus wrote, according to the ind. Flor. 10 books Actionum, 6 Interdictorum, 4 de officio proconsulis, 3 publicorum or de publicis iudiciis, 19 stipulationum. Very different is the character of the liber de poenis paganorum, which the ind. Flor. attributes to Venul. Sat., but Dig. XLVIII 19, 16 (after a fragment of Ven. Sat.) to Claudius Sat. to whom two rescripts of Pius were addressed (Marcian. Dig. XX 3, 1, 2 and L 7, 4 pr.: divus Pius Claudio Saturnino rescripsit) and who became praetor under the divi fratres (Dig. XVII 1, 6, 7). But even in the fragments of Venul. Sat. (cf. Hommel, Palingenesia II p. 539—549) nothing would lead us beyond the time of Pius or the divi fratres, whence Fitting p. 17—19 assumes only one Jurist of the name of Claudius Venuleius Saturninus. This is not disproved by Cod. V 65, 1 (Imp. Antoninus A. Saturnino a. 213) or ib. VII 35, 1 (Imp. Alexander A. Venuleio veterano, a. 224) or even by a very late interpolation in Lamprid. Alex. Sev. 68. But the citations of Demosthenes and of the Iliad in Claudius Saturninus which are without a parallel

in Venuleius Sat., oblige us to distinguish two Jurists of the same cognomen and perhaps of the same time, but of different gentile names. Q. Saturninus Dig. XII 2, 13, 5 (Marcellus scribit etc. cui Q. Sat. consentit) and XXXIV 2, 19, 7 (Q. Saturninus libro X° Ad edictum scribit) seems to be later.

7. Capitol. M. Ant. philos. 3, 6: studuit et iuri, audiens (c. a. 146) L. Volusium Maecianum. Cf. ap. Fronto p. 61 N., and above n. 1. He was on friendly terms with Salv. Iulianus (Iulianus noster, Dig. XXXV 1, 86. 2, 30, 7. XXXVI 1, 65, 1) and with Vindius (Vindius noster, ib. XXXV 2, 32, 4). Dig. XXXVII 14, 17 pr.: divi fratres . . rescripserunt: . . Volusianus Maecianus, amicus noster. ut et iuris civilis praeter veterem et bene fundatam peritiam anxie diligens etc. Volcat. Gall. Avid. Cass. 7, 4: exercitus . . Maecianum, cui erat commissa Alexandria, . . invito atque ignorante Antonino (M. Aurel.) interemit as a member of the conspiracy of Cassius, a. 175. Under Antoninus Pius he wrote his sixteen books Quaestionum de fideicommissis or Fideicommissorum (Dig. XL 5, 42: Antoninus Aug. Pius noster etc.) and probably also the work Ex lege rhodia (ib. XIV 2, 9). Besides this libri XIV de publicis iudiciis. The fragments of these works are collected by Hommel, Paling. I p. 353—360. We possess the metrological manual which he composed for his princely pupil: Distributio . . partium in rebus quae constant pondere, numero, mensura. See the preface: Saepenumero, Caesar, animadverti aegre ferentem te quod assis distributionem, et in heredum institutione et in aliis multis necessariam, ignotam haberes. quare, ne tam exigua res ingenium tuum ullo modo moraretur, cum partes ipsas tum vocabula et notas proponendas existimavi. The end of the work is lost. Editions by J. F. Gronovius (de sestertiis etc., Lugd. Bat. 1691), E. Böcking (Bonn 1831 and in the Corpus iur. anteiust. p. 183 sqq.), Th. Mommsen (Trans. of the Saxon Society of literature III. Leipzig 1853. 4.), F. Hultsch (Scriptores metrolog. rom. p. 61—71), Huschke (iurisprud. anteiust.[2] p. 330—340). Cf. Th. Mommsen l. l. p. 281—288. Hultsch l. l. p. 17—22.

8. Ulpius Marcellus (cf. n. 1) was also an adviser of M. Aurelius, comp. his account of a transaction proxime in cognitione principis, when Sententia Imperatoris Antonini Aug. Pudente et Pollione coss. (a. 166) Cornelius Priscianus being the solicitor of one party, and Calpurnius Longinus advocatus fisci, Dig. XXVIII 4, 3 (where the maxim is mentioned: in re dubia benigniorem interpretationem sequi non minus iustius est quam tutius) from (Ulp.) Marcellus libro XXIX Digestorum. The identity of the Jurist with the L. Ulpius Marcellus who leg. Aug. pr. Pannon. infer. (Gruter p. 100, 4) and was under Commodus governor of Britain is justly doubted by Walch and A. Haakh in Pauly's Enc. VI 2. p. 2713, n. 2, who considers the latter as the son of the Jurist. The works of the Jurist are: Digestorum libri XXX (? isolated and doubtful lib. XXXI in Dig. XLVI 3, 73 and lib. XXXIX in Dig. XLIX 15, 2), 128 passages of which occur in Justinian's Digest, Notae ad Iuliani Digesta, Ad legem Iuliam et Papiam libri VI,

Responsorum liber singularis, De officio consulis (libro quinto quoted by Marcian, Dig. XL 15, 1, 4) and perhaps (if not by Macer) Publicorum (iudiciorum) libri (libro II, Dig. III 2, 22), De officio praesidis (Dig. IV 4, 43: Marcellus libro I de off. praes.). See the collection in Hommel's Palingenesia I p. 363—396. On Dig. XXIX 2, 63 (libro singulari Regularum Pomponii Marcellus notat) cf. Asher, Ztschr. f. Rechtsgesch. V p. 102 sq. The Digest may be shown to have been written after Pius' death (Dig. IV 1, 7: Marcellus libro III Digestorum: Divus Antoninus Marcio Avito praetori . . rescripsit) and (see above) to have been finished a. 166 or 167. It is not known when the others were composed. Fitting, the Age of the Writ. p. 23 sq. In general see M. Tydeman, de L. Ulpii Marcelli icti vita et scriptis, Utrecht 1762 (= Oelrichs thesaur. nov. I 1). C. F. Walch, Opusc. (1785. 4.) I 2. p. 313 sqq. (de aetate Ulpii Marcelli). Zimmern, Hist. of Roman private Law I 1, p. 357—359.

357. Gaius, a native of the East of the Roman Empire (about a. 110—180), lived at Rome both as teacher and writer. He was the author of many works, the most famous being his seven books Rerum cotidianarum (called Aurei) and his four books Institutionum, an introduction into Jurisprudence such as there were frequently written afterwards, probably published a. 161. These Institutions are for the greater part extant, and their graceful, lively and natural style renders it probable that they originated from oral lectures. On account of its clear and easy diction the work became a favourite manual and served also as the foundation of Justinian's Institutions.

1. Gai. Dig. XXXIV 5, 7 pr.: nostra quidem aetate Serapias Alexandrina mulier ad divum Hadrianum perducta est. Gaius would thus appear to have been at Rome already under Adrian. Notwithstanding this, Th. Mommsen, Jahrb. d. gem. deutsch. Rechts III (1859) p. 1—13, is of opinion that G. lived and taught in Asia (perhaps Troas). This he infers from the scarcity of mention of G. in literature (see n. 2), from his designation by a mere praenomen, the attention he seems to pay to provincial law (cf. n. 3 sq.), to foreign law and the earlier sources, while he apparently neglects more recent authorities, his accurate knowledge of Greek, and from Dig. L 15, 7: Gaius . .: iuris italici sunt *Τρωάς*, *Βήρυτος*, *Ανρράχιον*. But all these arguments are not sufficient to contradict other clear traces of the composition of the Inst. at Rome; see Huschke, iurispr. antei.[2] p. 84—86 and especially H. Dernburg, the Inst. of G. p. 80—98. We should not assume that the praenomen of Gaius was chosen in imitation of the habit of the Professor's pupils, but is was preferred owing to a common usage among Jurists and Empe-

rors; see n. 2 and 4. It is not quite impossible that Gaius brought this name to Rome from his hellenistic home. He may have taught there and acquired his knowledge of provincial law etc. before coming to Rome; but during his career as teacher and writer he lived no doubt at Rome.

2. Pompon. Dig. XLV 3, 39 (non sine ratione est quod Gaius noster dixit) relates to a deceased character, perhaps C. Cassius Longinus, who is frequently called Gaius; see above 293, 3; cf. G. M. Asher, Ztschr. f. Rechtsgesch. V p. 83 sq. The Jurists of the next time never mention Gaius, which may be explained from Gaius' not having given responsa, and happens also in the case of others; see Dernburg p. 105—107. The earliest certain mention of Gaius occurs in the law of citation a. 426. After this Serv. Georg. III 306 (quod et Gaius homerico confirmat exemplo = Inst. III 141), Priscian. VI p. 282 H. (Gaius in I Institutorum = Inst. I 113). The Lex romana Visigothorum (a. 506) contains also a liber Gaii in two books, an abridged version of G. I. of saec. V, which is also alloyed with additions from other sources; see Dernburg p. 119—131. It appears from Justinian's Const. Omnem reip. (Dig. prooem.) 1 that until then in the first year of legal study ex tanta legum multitudine . . nihil aliud nisi sex tantummodo libros et ipsos confusos . . studiosi accipiebant; . . in his autem sex libris Gai nostri Institutiones et libri singulares quattuor (so that they appear to have formed only two books = liber Gai) . . connumerabantur. The expression 'Gaius noster' employed here and Inst. prooem. 6. IV 18, 5 proves anything else but that G. and Justinian were compatriots.

3. Gaius Inst. I 188: nos diligentius hunc tractatum executi sumus et in Edicti interpretatione et in his libris quos Ex Q. Mucio fecimus. III 33: de quibus (i. e. bonorum possessiones) in his commentariis consulto non agimus quia alias hoc ius totum propriis commentariis explicavimus. 54: alioquin diligentior interpretatio (of the iura patronorum et libertorum) propriis commentariis exposita est. Hence it appears that G. had written Ex Mucio and a commentary on the Edict previously to his Inst. But it is not settled whether the latter means merely the one ad edictum praetoris urbani or includes also the libri XXX (with the aedil. cur. XXXII) ad edictum provinciale (of any certain province? cf. Mommsen, Ztsch. f. Rechtsgesch. IX p. 95—97 A). Yet the latter is probable, as in the fragments of the work (cf. Hommel, Paling. I p. 66—100) nothing leads us beyond Antoninus Pius, Divus Hadrianus, Imp. Antoninus, princeps Antoninus being mentioned in them, but never divus Antoninus or divus Pius or even Verus. Fitting, Age of the writ. p. 19 sq. The commentary ad ed. praet. urb. (or edictum urbicum) was likewise an extensive work; cf. Dig. XXX 73 and L 17, 56: Gaius libro III de legatis ad ed. praet. (or urbicum). L 17, 55: Gaius libro II de testamentis ad ed. urbicum. Besides these works two books ad edictum aedilium curulium (Dig. XXI 1, 32. 2. 57).

4. The title of the Institutions (or Instituta, see n. 2) is not preserved. According to the notion of such a work, they contain totius

doctrinae substantiam (Lactant. inst. div. V 4, 3). Design 1, 8: omne ius quo utimur vel ad personas pertinet (b. I) vel ad res (b. II law of matters aud hereditary law by will; b. III Intestate inheritance and obligations) vel ad actiones (b. IV). The division into four commentarii is due to Gaius himself, see e. g. II 23 (superiore commentario tradidimus = I 119). III 38 (sup. comm. trad. = II 119. 148 sq.). The designation of commentarii (*ὑπομνήματα* as differing from *συγγράμματα*) is meant to disclaim any formal polish and pretension of style, and is e. g. used of notes taken from lectures; see Dernburg p. 55—62. The Inst. of G., in spite of accurate definitions and precise limitation of legal maxims (Dernburg p. 52—54), exhibit a certain ease of diction in repetitions, variations and transitions (Dernburg ib. 40—50). There are also a number of anacoluthias (ibid. p. 50 sq.). His loose observation of the rules of consecutio temporum G. shares with Suetonius (above 342, 6). On the whole G.'s diction is pure and especially free from archaisms in the style of Fronto. Chiefly the fourth book offers much new information concerning actions; the first book on public law. See E. Schrader, on the gains of Roman jurisprudence through G.'s Institutions, Heidelberg 1823 (= Heidelb. Jahrb. 1823, nr. 60—64). One of the peculiar features of G. is his way of explaining the Roman law by illustrations taken from foreign law. He generally quotes only earlier Jurists; of his contemporaries only Julianus (II 218, 280) and (II 218) Sextus Pomponius; Dernburg p. 102 sq. n. 6. The work was written at Rome, cf. IV 109 and Dernburg p. 85—93. The first book was composed at the end of the reign of Pius, who is there styled optimus, imp. Antoninus (I 102) and imp. Antoninus (I 53. 76), but II 195 divus pius Antoninus (whence II 120. 126. 151 imp. Ant. probably means Marcus); see Dernburg p. 67—74, cf. 74—80. Mommsen, Ztsch. f. Rechtsgesch. IX p. 107 sq. n. 37.

5. We possess the Inst. of G. only in the palimpsest of the Chapter of Verona saec. V (the upper writing being works of Jerome, and only one leaf not being written over), but in a corrupt and defect state. Niebuhr first discovered the work 1816, whereupon Göschen together with Hollweg deciphered the text and published the first edition, Berol. 1820. It was revised by Bluhme, Berol. 1824: ed. III (rec. Lachmann) Berol. 1842. A comparative collation of the Inst. of Gaius and of Justinian by Klenze and Böcking, Berl. 1829. 4. Comp. the Collatio of W. van Swinderen (Annal. acad. Groning 1821) and F. Potter v. Loon (Groning. 1823). Editions of Gaius by E. Böcking (Bonn 1841. ed. V. Lips. 1865). Codicis Veronensis apographum .. scripsit .. et publicavit E. Böcking, Lips. 1866. Also in R. Gneist's Institutionum syntagma (Lips. 1858) and Ph. E. Huschke's iurisprudentia anteiustiniana (ed. II Lips. 1867 p. 101—324). A new collation and edition are promised by W. Studemund.

Critical and exegetical contributions by E. Gans (Scholia on G., Berlin 1821), H. R. Brinkmann (notae subit., Schleswig 1821), C. A. D. Unterholzner (Coniect. de supplendis lacunis, Berl. 1823), H. E. Dirksen (At-

tempts p. 104 sqq.), Puchta (Verisimilia, Lips. 1837. 4.), Assen (Adnotatt., Lugd. B. 1838), Ph. E. Huschke (especially: Gaius, Critical and exegetical contributions to Gaius' Institutions, Leipzig 1855. 244 pp. and Critical observations on Gaius, Ztschr. f. Rechtsgesch. VII 1868. p. 161—192), M. S. Mayer (ad IV 48; Tubing. 1853), K. M. Pöschmann (Studies in G. I. Leipzig 1854. II 1860. III 1862), F. P. Bremer (on IV 44; Rhein. Mus. XV p. 484—488), A. F. Rudorff (on lexical excerpts from the Inst. of G., Berlin 1866, Trans. of the Academy) A. v. d. Höven (tentamina crit., Ztschr. f. Rechtsgesch. VII p. 257—259), W. Studemund (on the antiquarian gains from the new collation of G., Trans. of the Würzburg philological Congress, Leipzig 1869, p. 121—131).

C. F. Elvers, promptuarium Gaianum, Gotting. 1824.

6. After the death of Pius (as appears from the expression divus Antoninus) G. wrote Fideicommissorum libri II (Dig. XXXII 96. XXXV 1, 90. XXXVI 1, 63, 5), and (at least the last of the) XV libri ad legem Iuliam et Papiam (Dig. XXXI 56) and the liber singularis ad SCtum Tertullianum (Dig. XXXVIII 17, 8) under Marcus and Orphitianum, a. 178 (Dig. XXXVIII 17, 9). After Julian's Digest he wrote De verborum obligationibus libri III and Ad legem XII tabularum libri VI, probably also the liber singularis de formula hypothecaria (Dig. XX 1, 15 pr.), and Rerum cotidianarum (s. Aureorum) libri VII, a discussion of the legal maxims applicable to daily life, in the order of the Institutions, a work also used by Justinian; see prooem. 6: quas ex omnibus antiquorum Institutionibus et praecipue ex commentariis Gai nostri tam Institutionum quam Rerum cotidianarum . . compositas etc. Cf. Dig. XLIV 7, 5 (from Gaius libro III Aureorum), 5 (Iuliano placuit). We do not know when G. wrote his works Ad legem Gliciam, liber (singularis and libri III) Regularum, libri III de manumissionibus, the libri singulares dotalicion, de tacitis fideicommissis and de casibus. See the collections of Hommel, Palingenesia p. 55—126.

7. That Gaius had not obtained the ius respondendi appears both from his silence Inst. I 7 and the omission of his name by the Jurists of the succeeding time, and from his not composing either Quaestiones or Responsa. In his literary works G. endeavoured to go beyond the pale of technical scholars and gained popularity without losing his accuracy and logical strictness.

8. On Gaius see Zimmern, Hist. of Roman private Law I 1 p. 341—360. Rudorff, Hist. of Roman Law I p. 173—176. Huschke, iurisprud. antei. [2] p. 82—100. H. Dernburg, the Institutions of Gaius, considered as Notes taken from Lectures A. D. 161, Halle 1869. 132 pp.

358. The poetical productions of the time of M. Antonine are very insignificant, unless the Pervigilium Veneris should belong to this period, a strophic poem in harmonious trochaic septenarii, on the celebration of spring and in praise

of Venus, the all-penetrating mother of the universe. It is also probable that the jocular epic called Vespa was composed in this time.

1. Iustinus Faustinus, M. . . , the author of an acrostichic poem on Antoninus Pius in the Anthol. lat. of Meyer I p. 252, Nr. 812.

2. Gellius XIX 8, 3: quispiam familiaris eius (i. e. Fronto), bene eruditus homo et tum poeta inlustris.

3. On the metrical compositions of Sulpicius Apollinaris see above 353, 2.

4. On Mesomedes see 349, 5.

5. The Pervigilium Veneris is extant in the codex Salmasianus saec. VII (A) and in the Pithoeanus or Thuaneus = Par. 8071, saec. IX or X (B), in the first of which the title is: peruirgilium Veneris trocaico metro. sunt uero versus (i. e. poems in that part of the collection, A. Riese, Anthol. lat. I p. XXI—XXIV) XXII. It consists of 93 lines, divided by the burden 'cras amet qui numquam amavit, quique amavit, cras amet' into stanzas of unequal extent (of at least four lines). The religious views in this composition bear a universal character and seem to have been influenced by philosophy. Venus is conceived as Genetrix, whose worship had been revived by Adrian, and her festival as one of spring and flowers. Sicily is the scene (v. 49 sqq.). The diction is rhetorical and often almost sentimental. The author exhibits Greek culture, but once alludes to Virgil, Aen. XI 458. The poem closes in a melancholy strain: illa (the nightingale) cantat, nos tacemus. quando ver venit meum? quando fiam uti chelidon et tacere desinam? which according to the spirit of the poem should be understood as new revival by love. The frequent and careless use of de (v. 4, 6, 12, 24, 34, 38, 45 sq., 61, 88 Bü.) should not be considered a trace of African Latin. Reposianus (v. 30) uses it in a similar manner.

6. It is of course impossible to discover the author of the Perv. Ven. The poem bears much resemblance to some lines of Annius Florus (above 336, 7) who employed the same metre, which would seem to have come into fashion in that time, and the burden reminds us of the manner of Nemesianus. Itaque, in temeritatis crimen ne incurramus, acquiescendum in hoc erit ut medio inter Florum et Nemesianum tempore, h. e. secundo vel tertio p. Ch. n. saeculo, conditum Pervigilium esse statuamus (Bücheler p. 51). The prevailing cheerful tone and the good taste of the poem might render us willing to place it nearer the time of the Antonines, if arguments of this kind were not so often fallacious. L. Müller assigns it to the third or fourth century, which is also supported by its similarity of spirit with Reposianus and others (below 393). To a similiar time and taste we owe the line (perhaps burden) mentioned by some writers on metre: tolle thyrsos, aera pulsa, iam Lyaeus advenit.

7. Editions of the Perv. V. by J. Lipsius (Elect. I 5. 1580), P. Pithoeus (Errones Veneriī 1587), J. Dousa (Coniect. 1580. 1592), P. Scriverius (Baudii amores, Hag. 1638), J. Clericus (? cum comm. varr., Hag. 1712), Sanadon (Paris. 1728), Wernsdorf (poetae lat. min. III p. 463—482, with prooem. p. 425—462), L. C. F. Schulze (comm. ill., Gotting. 1812. 4.), J. C. Orelli (in his ed. of Phaedrus p. 220—227 and 230—239, with praef. p. 215—219, and annot. p. 228 sq. 234—239), in the treatises of Heidtmann, Göbel, O. Müller (see n. 8) and elsewhere; pristino nitori restitutum (by F. Lindemann), Lips. 1852: adnotabat et emendabat Fr. Bücheler, Lips. Teubner 1859. 63 pp. 16. In Al. Riese's Anthol. lat. I p. 144—148.

8. Treatises De Pervigilio Veneris by H. Paldamus (Greifswald 1830. 4.), G. H. Heidtmann (Greifsw. 1842), Th. Bergk (commentatio de etc. Halle 1859), Ol. Jacobi (Lund 1867. 4.), O. Müller, de Annio Floro (Berlin 1855) p. 18 sqq. F. C. Göbel, de ephymniorum rationibus (Gotting. 1858) p. 56—61.

9. Critical contributions by J. Frei (Rhein. Mus. X p. 195—213), F. Bücheler (ibid. XV p. 446—451), L. Müller (Fleckeisen's Jahrbb. 83, p. 639—651), J. Mähly (Philologus XXIII p. 356—361), K. Schenkl (Journal of Austrian Gymn. XVIII 1867. p. 233—243), Bährens (Fleckeisen's Jahrb. 105 p. 55 sq.).

10. Under the title of Vespae indicium coci et pistoris iudice Vulcano we possess an epic of 99 hexameters in the codex Salmasianus immediately preceding the Perv. Ven., also in the Parisinus 8071 (Thuaneus) saec. IX—X: the last time edited by A. Riese, Anthol. lat. 199 (I p. 140—143). It contains a contest between a cook and a baker, each of whom praises his art and depreciates that of the other. The umpire, Vulcan, gives sentence that both are of value and may, therefore, give over quarrelling. It is a comic epic, but follows the form of an idyl in representing a contest, a feature likewise connecting it with the rhetorical ἔπαινοι and ψόγοι. See above 269, 1. 301, 7. The crustula on 1 Jan. (v. 46, cf. 16) seems to indicate Rome as the scene of the poem. The metre is elegant; the tone and general execution of the poem are not displeasing. The second century appears to be indicated in what the author says of himself: ille ego Vespa precor cui divae saepe dedistis per multas urbes populo spectante favorem (v. 3 sq.). He appears like a travelling scholar or rhetorician, who exhibited his art in various towns of the Roman Empire, like Apuleius and many others in this period of the revival of the Sophists. We may know the rhetorician by the subject of the poem and the scholastic character of his jokes; cf. v. 44 sq. Satyros — saturos, Panes — panes; 82 gallos — Gallos, and also the play on the double meaning of ius v. 29. 60. 6? His erudition appears in the spondaic measure of quasi (v. 82 sq.). The author appears also well-versed in Greek literature, especially mythology, and professes his polytheistic beliefs with an enjoyment evidently not troubled by Christian scruples. V. 6 he recom-

mends his poem by saying aliquid quoque iuris habebit, which seems to suggest a time when Jurisprudence enjoyed much favour. See W. Teuffel, Studies and Char. p. 45 sq.

b. The time of M. Aurelius, A. D. 161 — 180.

359. In spite of his own excellence, the reign of M. Aurelius was a time of terror for the Roman Empire, owing to the incessant wars in the East and North, and a fearful plague and famine. Under the pressure of these calamities mental life could not develop much, though the Emperor allowed it the most complete liberty, being himself accessible to all good and noble aims, severe and strict only towards himself, but even too lenient towards others, especially in comparison with the difficulty of his task. The literature of this reign was still under the influence of Fronto, though Apuleius manifested far more originality than Gellius. Philosophy was much patronized, but Stoicism shrank down to more general wisdom, and the so-called Platonism was alloyed with mysticism and declamation. Grammar was in Greek literature brilliantly represented by Apollonius Dyscolus, medical science by Galenus. The Sophist Aristides of Bithynia belongs also to this time.

1. M. Annius Verus, born 26 April 121, adopted according to Adrian's wish along with L. Verus by Antoninus Pius; after whose accession to the throne he was styled M. (Aelius) Aurelius Caesar. As Emperor (since 1 March 161) M. Aurelius Antoninus Aug. (Fronto calls him Caesar, then Antonine or M. Aureli). His colleague L. Aurelius Verus Aug. was after his consecration († Jan. 169) called divus Verus, in legal works also divus Lucius. M. Aurelius himself is after his death (17 March 180) called divus M. Antoninus Pius, by the Jurists divus Marcus, and in the time of the joint reign they speak of divi fratres.

2. He was taught by Fronto, see above 351, 5. G. Boissier, la jeunesse de Marc-Aurèle et les lettres de Fronton, Revue des deux mondes 1 April 1868, p. 671—698. With his usual zeal the prince excerpted the writers recommended to him by Fronto, collected Synonyms, sentences, similes and other rhetorical figures, and even made hexameters (Fronto p. 24. 34 N.), but perceiving the emptiness of these pursuits he was gained over by Junius Rusticus (above 354, 2 sq.) to (Stoic) philosophy, to the great vexation of Fronto; see above 351, 5. His turning point is about a. 146; cf. ad Front. IV 13 (p. 75 N.): Aristonis libri me hac tempestate . . habent male; . . nimis quam saepe erubescit discipulus tuus sibique suscenset quod viginti quinque annos natus nihildum bonarum opinionum et puriorum rationum animo haugerim.

3. We possess by Marcus Aurelius (besides his letters to Fronto and other letters, e. g. ap. Capitol. Clod. Alb. 10, 6 sqq.) his twelve books *εἰς αὑτόν* in Greek, written a. 169—176, aphorisms and reflexions, good purposes manifesting very noble intentions. That he lacked *ῥιμύτης*, he himself admits as a fault; cf. Avidius Cassius ap. Vulcat. Gall. (Av. Cass. 14, 3. 5): Marcus homo sane optimus, qui dum clemens dici cupit eos patitur vivere quorum ipse non probat vitam. . . M. Antoninus philosophatur et quaerit de elementis et de animis et de honesto et iusto, nec sentit pro republica. Capitol. Ant. phil. 8, 3: dabat se Marcus totum philosophiae, amorem civium adfectans.

4. Digest. XXVII 1, 6, 8: *ὁ θειότατος πατήρ μου* (probably M. Aurelius, not Pius, whose order was more limited, see above 350, 2) *παρελθὼν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν διατάγματι τὰς ὑπαρχούσας τιμὰς καὶ ἀτελείας ἐβεβαίωσεν, γράψας φιλοσόφους, ῥήτορας, γραμματικούς, ἰατροὺς ἀτελεῖς εἶναι γυμνασιαρχιῶν* etc. *καὶ μήτε κρίνειν μήτε πρεσβεύειν μήτε εἰς στρατείαν καταλέγεσθαι ἄκοντας* etc. Capitol. M. philos. 23, 9: fama fuit quod sub philosophorum specie quidam remp. vexarent et privatos.

5. See on M. Aurelius' life and reign the article by G. R. Sievers in Pauly's Encycl. I 1 p. 1197—1203. See also E. Zeller's Lectures and Essays (Leipzig 1865) p. 82—107.

6. On the correspondence of Fronto and A. Verus (n. 1) see above 351, 7. The eloquentia of Verus is praised by Fronto p. 120 sq. Verus orders Fronto to write a panegyric account of his deeds ib. p. 131 sq. Verus' gratiarum actio ib. V 38 sq. (p. 87); his orationes ad senatum et allocutiones ad exercitum ib. p. 131 sq. An official military report in the shape of a letter (a. 163 sq.) ib. p. 126 sq.

7. Capitol. Ant. phil. 8, 1: adepti imperium ita civiliter se ambo egerunt ut . . eos Marullus, sui temporis mimographos, cavillando impune perstringeret. Cf. ib. 29, 2 (de quo mimus in scena praesente Antonino dixit etc.). Serv. Aen. VII 499 (Marullus mimographus). See above 8, 6 Add.

8. Gellius XIX 11, 3 sq.: hoc distichon amicus meus, *οὐκ ἄμουσος* adulescens in plures versiculos . . vertit; after which he places 15 iambic dimeters. An iambic inscription of the exodiarius Ursus ap. Orelli 2591 = Bücheler Greifsw. Ind. lect. 1879 p. 18. Ephemeris epigr. I (Rome and Berlin 1872) p. 55—57.

9. On Apollonios *ὁ δύσκολος* of Alexandria see Westermann, in Pauly's Encycl. I 2 p. 1319—1321. His son was the no less celebrated grammarian Herodianus, whose reliquiae collegit, disposuit, emendavit, explicuit, praefatus est Aug. Lentz, 2 vols, Lips. 1867 sqq. Phrynichus Atticista lived also in the reigns of M. Aurelius and Commodus.

10. On P. Aelius Aristides (a. 117—189?) from Bithynia cf. Pauly's Enc. I 1, p. 340—342.

11. On Galenus (a. 131—201?) see L. Choulant, Manual of the Bibliography of earlier medical art p. 98—120.

12. To the divi fratres (*ἱερώτατοι βασιλεῖς Ἀντωνῖνος καὶ Οὐῆρος*) the rhetorician Polyaenos, a *Μακεδὼν ἀνήρ*, dedicated his eight books of *Στρατηγικά*, mostly from Greek sources, some of them now lost. Recensuit, auctiores edidit, indicibus instruxit E. Wölfflin, Lips. Teubner 1860.

360. Of the other pupils of Fronto the most important seems to have been his son-in-law C. Aufidius Victorinus, Cons. II a. 183; after him we may mention Servilius Silanus and Postumius Festus. On the whole it would seem that those who lived at Rome as rhetoricians, were influenced by him, though not all imitated his manner. Thus e. g. Julius Titianus who wrote on a number of different subjects (Epistolography, fables, rhetoric, geography etc.).

1. Fronto p. 95 sq. N.: ut parentes cum in voltu liberum oris sui liniamenta dinoscunt, ita ego cum in orationibus vestris vestigia nostrae sectae animadverto, *γέγηθε δὲ φρένα Λητώ*. meis enim verbis exprimere vim gaudii mei nequeo. p. 200: suadeo vobis (i. e. the Cirtenses) patronos creare . . eos qui nunc fori principem locum occupant, Aufidium Victorinum (n. 2), quem . . mihi generum cum illis moribus tantaque eloquentia elegi. Servilium quoque Silanum (Cos. 189, cf. Lamprid. Commod. 7, 5) optimum et facundissimum virum iure municipis patronum habebitis, cum sit vicina et amica civitate Hippone regio. Postumium Festum (Gell. XIX 13, 1) et morum et eloquentiae nomine recte patronum vobis feceritis, et ipsum nostrae provinciae et civitatis non longinquae. Capitol. Ant. phil. 3, 8: frequentavit et declamatorum scholas publicas amavitque e condiscipulis praecipuos senatorii ordinis Seium Fuscianum et Aufidium Victorinum, ex equestri Baebium Longum et Calenum.

2. C. Aufidius (Fronto p. 75) Victorinus (cf. n. 1) was praef. urbi and bis consul (Orelli 1176) and held a command in Germany. Fronto p. 232: Victorinum, pietate, mansuetudine, veritate, innocentia maxima, omnium denique optimarum artium praecipuum virum. Cf. p. 179. A. 186 he committed succide, *καίπερ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Μάρκου ἐν τοῖς πάνυ τιμηθεὶς καὶ τῇ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀρετῇ καὶ τῇ τῶν λόγων παρασκευῇ οὐδενὸς τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν δεύτερος γενόμενος*, Dio LXXII 11. His son (by Fronto's daughter Gratia) Victorinus Fronto (above 351, 2) is no doubt the same (Aufidius) Fronto consul (a. 199) who erected to his son M. Aufidius Fronto the monument with the inscr. Orelli 1176 (of Pisaurum); and also C. Aufidius Victorinus, Cons. 200, is probably a younger son of his. Cf. W. Teuffel in Pauly's Encycl. I 2 p. 2130 sq. nr. 20 and 33.

3. Fronto p. 191 Volumnio Quadrato: legam, fili, libenter orationem istam quam misisti mihi et si quid videbitur corrigendum corrigam. Cf. ib. p. 190.

4. Fronto p. 191: Fabianum, spectatum in iudiciis civilibus, frequentem in foro, meum familiarem. Cf. Spart. Sever. 13, 3: occidit . . Masticium Fabianum.

5. On the appearance of the son of Squilla Gallicanus as orator see Fronto p. 188 sq. (orator noster).

6. Fronto p. 179 N.: Antoninus Aquila vir doctus est et facundus. Fronto recommends him (ib.) to Victorinus for a vacant professorship of rhetoric in his province.

7. Fronto p. 173: commendando Corneliano Sulpicio familiarissimo meo . . industrius vir est, strenuus, ingenio libero ac liberali, . . litterarum studio et bonarum artium elegantia mihi acceptissimus.

8. Fronto p. 175: Montanum Licinium sic diligo etc. bonarum artium sectator est meus Montanus, tum doctrina et facundia est eleganti.

9. Fronto p. 176: Iulium Aquilinum, virum . . doctissimum, facundissimum, philosophiae disciplinis ad optimas artes, eloquentiae studiis ad egregiam facundiam eximie eruditum. . . si eum audire disputantem de platonicis disciplinis dignatus fueris. (p. 177:) maximi concursus ad audiendum eum Romae saepe facti sunt.

10. Sidon. Apoll. Ep. I 1: quem (Cic.) nec Iulius Titianus sub nominibus illustrium feminarum (ficticious letters) digna similitudine expressit. propter quod illum ceteri quique Frontonianorum. utpote consectaneum aemulati cur veternosum dicendi genus imitaretur (the Ciceronian, instead of the fashionable style of Fronto), oratorum simiam nuncupaverunt. He is probably identical with Titianus senior qui provinciarum libros pulcherrimos scripsit et qui dictus est simia temporis sui, quod cuncta esset imitatus (Capitolin. Maximin. 27, 5). Those libri are probably the chorographia mentioned by Serv. Ae. IV 42 (Barcaei . . secundum Titianum in chorographia Phoenicem . . superavere), cf. ib. XI 651 and Isid. origg. IX 2, 64 on the Amazons (unimammas). Also the fragment on Etna ap. Gregor. Turon. de cursu stell. 30 (ed. Haase 1853, p. 14: meminit et huius montis et ille Iulius Titianus his verbis etc.), cf. A. Mai, coll. Vat. III p. 129, seems to have belonged to it. We should, therefore, probably relate to him Cassiod. divin. lect. 25: cosmographiae quoque notitiam vobis percurrendam esse . . suademus; . . quod vobis proveniet absolute si libellum Iulii oratoris . . studiose legere festinetis. Cf. Auson. epist. 16, 81 (above 23, 2), according to which aesopiam trimetriam vertit (in prose) fandi Titianus artifex. He seems to be also identical with Titianus who wrote on rhetoric (Isid. orig. II 2, 1), cf. Serv. Ae. X 18: Titianus et Calvus, qui themata omnia de Vergilio elicuerunt et adformarunt ad dicendi usum,

and not his son (below 375, 8). If so, it becomes credible that we should understand of him Diomed. I p. 368, 26 K.: Titianus (libri: tyrannus) de agri cultura primo. Cf. Macrob. III 19, 6. Fr. Haase, Greg. Tur. etc. Breslau 1853. 4. p. 37 sq.

11. To about this time we should assign Romanius Iovinus, rhetor eloquii latini, to whom his grateful heirs put the following epitaph: Conditus hac Romanius est tellure Iovinus, docta loqui doctus quique loqui docuit. Manibus infernis si vita est gloria vitae, vivit et hic nobis ut Cato vel Cicero. Orelli-Henzen 5606 from Rome.

12. Capitol. Helv. Pert. 1, 4 sq.: puer litteris elementariis et calculo imbutus datus etiam graeco grammatico atque inde Sulpicio Apollinari (above 353, 2) post quem idem Pertinax grammaticen professus est. sed cum in ea minus quaestus proficeret, per Lollianum Avitum, consularem virum (Cons. 144), . . ducendi ordinis dignitatem petit. 2, 1: bello parthico (a. 163 sqq.) promeritus etc. Pertinax was born 1 Aug. 126, Cons. 179 and 192; reigned as Emperor for three months and was assassinated a. 193 = 946 V. C.

361. The twenty books of Noctes atticae by A. Gellius (about a. 125—175) are of much importance for many departments of literature and for an accurate knowledge of this time. Though Gellius was a man of limited capacities, who either admired or hated for insignificant motives, he still collected with much care and honest industry all notices he could find both in books and in conversations concerning archaic literature and language, law and philosophy and natural science. The arrangement of his work is merely casual, his diction sober, but full of archaisms. Of the eighth book only the tables of contents have come down to us.

1. On his life and education. Gellius XVIII 4, 1: cum iam adulescentuli Romae praetextam et puerilem togam mutassemus magistrosque tunc nobis nosmet ipsi exploratiores quaereremus, . . Apollinaris Sulpicius (above 353, 2) etc. VII 6, 12: adulescens ego Romae, cum etiamtum ad grammaticos itarem, audivi Apollinarem Sulpicium, quem in primis sectabar. XX 6, 1: percontabar A. S. cum eum Romae adulescens sectarer. ib. 15: haec memini mihi Apollinarem dicere eaque tunc ipsa ita ut dicta fuerant notavi. In his later years also G. preferred in doubtful cases to apply to S. A.; cf. XI 15, 8. XII 13, 1 (cum Romae a consulibus iudex extra ordinem datus pronuntiare . . iussus essem, Sulpicium Ap. . . percontatus sum). XIII 20, 1 (ego et Ap. S. et quidam alii mihi aut illi familiares). Rhetoric Gellius had been taught by Antonius Iulianus (above 346, 1), and T. Castricius (above 346, 2), Fronto also having influence upon him (XIX 8, 1). But above others Favorinus (above 346, 5) engaged his attention, cf. especially XVI 3, 1: cum

Favorino Romae dies plerumque totos eramus tenebatque animos nostros homo ille fandi dulcissimus atque eum quoquo iret . . sequebamur. M. Hertz, Rom. Gell. mant. altera (Breslau 1869. 4.) p. 5—9.

2. Gell. praef. 12: volvendis . . multis admodum voluminibus per omnia semper negotiorum intervalla in quibus furari otium potui exercitus defessusque sum. XI 3, 1: quando ab arbitriis negotiisque otium est et motandi corporis gratia aut spatiamur aut vectamur. XVI 10, 1: otium erat quodam die Romae in foro a negotiis etc. XIV 2, 1: quo primum tempore a praetoribus lectus in iudices sum (for iudicia privata) libros . . de officio iudicis scriptos conquisivi, ut homo adulescens (at the age of twenty-five years, see Dig. XLII 1, 57. L 4, 8), a poetarum fabulis et a rhetorum epilogis ad iudicandas lites vocatus rem iudiciariam . . cognoscerem. XII 13, 1: cum Romae a consulibus iudex extra ordinem datus . . essem. J. Steup, de Prob. p. VII, cf. p. 77 (vix ante a. p. Chr. 120 videtur natus esse). L. Friedländer places the birth of Gellius not before a. 130.

3. As iuvenis (II 21, 1. 4. cf. VII 10, 1. XII 5, 4. XV 2, 3) i. e. at the age of 30 years and after his judicial duty, he continued his studies at Athens. Gell. I 2, 1: Herodes Atticus . . accersebat saepe nos, cum apud magistros Athenis essemus, . . me et cl. v. Servilianum compluresque alios nostrates qui Roma in Graeciam ad capiendum ingenii cultum concesserant. Cf. XVIII 2, 1 sqq. 13, 1 sqq. He chiefly joined Taurus (above 348, 2), see XII 5, 1 sq., but had also much intercourse with Peregrinus Proteus († a. 165); see XII 11, 1 cf. VIII 3. He staid at Athens for at least a year (XVIII 2, 1: Saturnalia Athenis agitabamus, and 13, 1: Saturnalibus Athenis . . lusitabamus). Perhaps in the time of his return to Rome XIII 13, 1: cum ex angulis secretisque librorum ac magistrorum in medium iam hominum et in lucem fori prodissem (XIII 13, 1) etc.; cf. n. 2 and I 22, 6: memini ego praetoris . . tribunali me forte adsistere.

4. On the work of Gellius. Praef. 1: hoc ut liberis quoque meis partae istiusmodi remissiones essent. (2.) usi autem sumus ordine rerum fortuito quem antea in excerpendo feceramus. nam proinde ut librum quemque in manus ceperam . . vel quid memoratu dignum audieram . . promisce adnotabam. . . (3.) facta igitur est in his quoque commentariis eadem rerum disparilitas quae fuit in illis adnotationibus pristinis. . . (4.) sed quoniam longinquis per hiemem noctibus in agro . . terrae atticae commentationes hasce ludere ac facere exorsi sumus, idcirco eas inscripsimus Noctium esse atticarum. (13.) erunt autem in his commentariis pauca quaedam scrupulosa et anxia vel ex grammatica vel ex dialectica vel etiam ex geometria, . . item paucula remotiora ex augurio iure et pontificio. (22.) volumina commentariorum ad hunc diem viginti iam facta sunt. (23.) quantum autem vitae mihi deinceps deum voluntate erit quantumque a tuenda re familiari procurandoque cultu liberorum meorum dabitur otium, ea omnia . . tempora ad colligendas huiuscemodi memoriarum delectatiunculas conferam.

It seems, however, that this plan was not carried out, perhaps because G. died a short time after the completion of his twenty books. The beginning of the preface as well as the close of b. XX are not extant; and of b. VIII we possess only the headings of the single chapters.

5. Radulphus de Diceto (above 253, 3 extr.): Agellius scribit anno CLXIX (F. Rühl, on the circul. of Just. p. 33, cf. 35). This is supported by the fact that Gellius mentions Herodes Atticus (Cos. 143), Fronto (Cons. 143), and Erucius Clarus (Cons. 146) as men of consular dignity. That Gellius never refers to any works of Fronto's, e. g. not even to his Arion XVI 19, may be explained from his habit of never mentioning the works of living writers whom he admired, e. g. not even those of Herodes Atticus and Favorinus, but rather of introducing them speaking in propriâ personâ. M. Hertz, mant. alt. p. 7. Very little appears from XX 1, 6: trecentesimo f. R. c. tabulae (XII) scriptae sunt, a quo tempore ad hunc diem anni esse non longe minus DCC (DC? Vogel) videntur. Th. Vogel I p. 7—9.

In the same way the expression nuper which Gellius uses repeatedly does not teach us much, uncertain as it is. There is no doubt that he uses nuper of his sojourn in Italy XI 16, 2. XIII 13, 1. XV 4, 1. II 24, 2; but XVIII 2, 7 it is used of the Saturnalia at Athens. Comp. also III 3, 7: nuperrime, cum legeremus Fretum . . Plauti. It seems, therefore, that the collection of his materials took up some time. Cf. Th. Vogel I p. 7—9. L. Friedländer, de A. G. vitae temporibus, Königsberg 1869. 7 pp. 4.; Roman manners and morals III p. 414—420.

6. Gellius has a servile nature; he positively cannot help admiring, applauding and following in the rear of great persons, should they even be of the most contrary character, as e. g. he praises Fronto and Cicero at one and the same time (cf. XVII 1, 1 sqq.). His attachment to his chosen patrons is really touching, except when it breaks forth in depreciation of those who belong to a different School. In his well-meaning and somewhat stupid mediocrity he is a faithful mirror of his time, its important-looking activity without serious aims, its pursuits of non-entities, its complete want of individual talent, an utter absence of the power of production, judgment and discrimination, of its erudition and pedantry. He often succeeds in giving very lively and amusing sketches of the pursuits of these days, though sometimes against his intention. His collection of excerpts from lost works of archaic literature is of the greater importance to us because the author is very trustworthy wherever he has used his own eyes. He is of course also infected with the endeavour of his time to appear more learned than he actually is, and some things he may have taken at second hand, though he maintains to have derived them from the sources themselves. See Mercklin p. 641 sqq. Kretzschmer p. 13 sqq.

7. Vir elegantissimi eloquii et multae ac facundae scientiae G. is called by Augustin, de civ. dei IX 4. Nonius Marcellus and most of

all Macrobius copy him without mentioning him. See on Gellius M. Hertz, Renaissance p. 35—38. Th. Vogel, de A. Gellii vita, studiis, scriptis narratio et iudicium, Zittau 1860. 4. p. 1—25; de A. Gellii copia verborum, Zwickau 1862. 4. p. 1—32. J. Kretzschmer, de A. G. fontibus. I. de auctoribus Gellii grammaticis, Greifswald 1860. 108 pp. L. Mercklin, on A. G.'s method of citation and his employment of his sources, Jahrb. f. class. Philol. Suppl. III (1860) p. 635—710; A. Gellii capita quaedam ad fontes revocata, Dorpat 1861. 4. M. Hertz, A. G. and Nonius Marcellus, in Fleckeisen's Jahrbb. 85, p. 706—726. 779—799.

8. All the earlier known manuscripts of Gellius contain either only the first seven or the last twelve books. The text of the first seven books rests especially on a Palatine palimpsest of the Vatican Library, on Vat. 3452 and Par. 5765 saec. XIII, also on a Rottendorf ms. saec. XII at Leyden; book IX—XX on Paris. 8664 saec. XIII, and Voss. 7 (Vossianus maior of Gronov) at Leyden and a Berne fragment saec. XII. Quite isolated is the lost Buslidianus which embraced both halves. Cf. M. Hertz, Reports on the Trans. of the Berl. Acad. 1847, p. 403 sq. 408—417. J. Fr. Gronovius had already discovered what mss. were of authority, and M. Hertz has merely followed out his theories.

9. Editio princeps Rom. 1469 fol. 1472 fol. Ascensiana 1511. 4. Aldina 1515. Ed. L. Carrio, Paris 1585. Chief edition by J. Fr. and Jac. Gronovius. Lugd. B. 1706. 4. (Lips. 1762, by J. L. Conradi, 2 vols.). Ed. A. Lion, Gotting. 1824. Ex recensione M. Hertz, Lips. (Teubner) 1853. 2 vols.

10. Gellii quae ad ius pertinent by J. v. Glöden (Rostock 1843), H. E. Dirksen (On the Excerpts in Gellius from the works of the early Roman Jurists, Posthumous Writings I p. 21—63), M. Hertz (capp. IV, Breslau 1868. 4.). A. Fleckeisen, on the criticism of the fragments of the early Roman poets quoted by Gellius, Leipzig 1854.

Other exegetical and critical contributions by Ch. Falster (Adnotatt. in Gellii libr. VIII, Hafniae 1721), A. Cramer (ad G. excursus I—IV, Kiel 1827—1832. 4.), R. Klotz (quaestiones Gellianae, Lips. 1857. 4.). M. Hertz (Vindiciae G., Greifswald 1858. 4.; Ramentorum Gell. mantissae I. II. Breslau 1868 sq. 4.), Th. Mommsen (ad Gell. IV 1. 4. in the Symbolae Bethmanno Hollw. oblatae, Berlin 1868) and others.

362. The Platonic philosopher and rhetorician L. Apuleius of Madaura lived and wrote under Antoninus Pius and M. Aurelius. Educated at Carthage and Athens and by his travels, Apuleius was during some time a solicitor at Rome, and then lived in Africa as a travelling rhetorician and professor of eloquence. He is a genuine son of his time and country, manysided in knowledge and literary activity, but utterly uncritical, phantastic and credulous in miracles, vain

and conceited, void of taste in his diction which is an injudicious accumulation of the peculiarities of all periods and kinds of style. But on the other hand, his vivacity, originality and facility of production ensure to him a prominent place among the writers of the second century.

1. His praenomen (in the cod. Victor. of the apol. and before de dogm. Plat.) might possibly be derived from the hero of his novel. Apuleius philosophus platonicus Madaurensis, de dogm. Pl. III p. 203 Bip. Cf. apol. 10. Augustin. civ. d. VIII 14: Apuleius Platonicus Madaurensis. Charis. p. 240 K.: ut apud Apuleium Platonicum de proverbiis scriptum est libro II. From this Plat. would appear to have formed part of his headings. Augustin. civ. dei VIII 12: in utraque lingua . . Apuleius Afer extitit Platonicus nobilis.

2. On the life of Apuleius until his law-suit (see n. 3) the Apologia contains abundant information. As this suit took place under Pius (apolog. 85), and as Ap.'s wife was then 40 years old (ib. 89) and there was great disparity of age between Ap. and his wife, we are obliged to assume that Ap. was then not older than 25 years, so that he would he born about a. 125. See below 363, 2. Florid. 18, 86: pueritia apud vos (Carthag.) et magistri vos, et secta, licet Athenis Atticis confirmata, tamen hic incohata est et vox mea utraque lingua iam vestris auribus ante proximum sexennium probe cognita. 20, 97: ego et alias crateras (than grammar and rhetoric) Athenis bibi: poeticae . ., geometriae . ., musicae . ., dialecticae . ., iam vero universae philosophiae. Met. XI 28: viriculas patrimonii peregrinationis adtriverant impensae. . . quae res . . victum uberiorem subministrabat . . quaesticulo forensi nutrito (at Rome) per patrocinia sermonis romani.

3. On a journey from Madaura to Alexandria Ap. fell ill at Oea, became acquainted with a rich widow, Aemilia Pudentilla, and married her. Her relations became incensed by this and brought an action against Ap. before the Procons. Claudius Maximus (above 354, 4) charging him with having won the love of the widow by magic arts. Ap. defended himself in his extant apologia (see below 363, 1). He was no doubt absolved, and after having staid at Oea for three years (ap. 55), went to live at Carthage, from where he undertook journeys in Africa to give lectures. In the next centuries that adventure procured him the reputation of magus and enchanter, who might rival even the Christian workers of miracles. Augustin. Ep. II quaest. VI (Vol. II p. 426 c ed. Gaume, Paris 1838): si hoc quod de Iona scriptum est Apuleius Madaurensis vel Apollonius Tyaneus fecisse diceretur, quorum multa mira nullo fideli auctore iactitant. Epist. 136 (ib. II p. 599 a): Apollonium quidem suum nobis et Apuleium aliosque magicae artis homines in medium proferunt, quorum maiora contendunt extitisse miracula. Ep. 138, 18 (ib. p. 623 a): Apollonium et Apuleium ceterosque

magicarum artium peritissimos conferre Christo vel etiam praeferre conantur. Lactant. inst. V 3, 7: Apuleium, cuius solent et multa et mira memorari.

4. Augustin. Ep. 138 (II p. 623 d): Apuleius, ut de illo potissimum loquamur qui nobis Afris Afer est notior, . . ne ad aliquam quidem iudiciariam reip. potestatem cum omnibus suis magicis artibus potuit pervenire, honesto patriae suae loco natus et liberaliter educatus magnaque praeditus eloquentia. . . sacerdos provinciae pro magno fuit ut munera ederet . . et pro statua sibi ad Oeenses locanda . . adversus contradictionem quorundam civium litigaret. quod posteros ne lateret, eiusdem litis orationem scriptam memoriae commendavit. Apul. Flor. XVI: vobis occipiam, principes Africae viri, gratiam agere ob statuam quam mihi praesenti honeste postulastis et absenti benigne decrevistis etc. ib. (72—74 Oud.): testimonia mihi perhibuit in curia Carthaginiensium non minus splendidissima quam benignissima vir consularis. . . nam . . libello misso, per quem postulabat locum celebrem statuae meae, . . commemoravit inter nos iura amicitiae a commilitio studiorum eisdem magistris honeste incohata. . . quin etiam commemoravit et alibi gentium et civitatium honores mihi statuarum et alios decretos. . . etiam docuit argumento suscepti sacerdotii summum mihi honorem Carthagini adesse. . . Aemilianus Strabo, vir consularis, brevi votis omnium futurus proconsul, sententiam de honoribus meis in curia Carthaginiensium dixit etc. We know nothing further on the rest of Ap.'s life and on his death.

5. Apol. 55: sacrorum pleraque initia in Graecia participavi. . . multiiuga sacra et plurimos ritus et varias cerimonias studio veri et officio erga deos didici. 63: morem habeo quoquo eam simulacrum alicuius dei inter libellos conditum gestare eique diebus festis ture et mero et aliquando victimis supplicare. The ostentatious character of these meritorious works arises partly from Apuleius' superstition and mysticism, partly from his opposition to Christianity which was spreading fast and which he detested; see Met. XI 14: nec vel unum vitium nequissimae illi feminae deerat: . . saeva scaeva, virosa ebriosa, pervicax pertinax, . . inimica fidei, hostis pudicitiae. tunc spretis atque calcatis divinis numinibus invicem certae religionis mentita sacrilega praesumptione dei quem praedicaret unicum confictis observationibus vacuit fallens omnes homines etc. The Platonism of this time which Ap. professed (n. I) was likewise mystical; cf. Flor. 15 (60 sq. Oud.): noster Plato, nihil ab hac secta (of Pythagoras) vel paululum devius, pythagorissat in plurimis. aeque et ipse, ut in nomen eius a magistris meis adoptarer, utrumque (to speak and to keep silence) meditationibus academicis didici.

6. Apol. 4: accusamus apud te philosophum et tam graece quam latine disertissimum. Met. I 1: in urbe latia advena studiorum Quiritium indigenam sermonem aerumnabili labore, nullo magistro praeeunte, aggressus excolui. en ecce praefamur veniam si quid exotici ac fo-

rensis sermonis rudis locutor offendero. Ap.'s diction always retained a foreign tinge in spite of his fluent command of the language. He does not perceive how very strange Plautine words and phrases sound in his serious style. His diction is overlaid with rhetorical figures of all kinds, exaggerated pathos and artificial mannerism. Erdmann, de Apulei elocutione, Stendal 1864. 4. H. Kretschmann, de latinitate Apulei, Königsberg 1865. 140 pp. Th. Jeltsch, de Apulei Floridis (Breslau 1868) p. 3—32.

7. Apul. Flor. 9 (31 Oud.): plura mea extant in Camenis quam Hippiae in opificiis operibus. ib. (37 Oud.): fateor uno chartario calamo me reficere poemata omnigenus, apta virgae (ῥάβδος, to denote epic poems), lyrae, socco, cothurno, item satiras ac griphos, item historias varias, nec non orationes laudatas disertis, nec non dialogos laudatos philosophis, atque haec et alia eiusdem modi tam graece quam latine, . . simili stilo. 20 (98 Oud.): canit Empedocles carmina, Plato dialogos, Socrates hymnos, Epicharmus modos (? mimos? comoedias?), Xenophon historias, Xenophanes satiras: Apuleius vester haec omnia novemque Musas pari studio colit. At the time of his accusation Ap. had not only delivered and published speeches (Apol. 55, cf. 73. 24. 33 extr.), but also edited Naturales quaestiones in Greek and in Latin (ib. 36. 38.), written poems, specimens of which are given ib. 6 (e ludicris meis epistolium de dentificio, trimeters on a tooth-powder, addressed to a certain Calpurnius) and ib. 9 (versus amatorii, in the form of an elegy, a far-fetched praise of the sons of Scribonius Laetus under the names of Charinus and Critias, cf. Auson. Idyll. XIII s. f.: esse Apuleium in vita philosophum, in epigrammatis amatorem); also Aesculapii hymnus graeco et latino carmine, cui dialogum similiter graecum et latinum praetexui (Flor. 18 = 91 Oud.)

8. His other writings: an ἐρωτικός (Lyd. magg. III 64), Hermagoras (according to the fragments quoted by Priscian possibly a novel like the Metamorph.); Epitoma historiarum (Priscian. II p. 482 Htz.; cf. I p. 250 sq.: Apuleius in Epitoma); works on arithmetic (in imitation of Nicomachus, see Cassiod. de arithm. extr. and Isid. Orig. III 2), music (Cassiod. de mus. extr.), on astronomy (Lyd. de mens. IV 7. 73 and de ostent. 3. 4. 7. 10. 44. 54), medicinalia (Priscian. VI 11. p. 203, 14 H.), de arboribus (Serv. Verg. Ge. II 126) and other works concerning husbandry (Phot. bibl. cod. 163. Pallad. R. R. I 35, 9. Geopon. I 14. XIII 5 and elsewhere; see Otto Jahn, Reports of the Saxon Society of Lit., 1850, p. 286. E. Meyer (Hist. of Botany II p. 196 sq.); lastly also a version of Plato's Phaedo (Sidon. Ap. Epist. II 9, Priscian. X 19. p. 511 H.) and a work de proverbiis see n. 1. Apoll. Sid. ep. IX 13: a platonico Madaurensi formulas mutuare convivalium quaestionum etc.

9. G. F. Hildebrand, de vita et scriptis Ap., Halle 1835 and in his ed. of Ap. O. Jahn, Reports of the Saxon Society of Lit. 1850, p. 283—287. Chr. Cavallin, de L. Ap. scriptore latino adversaria, Lund 1857. 54 pp. E. Goumy, de A. fabularum scriptore et rhetore, Paris

1859. W. Teuffel in Pauly's Enc. I 2. p. 1348—1353. M. Hertz, Renaissance p. 32—34.

363. Of the numerous works of Apuleius in Greek and Latin, verse and prose, the following are extant:

1) Apologia, his self-defence against a charge of witchcraft, subsequently written with evident enjoyment of his rhetorical power and a lively sense of his importance.

2) Florida, an anthology from the speeches and declamations of Apuleius, of mixed contents, on history, philosophy, natural science and practical life.

3) Metamorphoseon libri XI, a phantastic and satirical novel, written under M. Aurelius and imitated from Lucian's *Λούκιος*. The subject is the adventures of a young man accidentally transformed into an ass, with the insertion of various events and especially the tale of Amor and Psyche.

4) De deo Socratis, a lengthy explanation of the Platonic doctrine of God and Daemons.

5) Three books de dogmate Platonis, the third of which is a treatise on formal logic according to Aristotle.

6) De mundo, after Theophrastus.

1. Apologia sive de magia liber. Augustin. civ. dei VIII 19: huius philosophi platonici copiosissima et disertissima extat oratio, qua crimen artium magicarum a se alienum esse defendit. See above 362, 2 and 3. The speech is so written as to give it the appearance of being delivered at a tribunal, which is, however, impossible. The frivolous and partly foolish arguments alleged by the accusers (e. g. the possession of a mirror, c. 13 sqq.) made the orator's task very easy, and he employs the opportunity thus offered him of displaying his own abilities. Separate editions by Casaubonus (Heidelberg 1594. 4.), Pricaeus (Paris 1635. 4.); Commentary by Gentilis, Hannover 1607. 550 pp. Edidit G. Krüger, Berol. 1864. Cf. H. Sauppe, Götting. Gel. Anz. 1865, p. 1545—1560.

2. The Florida are extensive extracts from the published lectures of Apuleius, composed on unknown occasions and treating of various matters in various kinds of diction. The commencements are sometimes wanting, sometimes also the terminations. The single pieces differ in contents, purpose, and character; beside specimens of the floridum genus in the sense of Ap. we find also some of a proportionately simple diction. The different pieces appear also to be of different times; nr. 17 is of the time of Antoninus Pius, as the procos. Africae (Ser.) Scipio Orfitus praised in it was Consul a. 149. Nr. 12 is derived from a choro-

graphia according to Pliny (above 308, 7); Mommsen, Solin. p. XXII—XXIV. The title of Flor. may be due to the excerptor. We do not know whether this selection has come down to us in its complete form, and when it was divided into four books (a division foreign to the excerptor). Apulei Floridorum quae supersunt ed. Gust. Krüger, Berolin. 1865. 4. Al. Goldbacher, de L. Apul. Mad. Floridorum quae dicuntur origine (p. 3—21) et locis quibusdam corruptis (p. 21—36), Lips. 1867. Th. Jeltsch, de Apulei Floridis (on the identity of the diction of the Flor. with the other works of A.) Breslau 1868. Critical contributions by H. Müller, Rh. Mus. XXII p. 463 sq. 645—648. XXIII p. 445—453.

3. The Metamorphoses were certainly written after the Apology. The time of composition is indicated I 2: a Plutarcho illo inclito ac mox Sexto philosopho nepote eius. See above 354, 2. The limit of time is furnished by Capitol. Clod. Alb. 12, 12: cum ille neniis quibusdam anilibus occupatus inter milesias punicas Apulei sui (Albinus was a native of Africa) et ludicra litteraria consenesceret (Albinus † 197). The work begins: at ego tibi sermone isto milesio varias fabulas conseram . .: figuras fortunasque hominum in alias imagines conversas et in se rursum . . refectas ut mireris exordior. . . fabulam graecanicam incipimus. On the transformation of human beings into animals, though retaining their human consciousness, but losing the power of speech (as we have it as early as Odyss. *x* 239 sq.) see Augustin. civ. d. XVIII 17 sq. where (c. 18): et nos cum essemus in Italia audiebamus talia de quadam regione illarum partium, ubi stabularias mulieres . . dare solere dicebantur . . viatoribus unde in iumenta illico verterentur . .; nec tamen in eis mentem fieri bestialem, sed rationalem humanamque servari, sicut Apuleius in libris quos Asini aurei titulo inscripsit sibi ipsi accidisse ut . . asinus fieret aut indicavit aut finxit. This error is caused by the relation being put into the hero's month. The subject is quite the same as in Lucian's *Λούκιος ἢ Ὄνος*, only the names being changed and instead of Lucian's jocose termination a serious and phantastic end, but which is altogether unsuitable to the tale, is substituted. In other respects, much is retained that was directed against the proneness of this period to believe in miracles; whence we should less doubt that the Greek original was Lucian's work and not the (superstitious) work by the supposed Lucius of Patrae; see W. Teuffel, Studies and Char. p. 446—457, cf. E. Rhode, on Lucian's work *Λούκιος* etc. (Leipzig 1869) p. 14—18. Some similar tales were even older; see Met. X 22 = Lucian. *Λούκ.* 51 with Charis. p. 223, 14 K.: Sisenna Milesiarum XIII (or XIV); ut eum paenitus utero suo recepit. Ap. has added from other (Greek) works of fiction, perhaps also from actual events of the time, a number of miraculous or obscene tales, also accounts of banditti, and IV 28—VI 24 the bella fabella on Amor and Psyche, the original subject of which probably belongs to the East, but which in its present shape was certainly derived from a Greek work, but Romanized in many details. W. Teuffel l. l. p. 451 sq. Besides the termination, Ap. has no doubt added many details of his own invention, and above all the un-

natural and pretentious tone of the diction is due to him. The work is of importance for the history of manners and often amusing to read. Separate editions: Bonon. 1500 fol. (cum Beroaldi commentariis). Venet. 1501. fol. Ed. Pricaeus, Goud. 1650. Rec. Fr. Eyssenhardt, Berlin 1869. Fabula de Psyche et Cupidine rec. I. C. Orelli, Zürich 1833; rec. et emend. O. Jahn, Lips. 1856. 16. O. Jahn, Novelettes from Ap., in his Popular Essays concerning antiquity, Bonn 1868, p. 75–114.

4. Augustin. de civ. d. VIII 14: Apuleius Platonicus Madaurensis de hac re sola unum scripsit librum cuius esse titulum voluit de deo Socratis, ubi disserit et exponit ex quo genere numinum Socrates habebat adiunctum etc. dicit enim apertissime et copiosissime asserit non illum deum fuisse, sed daemonem, *diligenti* disputatione pertractans istam Platonis de deorum sublimitate et hominum humilitate et daemonum medietate sententiam. Priscian. X 17 (p. 509, 9 H.): Apuleius in dialogo qui est de deo Socratis. Recens. M. Buckley, London 1844. Critical contributions by A. Goldbacher, Journal for the Austrian Gymn. XIX. 1868 p. 803–818.

5. De dogmate Platonis libri III. The first book treats of the life of Plato and his philosophy of nature; the second, addressed to Faustinus filius, deals with his ethics. The third, de philosophia rationali sive περὶ ἑρμηνείας, treats of logic, but following instead of Plato, rather Aristotle and the Peripatetics in a most dry manner, so that it is evident that it cannot be due to the Platonic Apuleius; it being, moreover, wanting in the best mss. Hildebrand I p. XLIV thinks that it was added by some grammarian of the third or fourth century (Cassiod. already quoting it) as a kind of supplement to the work of Ap. But O. Jahn (Reports of the Saxon Society of Lit. 1850, p. 282 sq.) and C. Prantl (Hist. of Logic in the West I p. 579 sqq.) maintain the authorship of Ap., O. Jahn considering the work as part of a sort of encyclopaedia. A. Goldbacher, on the criticism and explanation of Ap. de dogm. Pl., Vienna 1871 (Report of the Meetings of the Ac., phil. hist. Class LXVI, p. 159—192.

H. Koziol, on the criticism and explanation of the minor writings of Apuleius, in the sixth Annual Report of the Leopoldstadt Gymn. at Vienna 1870, p. 22—39.

6. Augustin. de civ. dei IV 2: quae . . Apuleius breviter stringit in eo libello quem de mundo scripsit. The work is also addressed to Faustinus and contains much that is specifically Roman, see extr. (Catonem in libris Originum). 5 (in nostro mari). 17 (ut Vesuvius noster solet). Hölscher, on the books of Ap. de mundo, Herford 1846. 4. In the Prooemium: quare nos [Aristotelem prudentissimum et doctissimum philosophorum et] Theophrastrum auctorem secuti the words in brackets are not given by the best mss. They are rather an addition of some Grammarian who considered Pseudo-Aristotle's work περὶ κόσμου to be the chief source. The opinion of A. Stahr (Aristotle among the Romans, p. 164 sqq.) and Barthélémy St. Hilaire (in his Transl. of Arist.'s

Meteorolog., Paris 1863, p. 325—355), that the work *περὶ κόσμου* was rather a Greek version of Apuleius' work made in the third or fourth century of the Christian era, is not very probable. See Hildebrand, in his edition of Ap. I p. XLIV—XLIX. Adam's view (de auctore libri pseudo-arist. *περὶ κόσμου*, Berol. 1861), that both the Latin and Greek versions are due to Apuleius, is contradicted by the fact that Ap.'s work is addressed to Faustinus, while the Greek work professes to be addressed to Alexander M.

7. In the mss. the name of Ap. is also given a) to a Latin translation of a dialogue concerning God, the world and man, entitled Asclepius, as Hermes Trismegistus converses in it with Asclepius. In this Latin translation the work was already known to Lactantius (Inst. VII 18) and St. Augustin (de civ. dei VIII 23. 24· 26. Orat. de haeres. V 2), who did not, however, connect it with Apuleius, by whom it cannot be. This rather absurd production of neoplatonism exhibits manifest traces of the influence of Christianity. See the materials collected by Hildebrand I p. XLIX—LIV.

b) A compilation probably due to the fifth, but perhaps already to the fourth century, made in Africa (c. 84, comp. with Plin. N. H. XX 10, 43) chiefly from Dioscorides and Pliny, entitled de herbarum virtutibus (medicaminibus), 128—131 chapters, part of which, de betonica, was also translated into Anglosaxon, edited (frequently as Apuleius Barbarus) especially in Parabilium medicam. scriptores antiqui, ed. I. C. G. Ackermann (Norimb. 1788), cf. E. Meyer, Hist. of Botany II p. 316—327. L. Spengel, Philologus XXI p. 120—122 and L. Müller, Rhein. Mus. XXIII p. 187—190 (on the cod. Leid. of it saec. VI).

c) de remediis salutaribus (Excerpts from Pliny's N. H. XIX and XX., see Sillig Quaest. Plin. I p. 8 sqq. E. Meyer l. l. p. 317 sq.), a fragment of which, e cod. Salmasiano nunc primum editum, in Sillig's ed. of Pliny, vol. V at the beginning. Emended by M. Haupt, Hermes IV p. 156 sq.

d) Not much power of conviction attaches to the arguments on which Val. Rose (Anecdota graeca I, Berlin 1864, p. 61—102; text p. 103—169, cf. Aristoteles pseudepigr. p. 696 sqq.) has attributed to Ap. an anonymous Latin work on physiognomy, after Polemo with additions from Eudoxus and Aristotle. It seems, however, to have been written at the very latest in the middle of the third century of the Christian era. H. Sauppe, Gött. Gel. Anz. 1866, p. 22 sq. and (on the criticism of the text) p. 23—26.

8. Of the manuscripts of the works of Ap. the most important is Flor. 3 = Laur. LXVIII 2 (F in O. Jahn, Krüger and Eyssenhardt), saec. XI. All the others are derived from it, even Laur. XXIX 2 (*φ* in Jahn etc.) saec. XII, thougth this is older than the secunda manus (f) in F. The other mss. are interpolated. H. Keil, Observationes (above 111, 7) p. 77—81. A list of them is given by Hildebrand I p. LX sqq.

9. Editions. Ed. princeps Rom. 1469. Junt. 1512. 1522. Cum comm. Phil. Beroaldi, Bonon. 1500. Aldina 1521. Emend. illustr. P. Colvius, Lugd. Bat. 1588. 2 vols. Post Colvii ed. expurg. B. Vulcanius, Lugd. B. 1594. Ed. sec. (cura Jos. Scaligeri) ib. 1600. Cum nott. varr. 1614. 2 vols. Rec. Elmenhorst, Frankfurt 1621. Ed. J. Floridus, Paris 1688. 2 vols. Ed. Bip. 1788. 2 vols. The principal edition by F. Oudendorp, Lugd. B. 1786—1823. 3 vols. 4. Much material is collected in the edition of G. F. Hildebrand, Lips. 1842. 2 vols. 8. Ed. minor, Lips. 1843. L. Spengel, on the Greek passages in Ap., Rhein. Mus. XVI p. 27—37. Oeuvres complètes d'Apulée, trad. en français par V. Bétolaud, Paris 1835. 3 vols. Nouvelle édition entièrement refondue, Paris 1862. 2 vols.

10. The very poor writings of the so-called Apuleius minor (at the earliest saec. X), de nota aspirationis and de diphthongis, were published by F. Osann together with L. Caecilii Minutiani Apulei de orthographia fragmenta (p. 3—13; animadversiones on it p. 14—83) Darmstadt 1826 (XXXIV and 158 pp.). But the latter (first edited by A. Mai, Rome 1823), in which there is a great show of quotations from all kinds of lost works, has been proved to be a forgery of the 15th century by Madvig Opusc. acad. I p. 1—25 and (against Osann, in Jahn's Jahrbb. XIII p. 306—337) p. 26—28. See R. Merkel in his edition of Ibis p. 384 sqq.

364. As Jurists in the reign of M. Aurelius we may mention Maecianus, Ulpius Marcellus and others who have been mentioned in the preceding reign. To them we add especially Q. Cervidius Scaevola, the teacher of Papinian. His works, chiefly his forty books of Digesta, have been much used in the Pandects. In their exterior arrangement they followed Julian's system, which they further developed on the basis of actual cases. In the same time Papirius Justus composed a collection of Imperial Constitutions and Paternus wrote a work de re militari. Papirius Fronto was probably a junior contemporary of these men.

1. Capitol. M. Philos. 11, 10: usus est Scaevola praecipue iuris perito. Spartian. Carac. 8, 3: memoriae traditur . . eum (Papinian) cum Severo (the later Emperor Septimius Sev.) professum sub Scaevola. Dig. XXXVI 1, 22 pr.: Scaevola divum Marcum in auditorio . . iudicasse refert. But that he had already been active under Pius, does not appear from his quotation Imp. Antoninus Pius libertis Sextiae Basiliae (Dig. XXXIV 1, 13, 1). Tryphoninus and Paulus always call him Scaevola noster, Paulus once (Dig. XXVIII 6, 38, 3) even Q. Cervidius Scaevola noster (dicebat), whence we may infer that they were his pupils, but not that they wrote in his life-time; see Th. Mommsen, Ztschr. f. Rechtsg. IX p. 115 sq.

2. The chief work of Scaevola: Digestorum libri XL, composed in the first half of M. Aurelius' reign (Fitting p. 26); under Commodus (previous to a. 195) Responsorum libri VI and Quaestionum libri XX, the latter, as it seems, with extensive statements of the reasons of the decisions given in those works. Also: liber singularis quaestionum publice tractatarum; libri IV Regularum (cf. n. 4). The Excerpts from these works (in 307 places) in Hommel's Palingenesia II. p. 413—491. Merely quoted are Scaevola's Notae ad Iuliani Digesta and Notae ad Marcelli Digesta (ib. p. 457. 491 sq.), and only in the Index Florentinus his liber singularis de quaestione familiae is mentioned. In Claudius Tryphoninus and Paulus, Scaev. obtained commentators.

3. Modestinus Dig. XXVII 1, 13, 2: *οὕτως καὶ Κερβίδιος Σκαιβόλας καὶ Παῦλος καὶ Δομίτιος Οὐλπιανός, οἱ κορυφαῖοι τῶν νομικῶν, γράφουσιν.* Tryphon. Dig. XXXV 1, 109: magno ingenio de iure aperto respondit. Cod. Theod. IV 4, 3, 3 the Emperors Arcadius and Honorius call him auctorem prudentissimum ictorum. The views of others are scarcely mentioned in the fragments of the Digest of Scaevola (ap. Hommel p. 413—457), but he starts all the more frequently with actual cases, probably in consequence of following Julian's work. But in his Quaestiones his predecessors are mentioned in not a few passages.

4. J. O. Westenberg, de iurispr. Q. C. Sc., Lugd. Bat. 1734. 4. (= Trias opusc. acad. ed. Püttmann, Lips. 1795). J. L. Conradi, de vita et scriptis Q. C. Sc., Lips. 1754 sq. 4. (= Opusc. I). Zimmern, Hist. of Roman private Law I 1 p. 359—361. Rudorff, Hist. of Rom. Law p. 186 sq. Fitting, Age of the Writ. p. 25—27.

5. In the fourth book of his *Ἑρμηνεύματα* (below 370, 5) Dositheus gives under the heading *συγγραμμάτιον νομικὸν μάλιστα περὶ ἐλευθερώσεων* = disputatio forensis maxime de manumissionibus, a section of the work of a Jurist, partly with a Greek translation. It is, therefore, called fragmentum Dositheanum or from its contents fragm. de iuris speciebus et manumissionibus. As the fragment seems to be taken from a work entitled Regulae (3: regulas igitur exequenti quae ad haec studia pertinent), Dirksen has pronounced Gaius to be the author, Lachmann and Rudorff (Hist. of Roman Law I p. 194. 242) Paulus, Voigt Pomponius, Huschke (iurispr. antei.[2] p. 341 sq.) Scaevola, because this fragment exhibits a special attention to Greek. It is printed in the editions of Dositheus by E. Böcking (Bonn 1832. Corpus iuris anteiust. p. 193 sqq. Ulpiani fragm., Lips. 1855, p. 159 sqq.) and in Huschke, Iurisprud. anteiust.[2] p. 343—350.

6. On Claudius Saturninus see above 356, 6.

7. Papirius Iustus de constitutionibus libri XX according to Index Flor. In the Digest passages are quoted from b. I, II and VIII (see Hommel Paling. I p. 617—619). Those from the first two books commence without exception: Imperatores Antoninus et Verus Augg. rescripserunt, and must, therefore, belong to a. 161—169; the fragment

of b. VIII (Dig. II 14, 60) begins: Imp. Antoninus Avidio Cassio rescripsit, and must, therefore, be of a. 169—175. If the work was arranged in chronological order, the first book would appear to have been written under the divi fratres, the following under M. Aurelius. The last third was perhaps written under Commodus and contained his constitutions. A. C. Stockmann, Pap. I. fragmenta illustrata, Lips. 1792. 4. P. E. Piepers, de P. I. icto, Lugd. B. 1824. 4. Zimmer, I 1 p. 155 sq. 356. Rudorff, Hist. of Roman Law I p. 185. 274. Fitting, Age of the Writ. p. 24 sq.

8. Tarrutenius Paternus, under M. Aurelius his ab epistulis latinis (Dio LXXI 12: *Ταρρουτήνιον δὲ Πάτερνον τὸν τὰς ἐπιστολὰς αὐτοῦ τὰς λατίνας διὰ χειρὸς ἔχοντα*) and also a victorious commander against the Marcomanni, under Commodus praef. praet., but then also executed; see A. Haakh in Pauly's Enc. V p. 1223 sq. His work de re militari contained four books, according to the ind. Flor. Two passages of b. I and II Dig. XLIX 16, 7. L 6, 6 cf. XLIV 16, 12, 1. Veget. de re mil. I 8: quae Paternus, diligentissimus iuris militaris adsertor, in libros redegit. H. E. Dirksen, on the Jurist and tactician Paternus, Berlin 1856. 4. = Posthumous Writings II p. 412 sqq.

9. Callistr. Dig. L 16, 220, 1: sed et Papirius Fronto libro tertio Responsorum ait, and XIV 2, 4 fin: haec ita Papirius Fronto respondit. Marcian. Dig. XV 1, 40 pr.: eleganter P. Fr. dicebat, and XXX 114, 7 verius esse existimo quod et Scaevola notat et Papirius Fronto scribit.

2. The time of Commodus and Septimius Severus,

A. D. 180—211.

365. M. Aurelius' dissimilar son Commodus (a. 161—192) was void of interest for intellectual pursuits. But the excellent Septimius Severus (a. 146—211), who ascended the throne after the brief reigns of Pertinax and Didius Julianus, wrote an autobiography. Papinian was especially active as a Jurist in this period. The Christian religion now gained ground even among the educated and was defended by such eloquent pleaders as Minucius Felix and Tertullian. As concerns metrical compositions, this time produced only centos from Virgil.

1. Commodus was born 31 Aug. 161, Caesar since 12 Oct. 166, Emperor since 17 March 180, under the title of M. Aurelius Commodus Antoninus Pius Felix Aug., he was assassinated 31 December 192. Saevior Domitiano, inpurior Nerone, Lamprid. 19, 2. Habuit litteratorem Onesicratem, latinum Capellam Antistium; orator ei Ateius Sanctus fuit, ib. 19, 6.

2. Lamprid. Comm. 3, 4: appellatus est a mimis quasi constupratus, eosdemque . . subito deportavit. 13, 2: versus in eo (eum) multi scripti sunt, de quibus . . Marius Maximus gloriatur.

3. P. Helvius Pertinax, Emperor from 1 Jan. until 28 March 193; see above 360, 12. Didius Salvius Iulianus reigned after him during 66 days; see W. Teuffel in Pauly's Enc. IV. p. 397—400.

4. L. Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax Aug. (Arabicus, Adiabenicus, Parthicus etc.), in legal works briefly Severus, born 8 April 146 at Leptis in Africa. Cons. under Commodus (185 ?), Emperor 193, appointed his son Caracalla to be Augustus a. 198, † 4 February 211. See A. Haakh in Pauly's Enc. VI 1. p. 1132—1136, Nr. 1. Spartian. Sev. 1, 4 sq.: prius quam latinis graecisque litteris imbueretur, quibus eruditissimus fuit. . . octavo decimo anno publice declamavit. postea studiorum causa Romam venit (under M. Aurelius). 3, 7: Athenas petit studiorum sacrorumque causa. 18, 5: philosophiae ac dicendi studiis satis deditus, doctrinae quoque nimis cupidus. 18, 11: cum eum ex humili per litterarum et militiae officia ad imperium . . fortuna duxisset. Victor Caes. 20, 28: ortus medie humilis primo litteris, deinde imbutus foro; quo parum commodante . . dum tentat varia . . conscendit imperium. Eutrop. VIII 18: hic primum fisci advocatus, mox militaris tribunus etc. Spartian. Sev. 19, 9: canorus voce, sed afrum quiddam usque ad senectutem sonans. Cf. 15, 7: cum soror sua Leptitana ad eum venisset vix latine loquens. Dio LXXVI 16: *παιδείας ἐπεθύμει μᾶλλον ἢ ἐπετύγχανε καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πολυγνώμων μᾶλλον ἢ πολύλογος ἦν.*

5. Spartian. Sev. 18, 6: vitam suam privatam publicamque ipse conposuit ad fidem, solum tamen vitium crudelitatis excusans. 3, 2: uxorem . . de qua tacuit in historia vitae privatae. Vict. Caes. 20, 22: idem abs se gesta ornatu et fide paribus conposuit. Capitol. Clod. Alb. 10, 1: Severus quidem ipse haec de eodem loquitur. Dio LXXV 7: *λέγω γὰρ* (on Albinus' death), *οὐχ ὅσα ὁ Σεουῆρος ἔγραψεν, ἀλλ' ὅσα ἀληθῶς ἐγένετο.* A letter addressed by Sev. to the Senate Capit. Clod. Alb. 12, 6 sqq.

6. Tertull. de praescript. haeret. 39: vides hodie ex Vergilio fabulam in totum aliam componi, materia secundum versus, versibus secundum materiam concinnatis. denique Hosidius Geta Medeam tragoediam ex Vergilio plenissime exsuxit. meus quidam propinquus ex eodem poeta inter cetera stili sui otia Pinacem Cebetis explicuit. A cento of this kind, Medea, the metre of which is rather careless, is (without the name of Hos. G.) preserved in the cod. Salmas., in Riese's anthol. lat. 17 (I p. 49—66).

366. A friend of Severus and of almost the same age with him was the great Jurist Aemilius Papinianus. Under Severus he was praefectus praetorio, but was executed by his son

Caracalla soon after his accession to the throne, because he was faithful to the other son, Geta. Papinian was remarkable not only for his juridical genius, the lucidity and readiness of his decisions, but also for his quick sense of right and morality, by which he frequently rose above the barriers of national prejudices and merited the veneration of succeeding centuries. The most important of his works are the 37 books of Quaestiones and the 19 books of Responsa, both of which have been much used in Justinian's collections.

1. Spartian. Carac. 8, 2 sq.: Papinianum amicissimum fuisse, imperatori Severo et, ut aliqui loquuntur, adfinem etiam per secundam uxorem (Iulia, of Syria) memoriae traditur, et huic praecipue utrumque filium (Geta and Caracalla) a Severo commendatum, eumque cum Severo professum sub Scaevola (above 364, 1—4), et Severo in advocatione fisci (see above 365, 4) successisse. Tryphonin. Dig. XX 5, 12 pr: rescriptum est ab imperatore (Severus?), libellos agente Papiniano; cf. Vict. Caes. 20, 33 sq.: quem ferunt illo tempore Bassiani scrinia curavisse, . . cum constet satis praefecturam praetorio gessisse. Paul. Dig. XII 1, 40: lecta est in auditorio Aemilii Papiniani, praefecti praetorio, icti cautio huius modi. Dio LXXVI 10 (a. 204): *αὐτὸν* (a highwayman) *ὁ Παπινιανὸς ὁ ἔπαρχος ἀνήρετο* etc. Cf. ib. 14 (A. 208): *παρέστηκέ σοι Παπινιανὸς ὁ ἔπαρχος.* He succeeded Plautianus in the praefectura (Herod. III 10, 5 sqq.), who was executed a. 203. Cf. n. 2 sq. Muratori p. 351, 1 = Henzen 5603 (of 28 May 205): sub Maecio Laeto et Aemilio Papiniano pp. pp. vv. em(inentissimis).

2. Dio LXXI 1 (a. 211): *τοὺς οἰκείους τοὺς μὲν ἀπήλλαξεν* (Caracalla after his accession to the throne), *ὧν καὶ Παπινιανὸς ὁ ἔπαρχος ἦν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν.* ib. 4: *ἐς δύο μυριάδας παραχρῆμα ἀπέκτεινεν, . . ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἀνδρῶν ἄλλους τε καὶ τὸν Παπινιανόν. καὶ τῷ γε τὸν Παπινιανὸν φονεύσαντι ἐπετίμησεν ὅτι ἀξίνῃ αὐτὸν καὶ οὐ ξίφει διεχρήσατο.* Spartian. Carac. 3, 2: (after the assassination of Geta, 27 Febr. 212) innitens Papiniano et Ciloni ad palatium redit. 4, 1 sq. dein in conspectu eius Papinianus securi percussus a militibus et occisus est. . . filium etiam Papiniani, qui ante triduum quaestor opulentum munus ediderat, interemit. 8, 7 sq.: constat eum quasi fautorem Getae occisum (cf. Spart. Geta 6, 3). et fertur quidem Papinianus, cum raptus a militibus ad palatium traheretur occidendus, praedivinasse, dicens stultissimum fore qui in suum subrogaretur locum nisi adpetitam crudeliter praefecturam vindicaret. Other accounts ib. 8, 4—6. Victor Caes. 20, 33 sq. Zosim. I 9.

3. Spartian. Sev. 21, 8: Papinianum, iuris asylum et doctrinae legalis thesaurum, quod parricidium excusare noluisset, occidit, et praefectum quidem, ne homini per se et per scientiam suam magno deesset et dignitas. Iust. II 23, 7 and Cod. VI 25, 6, 1: homo excelsi ingenii

Papinianus. Cod. V 71, 14 and VI 42, 16: vir prudentissimus Papinianus. VI 42, 30: acutissimi ingenii vir et merito ante alios excellens Pap. VII 32, 3: consultissimi viri Pap. VII 45, 14: Pap. summi ingenii vir. Cod. Theod. I 4, 3. Cassiod. VI 5. Hieron. Epist. 77, 3 and others. Cf. n. 4. The malcontent criticisms added by Marcian, Ulpian and Paulus to the work of Pap. (cf. Cod. Theod. IX 43. Dig. XVIII 1, 72. XXII 1, 1, 2) were annulled by Constantine a. 321 (Cod. Theod. I 4, 1: qui dum ingenii laudem sectantur non tam corrigere eum quam depravare maluerunt), but not altogether set aside by Justinian, who used them with much caution; see Cod. I 17, 1, 6: ea quae antea in Notis Aemilii Papiniani ex Ulpiano et Paulo nec non Marciano adscripta sunt, quae antea nullam vim obtinebant propter honorem splendidissimi Papiniani, non statim respuere, sed si quid ex his ad repletionem summi ingenii Papiniani laborum vel interpretationem necessarium esse perspexeritis et hoc ponere legis vicem obtinens non moremini.

4. Works of Pap. Constit. Omnem (Dig. prooem.) 6: vobis . . pulcherrimus Papinianus non solum ex Responsis, quae in XIX libros composita fuerunt, sed etiam ex libris XXXVII Quaestionum et gemino volumine Definitionum, nec non De adulteriis (libri II and one liber singularis) . . sui recitationem praebebit. ne autem tertii anni auditores, quos Papinianistas vocant, nomen et festivitatem eius amittere videantur etc. Besides those works also De officio aedilium liber singularis: cf. Dig. XLIII 10: *ἐκ τοῦ ἀστυνομικοῦ μονοβίβλου τοῦ Παπινιανοῦ*. A fragment ex libr. I. Respons. sub titulo de pactis in the lex rom. Visigothorum (Huschke, iurispr. anteiust.[2] p. 351); 43 Extracts from Papinian's works in the Fragm. Vatic., and 595 passages in Justinian's Digest. The latter are collected by Hommel, Palingenesia II. p. 515—614. His fragments were commented on by Cujacius (Op. Tom. IV).

5. In the fragments of the Quaestiones (which follow the order of the edict) Pap. repeatedly mentions Optimus Imp. noster Severus (Dig. XXXI 67, 9. L 5, 7 cf. XXII 1, 6) but frequently omits the usual designation of Divus in the case of other emperors previously consecrated. In his Responsa Pap. submits to the rules of official diction in giving the Emperors their usual titles, except in one instance (Dig. XX 2, 1). That his Responsa were composed at a later time (after 198) appears from the designation of Severus and Caracalla as optimi maximique principes nostri (Dig. XXXIV 9, 16, 1 cf. fragm. Vat. 294); but book IV was composed after a. 206 and b. XV sqq. in the course of 211; see Dig. XXXIV 9, 18 pr. from b. XV: divus Severus. Fitting, the Age of the writ. p. 28—32. Th. Mommsen, Ztschr. f. Rechtsgesch. IX. p. 100 sq.

6. Pap. never insists on his opinion to the exclusion of others, see e. g. Dig. XVIII 7, 6, 1: nobis aliquando placebat. . . sed in contrarium me vocat Sabini sententia. Significantly he says Dig. XXVIII 7, 15: quae facta laedunt pietatem, existimationem, verecundiam nostram et, ut generaliter dicam, contra bonos mores fiunt, nec facere nos posse credendum est. The diction is frequently as concise as if he expressed

an axiom, e. g. non videntur rem amittere quibus propria non fuit; donari videtur quod nullo iure cogente conceditur; ius publicum privatorum pactis mutari non potest.

7. Ev. Otto, Papinianus, s. de vita, studiis, scriptis, honoribus et morte Aem. Pap., Lugd. Pat. 1718 Brem. 1743. B. Voorda, Papinianus, s. optimi icti et viri forma in A. P. spectata, Lugd. Bat. 1770. 4. Zimmern, Hist. of Rom. private Law I 1. p. 361—364. G. Bruns in Pauly's Enc. V. p. 1141—1144. Rudorff, Hist. of Law I. p. 187 sq. H. E. Dirksen, on Pap.'s eminence as an author, Posthumous Writings II p. 449* sqq.

367. Contemporaries of Papinian were the Jurists Messius, Callistratus and Claudius Tryphoninus, the latter two known as authors also through the Digest. Arrius Menander, a man of half-Greek origin, was an adviser of the Emperor's, and wrote de re militari. The ecclesiastic writer Tertullian wrote also on law before his conversion to Christianity.

1. Dig. XLIX 14, 50: Valerius Patruinus procurator imperatoris . . praedia . . addixerat. . . Papinianus et Messius novam sententiam induxerunt; . . pronuntiavit tamen secundum illorum opinionem . . Tryphonino (n. 3) suggerente etc. The Jurist Messius mentioned here is not known from other sources; a certain T. Messius Extricatus was cos. II a. 217.

2. Callistratus' four books de iure fisci and two books of Quaestiones were written under Severus; see Dig. XLIX 14. 2, 6 (from de iure fisci II): imperator noster Severus Aug. constitut., and Dig. I 3, 38 (from Quaestionum I): imperator noster Severus rescripsit. But the work de cognitionibus (libri VI) dated from the beginning of Caracalla's joint reign (a 198—211); see Dig. I 19, 3, 2 (imperatores nostri Severus et Antoninus) from b. VI and L 2, 11 (principes nostri) from b. I with which we read imp. noster Severus Aug. ib. L 4, 14, 4 (also from b. I). He paid special attention to the requirements of the judges, even by such practical observations as Dig. I 18, 19. He wrote also Edicti monitorii libri or Ad edictum monitorium and Institutionum libri III, as it seems after Gaius. The 99 passages from these writings inserted in the Digest are collected by Hommel, Palingen I p. 129—146. Not rarely Callistratus' diction and style show him to be a Greek by birth. G. A. Jenichen, Ep. singularia de Call. icto, Lips. 1742. 4. Pinto, de Call. icti scriptis quae supersunt, Lugd. Bat. 1835. 302 pp.

3. A Claudius Tryphoninus (Cod. I 9, 1), with Papinian in the consilium principis (see n. 1), wrote Notae on Scaevola's Digest in which M. Aurelius was styled divus (Dig. XVIII 7, 10: Claudius), but which were already quoted by Papinian in b. XIV of his Responsa (Dig. XXXIV 9, 25, 1: apud Scaevolam libro XXX Digestorum Claudius notat). To a

later time we should assign his 21 books Disputationum; see Dig. XXVII 1, 44 (from b. II) and XLIX 15, 12, 17 (from b. IV): imp. noster (Caracalla) cum divo Severo patre suo: XLVIII 19, 39 (from b. X): optimi imperatoris nostri. Not accurately XX 5, 12 pr. (from b. VIII): rescriptum est ab imperatore (Severo), libellos agente Papiniano. The fragments collected by Hommel, Palingenesia II p. 509—530. Fitting, the Age of the Writ. p. 32. A rescript of Caracalla addressed to him a. 213 in the Cod. I 9, 1. Chr. Rau, de Cl. Tr. icto rom., Lips. 1768. 4.

4. Ulp. Dig. IV 4, 11, 2 in a legal case of the time of imperator Severus (i. e. probably a. 193—198); cum susceptam tutelam non alii soleant deponere quam . . hi qui circa principem sunt occupati, ut in consiliarii Menandri Arrii persona est indultum (not until Ulpian's time?). His four books on military law were composed under Severus between 198 and 211; see Dig. XLIX 16, 13, 6: divus Severus et Antoninus . . iusserunt, quod . . Menander scribit, while Menander in all other passages omits Caracalla's joint reign; see Dig. XLIX 16, 4, 9 (cf. ib. 5, 4): imperator noster rescripsit. The passages and quotations concerning this work are collected by Hommel Paling. I p. 447—450. Coelest. Mirabelli comm. ad fragm. A. M., Biturig. 1667 and cum notis ed. J. G. Harnisch, Lips. 1752. 4. P. J. Suringar, de A. M. icto eiusque fragmentis, Lugd. Bat. 1840. Fitting, the Age of ihe Writ. p. 33 sq.

5. We do not know the exact time of Rutilius Maximus from whose liber singularis ad legem Falcidiam a passage is quoted Dig. XXX 125 (between passages of Neratius and Paulus). Cf. Fragm. Vat. 113: frustra Maximus . . iudicavit etc. and: Maximi sententia . . placuit.

6. Two passages of Tertullian's Quaestionum libri VIII and three of his liber singularis de castrensi peculio are quoted in the Digest; see Hommel, Paling. II p. 505 sq. Just as he himself quoted Sex. Pomponius (Dig. XXIX 2, 30, 6), he is repeatedly mentioned by Ulpian in the libri ad Sabinum which were written under Caracalla. Hence it appears that Tertullian the Jurist was at all events a contemporary of the ecclesiastic writer (below 369). There is the less reason to assume the two to be different persons, as the latter had certainly been a Jurist (Euseb. h. eccl. II 2 calls him *τοὺς Ῥωμαίων νόμους ἠκριβωκότα ἄνδρα*) and as he often shows his legal knowledge in his theological works (e. g. apolog. 1—6. 28—44. de anima 6), and as lastly the difference of diction in the juridical fragments as compared with the theological works may be due to the discrepancy of the subject. J. H. Blumenbach, de scto Q. Septimio Florente presbytero et icto Tertulliano, Hildesheim 1743. 4. J. A. Pagenstecher, de iurisprudentia Tertulliani, Harderov. 1768. 4. Zimmern, Private Law I 1. p. 365—367. Rudorff, Hist. of Law I p. 196 sq. Fitting, the Age of the Writ. p. 33.

368. The earliest extant work of Latin Christian literature is the dialogue Octavius by M. Minucius Felix. The

current prejudices and arguments against Christianity and its adherents are in it developed with much vivacity and spirit, and refuted in an ingenious, sagacious and eloquent manner. The author himself possesses the usual philosophical and aesthetical training of his period and writes for educated readers. In his diction he imitates ancient models and his style is fluent and elegant.

1. Lactant. inst. div. V 1 (p. 230 Fri.): si qui forte litteratorum se ad eam (i. e. sapientia et veritas = Christianity, cf. n. 4) contulerunt defensioni eius non suffecerunt. ex iis qui mihi noti sunt Minucius Felix non ignobilis inter causidicos loci fuit. huius liber, cui Octavio titulus est, declarat quam idoneus veritatis assertor esse potuisset si se totum ad id studium contulisset. Septimius quoque Tertullianus etc. (below 369, 2). Cf. ib. I 11 (p. 29): Minucius Felix in eo libro qui Octavius inscribitur. Hieronym. de vir. ill. 58: Minucius Felix, Romae insignis causidicus, scripsit dialogum christiani et ethnici disputantium qui Octavius inscribitur. sed et alius sub nomine eius fertur De fato vel Contra mathematicos, qui cum sit et ipse diserti hominis non mihi videtur cum superioris libri stilo convenire. This distinction was caused by the fact that Octav. 36, 5 (ac de fato satis vel, si pauca pro tempore, disputaturi alias et uberius et plenius) a work of this kind was promised. To judge from the order of enumeration, which is in general chronological, though often also inconsistent, Jerome seems to place Minucius under Severus. See also Hieron. Ep. 70, 5 (ad Magnum or.): veniam ad Latinos. quid Tertulliano eruditius? . . Minucius Felix, causidicus romani fori, in libro cui titulus Octavius est et in altero contra mathematicos (si tamen inscriptio non mentitur auctorem) quid gentilium scripturarum dimisit intactum? Septem libros adv. g. Arnobius edidit totidemque discipulus eius Lactantius. . . Victorinus etc. Cyprianus etc. Jerome places the more famous and perhaps earlier of the two contemporaries, Minucius and Tertullian, in the first place. But Ebert, Trans. of the Sax. Soc. of Lit. 1868, p. 353—379, has shown that Tert. in his first large Christian work, his apologeticum, employed the Octavius, so that the latter would appear to be earlier than Tertullian's literary works on Christianity.

2. The form of a dialogue was chosen in imitation of the manner of Aristotle and Cicero, the last time adopted by Annius Florus (above 336, 7). The Octavius exhibits an evident imitation of Cicero's work de deorum natura; see Ebert (n. 1) p. 328—331. 354—358. 367 sq. E. Behr, on the Oct. of M. F. in its relation to Cic. d. d. n., Gera 1870. 35 pp. diss. Seneca's works de superstitione and de providentia are also employed. The speakers are Caecilius Natalis, Octavius Ianuarius, and the author (Marcus). The latter and Caecilius reside at Rome, Minucius' friend and companion in his studies (contubernalis)

the solicitor (28, 3) Octavius in the province, perhaps Africa. The scene is laid on the beach at Ostia; the time when the dialogue is said to have taken place being remote, when Octavius (now dead) had quite young children (2, 1) and Fronto, as it seems, was still alive (Cirtensis nostri oratio are the words of Caecilius 9, 6; tuus Fronto 31, 2 of Octavius). Of modern writers Thallus (21, 4) and Antonius Julianus (above 346, 1) are mentioned. From the candour of the statements and the entire absence of any bitterness of tone we might infer that the work was written at a time when the Christian religion had not experienced any persecution.

3. Caecilius (n. 2) attacks Christianity as desertion from the belief of the ancestors and hurtful to morals and decency. Octavius (n. 2) defends it first (17—27) as denoting progress in comparison with polytheism, the errors and evil results of which are emphatically described, then (28—38) he pleads for the moral views and usages of the Christians. The adversary confesses to be convinced in all main points, though he retains certain doubts, and the author can thus dispense with his arbitration. See the survey of contents given by Ebert (n. 1) p. 332—340.

4. This work gives us a faithful idea of Christianity such as it appeared to the educated class of this period, i. e. as a desertion of the nonsense and shamelessness of polytheism and as the vivid conception of one God. In enlarging upon this idea our writer grows quite warm (18); here his tone becomes inspired and also in those passages where he speaks of the pride and gladness of the Christians in dying, a passage which reminds us of Seneca de provid. 2, 9 c. 37: quam pulchrum spectaculum deo cum christianus . . libertatem suam adversus reges et principes erigit, soli deo, cuius est, cedit etc. Christianity appears to him as a higher degree of intellectual culture, as opposed to imperitiae volgaris caecitas (3, 1) being lux sapientiae et veritatis (1, 4). The Christian doctrines are touched upon in a nice and fastidious manner, and very peculiar ones, such as trinity and Christology (chiefly the doctrine of the Logos) are passed over, not even baptism being mentioned and no quotations of biblical passages being inserted. This was certainly in favour of the popular effect of the work. Ethical and philosophical views prevail throughout. The philosophers are recognised as such who de divinis praedictionibus prophetarum umbram interpolatae veritatis imitati sint. But 38, 5: philosophorum supercilia contemnimus, quos corruptores et adulteros novimus et tyrannos et semper adversus sua vitia facundos. This treatment of Christianity resembles Seneca's treatment of Stoicism, and in other respects, too, Min. might be described as a kind of Christian Seneca (Ebert, p. 383, n. 67). The form of the dialogue is carried out with much care and ability. The diction is sometimes (especially in the introduction) somewhat affected, but still much more natural than that of Fronto and Apuleius. With the latter Min. shares some peculiar phrases, e. g. plurimum quantum, impiatus etc.

5. We possess the Octavius only in a Paris ms. saec. IX (regius nr. 1661), where it is given as the eighth book of Arnobius adv. gentes and in a very corrupt text. The second ms., (Burgundicus) at Brussels, is merely a copy of the Paris ms.

6. Editio princeps (from the regius) Rom. 1543 (after Arnobius). The first independent edition by Balduinus, Heidelberg 1560. With emendations by Fulvius Ursinus, Rom. 1583. Ed. Des. Heraldus (Paris 1605. 1613), Rigaltius (Paris 1643. 1645), J. Ouzelius (cum notis variorum, Lugd. Bat. 1672), J. Davisius (cum observ., Cantabrig. 1707), J. Gronovius (Lugd. Bat. 1709. Rotterdam 1743), J. G. Lindner (Langensalza 1760; ed. II 1773), C. de Muralt (praef. est J. C. Orelli, Zürich 1836), Migne (Patrolog. curs. III, Paris 1844, p. 231—360, with various treatises p. 194—231. 371—652), Fr. Oehler (Lips. 1847), J. B. Kayser (in us. schol., Paderborn 1863), and especially rec. et comm. critico instr. C. Halm (Corp. script. eccl. lat. II), Vienna 1867.

7. J. D. van Hoven, de aetate, dignitate et patria Min. Fel., Camp. 1762. 4. (also in Lindner's ed. of 1773). H. Meier, comm. de Min. Fel., Zürich 1824. C. Rören, Minuciana, i. e. Annotatt. critt. ad etc. praemissa commentatione de ipsius scriptoris aetate, Bedburg 1859. 26 pp. 4. J. B. Kayser in Th. Wiedemann's Austrian 'Quartalschrift' for Rom. cathol. theol. I 4. 1862. A. Ebert, Tertullian's relation to Min. Felix, Leipzig 1868 (Trans. of the Saxon Society of Lit. V p. 321—386). Critical contributions by E. Bährens, lectiones latin. (Bonn 1870) p. 22—31.

369. Q. Septimius Florus Tertullianus (c. 145—220) is a very peculiar character — an author of much independence and genius, endowed with lively imagination and ready wit, and so passionate as to be often of an overpowering eloquence, though very frequently he oversteps all limits and consumes his own passion in his zeal, without giving light and warmth. The element of his life is in struggling and fighting, and his numerous writings are chiefly of a controversial character, either aggressive or apologetic. At first he defended Christianity against its oppressors and enemies, especially in his Apologeticum; but within the pale of Christianity his enthusiasm was not fully satisfied until he became an adherent and the Western defender of Montanus' doctrine and its phantastical vaticinations and severe ascetic habits, though his penetrating mind softened the harshest parts of it. The tone and character of these works are the same throughout: thoughtful but unpolished in form, passionate and intricate, the diction being eloquent and powerful, concise and energetic and frequently obscure.

1. Hieronym. de vir. illustr. 53: Tertullianus presbyter nunc demum primus post Victorem (sub Severo principe, c. 34) et Apollonium (sub Commodo principe, c. 42) Latinorum ponitur, provinciae Africae, civitatis Carthaginiensis, patre centurione proconsulari. hic acris et vehementis ingenii sub Severo principe et Antonino Caracalla maxime floruit multaque scripsit volumina, quae quia nota sunt pluribus praetermittimus. . . hic cum usque ad mediam aetatem presbyter ecclesiae permansisset, invidia postea et contumeliis clericorum romanae ecclesiae (cf. Tert. de cultu fem. I 7. Euseb. hist. eccl. II 2) ad Montani dogma delapsus in multis libris novae prophetiae (i. e. Montanism) meminit, specialiter autem adversum ecclesiam texuit volumina de pudicitia, de persecutione, de ieiuniis, de monogamia, de ecstasi libros VI (now lost) et septimum quem adversum Apollonium composuit. ferturque vixisse usque ad decrepitam aetatem et multa quae non (Vat.: nunc) extant opuscula condidisse. Such lost works of Tert. were de vestibus Aronis (Hieron. Ep. 64, 23); de animae submissione; de superstitione saeculi; de carne et anima: de spe fidelium; de trinitate; de animalibus mundis et immundis; de circumcisione; de virginitate; contra Apellicianos; de paradiso (Tert. de an. 55); in Greek de spectaculis; de baptismo; de velandis virginibus; de corona militis, the Latin version of which by Tert. is extant. On Tert. as Jurist see above 367, 6.

2. Hieron. Ep. 70, 5: quid Tertulliano eruditius, quid acutius? Apologeticus eius et Contra gentes libri cunctam saeculi obtinent disciplinam. Lactant. inst. div. V 1 (p. 230 Fri.): Septimius Tertullianus fuit omni genere litterarum peritus, sed in eloquendo parum facilis et minus comptus et multum obscurus fuit. ergo ne hic quidem satis celebritatis invenit. Besides his obscurity, his Montanism was also much in his way. His theological works may be divided into two classes, one of a general Christian and one of a Montanistic character. To the first belong among the writings we possess his Apologeticum, Ad nationes libri II, De testimonio animae, De cultu feminarum II, De patientia, De paenitentia, De oratione, De baptismo, Ad uxorem II, Ad martyres, Adversus Iudaeos. A certain bent to Montanism is indicated by the treatise De corona militis and further by the treatises in which Montanistic views are developed in a positive manner, De fuga in persecutione, De exhortatione castitatis, De virginibus velandis, De monogamia, De pudicitia, De praescriptionibus haereticorum, De anima, De carne Christi, De resurrectione carnis, Scorpiacum, Ad Scapulam, De idololatria, De spectaculis, and in those which are intended to defend them against literary or dogmatic attacks: De ieiunio adversus psychicos (= catholicos, as opposed to pneumatici or Montanists), Adversus Praxean, Adv. Hermogenem, adv. Marcionem libri V, Adv. Valentinianos. Those writings of Tert. which admit of chronological determination fall between 199 and 212. The most positive date given is adv. Marc. I 15: ad XV iam Severi imperatoris = a. 207. J. A. Nösselt, de vera aetate ac doctrina scriptorum Tert. in his Opusc. ad hist. eccl. III p. 1 sqq. = Tertull. ed. Oehler III p. 540—619. G. Uhl-

horn, fundamenta chronologiae Tertullianeae, Götting. 1852. Kellner, on the chronology of Tert. I (de pallio and his year of conversion 193) Tüb. theolog. Quartalschr. LII (1870) p. 547—566. II ibid. LIII (1871) p. 585—609.

3. The sect of the Montanists arose in Phrygia and their doctrine rests on a onesided exaggeration of Christian religious feeling, which manifested itself in ecstatic visions and chiliastic dreams of the approaching end of the world (*συντέλεια*) and the joys of heavenly Jerusalem, for which it was necessary to prepare by strict ascetic habits (abstinence of meat and wine, theatre, veiling of virgins, chastity etc.). Analogous appearances may be found in almost every one century of Christianity, e. g. Anabaptists, Camisards, Irvingians etc. Montanism found a very fertile soil among the female sex (prophetesses). But such a mind as Tertul. thought it interesting to occupy a higher pinnacle of piety than the rest of the congregation and to be a direct instrument of the divine spirit; his hatred of all halfness being naturally pleased with the strictness of the Montanists. J. C. A. Schwegler, Montanism and the Christian church of the second century, Tüb. 1841 and on this L. Georgii in the German Jahrb. 1842, p. 45—59. 129—151. J. Ch. Baur, Eccles. Hist. of the three first centuries (Tüb. 1863) p. 235—245.

4. Among the works of Tert. much interest attaches to the Apologeticum, composed a. 199, an apology addressed to the rom. imperii antistites (praesides) and containing elaborate explanations concerning the political and legal charges (not treated by Minucius Felix) brought against the Christians on account of not worshipping the Gods and Emperors, and being indifferent or even hostile to the State. Cf. A. Ebert (above 368, 7) p. 342—349. Besides the Octavius (above 368, 1) Tert. seems to have employed Justinus' *ἀπολογία*. The attack is cutting and bitter, the diction rhetorical and original. Editions by S. Havercamp (Lugd. B. 1718), Fr. Oehler (with adnot., Halle 1849), J. Kayser (Paderborn 1865). J. L. Mosheim, de vera aetate apol. a Tert. conscripti initioque persecutionis Severi, in Oehler's ed. of Tert. III p. 490—510.

5. Of importance for the history of general culture and the study of antiquities are especially the works Ad nationes, De idololatria, De spectaculis, De pallio (ed. Cl. Salmasius, Paris 1622. Lugd. B. 1656). The treatise Adversus Iudaeos agrees almost verbally with adv. Marc. III (Semler p. 640—657 ap. Oehler); adv. Valent. is a free translation of Irenaeus c. haer. I (Semler ib. p. 658—681). Ad nationes is in parts a repetition of the apolog. In the earlier edd. a spurious work adversus haereses is appended to the work de praescr. haer. On the treatise contra Praxean see R. A. Lipsius in Liebner's Annals of German Theology XIII (1868) p. 701—724.

6. In some mss. saec. IX and X some Christian poems (de Sodoma, de Iona) are ascribed to Tert., though without much reason,

no doubt merely because they had once been copied or bound together with Tert.'s works. Comp. L. Müller, Rhein. Mus. XXII p. 329—344. 464.

7. The editions of the works of Tert. are enumerated by Schönemann, Bibl. historico-litteraria patrum I p. 9 sqq. Ed. princeps per B. Rhenanum, Basil. 1521 fol. Cum adnotatt. J. Pamelii, Antv. 1579 fol., Franeker 1597 and elsewhere. Cum observ. N. Rigaltii, Lutet. 1634. 1641 fol. and elsewhere. Rec. J. S. Semler, Halle 1770. 6 vols. Cura Fr. Oberthür, Würzburg 1780, 2 vols. Ed. Leopold, Lips. 1839 sqq. (in Gersdorf's Bibl. patr.). In Migne's Patrolog. curs. vol. I—III. Tert. quae supersunt omnia, ed. Franc. Oehler, Lips. 1853 sq., 3 vols., Vol. III (Lips. 1851) being a collection of the treatises De Tert. vita by J. Pamelius, P. Allix, N. de Nourry (diss. in apolog., ad nat., ad Scap.), J. L. Mosheim (see n. 4.), G. Zentner, J. A. Nösselt (see n. 2), J. S. Semler (de varia et incerta indole librorum Tert.) and J. Kaye (de Tert. et eius scriptis, p. 697—729). Ed. minor cum adn. crit. et indicibus, Lips. 1854.

8. Coenen, comm. de Tert., Utrecht 1825. 128 pp. A. Neander, Antignosticus, on the spirit of Tertul., with an introd. to his works, Berlin 1825. 1849. K. Hesselberg, Tert's. doctrine, developed from his works. I. Introd., Life and Writings, Dorpat 1848. 135 pp. Grotemeyer, on Tert. Life and works, I. Kempen 1863. 4. A. Hauber, Tert.'s struggles against a second Christian marriage, theol. Studies and Criticisms by Ullmann 1845, p. 607—662. F. A. Burckhardt, Tert.'s doctrine on the soul, Budissin 1857. 4. Dupin, auteurs eccles. I (ed. 1688) p. 274—379 (p. 320 sq. an excellent delineation of Tert.) R. Ceillier, hist. génér. des auteurs s. et eccl. II (1730) p. 374—529. Eccles. hist. works, e. g. by F. Böhringer, Eccles. Hist. in biographies (Zürich 1864) p. 11—767.

9. P. Langen, de usu praepositionum Tertullianeo, Münster 1868. 18 pp. 4. See above 343, 4. J. Schmidt, de latinitate Tert., Erlangen 1870. 35 pp. 4.

370. Helenius Acron, the commentator of Terence and Horace, perhaps also of Persius, and Pomponius Porphyrion, a grammarian and commentator of Horace and Lucan, seem to belong to the end of the second century. The scholia of Porphyrion are still extant. In the beginning of the third century we possess a grammar by Dositheus together with exercises in Latin and Greek. Of the writings of the learned Sammonicus Serenus the Elder, a great friend of books, nothing has come down to us. In the same way, we know of those of Statilius Maximus on Cato Major and on Cicero only from quotations. We may add that Festus, the author of

the abridgment of Verrius Flaccus, would also seem to belong to this period, unless he be even older.

1. Helenius Acro's commentaries on Terence's Eunuchus and Adelphoe are quoted 13 times by Charisius (from Julius Romanus). E. g. p. 210 K.: Terentius in Eunucho (v. 5): nil prius n. f., ubi Helenium Acronem errasse dicendum est, qui prius sic intellexit etc. Cf. ib. p. 201, 3. 216, 9. Helenius Acron commentariis quos Adelphis Terenti non indiligentes attulit, ib. p. 192 cf. p. 200, 16. 219, 5. 126, 17. 130, 12. 197, 25. 210, 11 also p. 119, 12 sqq.: id Helenius Acron sic oportere dici in eadem Terentii fabula (Adelph.) disputavit Verriumque dicit errare etc. . . qui autem cum Helenio faciunt hanc afferunt causam etc. He would appear to have lived (after Gellius, who does not mention him, and) before Romanus. For his commentary on Horace see above 235, 3. Porphyr. on Hor. S. I 8, 25 (II p. 150 Hth.): memini me legere apud Helenium Acronem, Saganam nomine fuisse Horatii temporibus etc. This is perhaps from the work de personis horatianis. He also seems to have written a commentary on Persius. Schol. Pers. II 56: Acron tradit quod etc., and Parrhasius (in Gruteri Lampas I p. 735) says: incidi in Probi grammatici commentarios in primam Persii satiram. . . in iis ita scriptum legimus: curas (v. 1) Acroni proprie dicere videtur etc. Hence O. Jahn (Persius p. CLIX) assigns to (Helenius) Acro those parts of the Scholia of Cornutus which exhibit too much information to suit Cornutus and still cannot be traced back to Valerius Probus. There are no certain traces of a commentary on Virgil by Acro; Ribbeck Prolegg. p. 175. Cf. Gräfenhan, Hist. of Class. Philol. IV p. 308—313.

2. The name of Acro is (as early as in a glossary of saec. VIII, at the latest X, see Usener Rhein. Mus. XXIII p. 190 sq.) given to a collection of Scholia on Horace made between saec. VII and IX. On S. I 5, 97 Theoctistus (whom see) a grammarian of saec. VI, is mentioned. The original author of these Scholia appears to have before him the genuine Acro (n. 1) and Porphyrio (n. 4); but this groundwork is quite overlaid with a number of worthless mediaeval observations by various authors. O. Keller, Symb. phil. Bonn. p. 499—502 thought that he could distinguish two portions, the earlier being of the beginning of saec. V, the later of the close of the same century. Cf. J. Schlenger in the Progr. of the College at Mayence, 1868, p. 1 sq. and the works enumerated above 235, 4.

3. A St. Gall ms. saec. IX—X of 70 leaves contains on fol. 1—31 the grammatica Dosithei magistri, with a verbal translation into Greek (e. g. ars τεχνη grammatica γραμματικη est εστιν scientia γνωσις), which becomes scanty soon after the explanation of the noun and finally disappears altogether, perhaps because the scribe became tired of such tedious work. Besides the Grammar there are also exercises for translation (ἑρμηνεύματα), e. g. (with the date of a. 207) from Hygini

genealogia (above 257, 5), Adrian's ἀποφάσεις (above 341, 5), the piece de manumissionibus (above 364, 5). C. Lachmann, Essay on Dositheus, Berlin 1837. 4. H. E. Dirksen, on the legal sources of the Mag. Dositheus, Posthumous Writings II p. 392 sqq. Besides these parts, which had already been published, H. Keil has recently edited the first part of the grammar (quae est de arte grammatica et de octo partibus orationis): Dositheі ars grammatica ex codice Sangallensi, Halle 1869—71. 70 pp. 4. It is derived from the same sources as Charisius, Diomed, Donatus and others. By rendering every Latin word in Greek a peculiar jargon has arisen. Critical contributions by H. Hagen, Lit. Centralblatt 1871, p. 1269 sq. See Boucherie, Comptes rendus de l'acad. des inscr. 1868, p. 270 sqq., and on him Steup, de Probis p. 41 not. Fol. 32—70 of the ms. contain various astrological and chronological treatises.

4. Pomponius Porphyrio (according to the Munich ms. of the Scholia) lived between 140 and 300, probably c. 200—250, and seems to have been a native of Africa and adherent of Fronto, though well acquainted with Rome and a large part of Italy. Iul. Romanus ap. Charis. p. 220, 28 K.: ut Porphyrio ex Verrio et Festo etc. Schol. Lucan. I 214: Porfirion puniceum interpretatus est quasi phoeniceum, . . Cornutus vero etc. His commentary on Horace exhibits far more judgment than Pseudo-Acro (n. 2) and is chiefly devoted to the logical, rhetorical and grammatical explanation, while he rarely touches on the subject-matter. In the Middle Ages this commentary was far less used than that of Pseudo-Acro and has, therefore, suffered less from interpolation. O. Keller, Symb. phil. Bonn. p. 491—499. E. Schweikert above 235, 4 extr.) p. 31—36. 44. W. Meyer, Contributions towards the criticism of Porphyrion's Scholia on Horace, Munich 1870. 45 pp.

5. Macrob. III 16, 6: temporibus Severi principis, qui ostentabat duritiam morum (i. e. Septimius Sev.), Sammonicus Serenus, vir saeculo suo doctus, cum ad principem suum scriberet, verba Plinii . . praemisit etc. Spartian. Geta 5, 5: Sereni Sammonici libros familiarissimos habuit quos ille ad Antoninum (Geta himself?) scripsit. Erroneous if indeed of Samm., Lyd. de magistr. III 32 extr.: καὶ ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τῶν ποταμῶν (Rhine and Danube) κατὰ Σαμωνικον (?) τὸν ῥωμαῖον ἱστορικόν, ὃς πρὸς Διοκλητιανὸν καὶ Γαλέριον τὸν γέροντα περὶ ποικίλων ζητημάτων διελέχθη. Spartian Carac. 4, 4: occisi (a. 212) nonnulli etiam cenantes, inter quos etiam Sammonicus Serenus, cuius libri plurimi ad doctrinam extant. Macrob. III 9, 6: repperi in libro quinto Rerum reconditarum Sammonici Sereni utrumque carmen. Sidon. Apoll. ad Polem. (before carm. 14): sine M. Varrone, sine Sereno, non Septimio, sed Sammonico, sine Censorino etc. ad Leont. (before carm. 22): Iulium Firmicum, Sammonicum Saturninum (?), in libris matheseos peritissimos conditores, . . didicisse. Cf. Arnob. adv. g. VI 7. Serv. Ge. I 30. 102. Capitol. Gordian. 18, 2: Sereno Sammonico, qui patris eius amicissimus, sibi autem praeceptor fuit, nimis acceptus et carus, usque

adeo ut omnes libros Sereni Sammonici patris sui, qui censebantur ad sexaginta et duo milia, Gordiano minori moriens ille relinqueret.

6. Statilius Maximus is never mentioned by Gellius, and thus appears to be later. On the other hand Julius Romanus (below 375) in Charisius often quotes observations by him concerning adverbs. Cf. Charis. p. 194, 11 K.: licet St. M. de singularibus apud Ciceronem quoque positis notat. Cf. ib. p. 196, 4 (cf. Cic. de inv. II 12, 42). 209, 4 (quod St. M. notat nesciens etc.) 212, 16. 213, 13. 214, 17. 215, 22. 217, 3 and 8. 218, 28. 219, 24 sq. A similar work by St. M. on Cicero senex is indicated by the citations ib. p. 202, 11. (206, 9.) 217, 14. 220, 16. 240, 1 K. The arrangement of these works of St. was probably lexical. Gräfenhan, Hist. of Class. Phil. IV p. 234 sq. From some good old mss. it appears that St. M. emended the speeches of Cicero; see the subscription: Statilius Maximus rursus emendavi ad Tyronem et Laetanianum et Domm. et alios veteres. III oratio eximia. O. Jahn, Trans. of the Saxon Society of Lit. 1851 p. 329 sq.

7. On Festus see above 256, 5 sqq. If Porphyrio had already quoted him (see n. 4), Festus would appear to belong to the middle of the second century.

8. A certain Aquila (*Ἀκύλας*) *γραμματικὸς καὶ μουσικὸς* and *φιλόσοφος, σχόλια λογικὰ γεγραφὼς περὶ συλλογισμῶν* is mentioned by Suid. s. v. (I p. 188 Bnh.).

C. The third century, A. D. 211—305.

The first half, a. 211—253.

371. This period contains the reign of Caracalla (a. 211—217), Macrinus (a. 217), Elagabalus (a. 217—222), Alexander Severus (222—235), Maximinus (235—238), Gordianus I and II (238), Gordianus III (238—244), Philippus Arabs (244—249), Decius Traianus (249—251), Gallus (251—253). Only the reigns of Caracalla, Alexander and Gordianus III lasted some time. During these years the general regress was continued, nay it now even began to extend to Jurisprudence. In comparison with Papinian, the works of Ulpian and Paulus bear rather the character of compilations and revisions of extant materials. Censorinus and Julius Romanus were respectable scholars; likewise Gargilius Martialis. Historical composition was represented by the predecessor of the scriptores historiae augustae, Marius Maximus. But Cassius Dio and Herodianus wrote in Greek. Christianity produced Cyprian, and its first poet, Commodianus, who, however, wrote in a barbarous prosody. Serenus Samonicus exhibits the in-

fluence of the age of the Antonines in his fondness of archaic forms. The provinces, to which Caracalla's Constitutio Antoniniana of a. 212 had granted equal rights with Italy, contributed largely to literature, just as they furnished many Emperors to the throne.

1. Bassianus Caracalla (or Caracallus), born 4 April 188, Caesar (M. Aurelius Antoninus) 196, appointed Augustus by his father Sept. Severus 198, his successor Febr. 211, at first with his brother (P. Septimius) Geta, after whose assassination he reigned alone. He was killed 8 April 217. Consecrated under the name of Antoninus Magnus. Ulp. Dig. I 5, 17: in orbe romano qui sunt ex constitutione imperatoris Antonini (cf. Dio LXXVII 9) cives romani effecti sunt.

2. Caracalla's praef. praet. and assassin Opilius Macrinus reigned with his son Diadumenus during one year and two months. Both were assassinated. Capit. Macrin. 14, 4: quod cum Macrinus audisset fecit iambos, qui non extant. iucundissimi autem fuisse dicuntur. Cf. ib. 11, 5: hos versus nescio qui latinos . . in foro posuit. quibus acceptis Macrinus his versibus respondisse fertur (two distichs).

3. Elagabal, originally Varius Avitus Bassianus, the son of Soaemias, whom his grandmother Iulia Maesa declared to be a son of Caracalla, hence called M. Aurelius Antoninus Heliog., assassinated by the Praetorian guard March 222. He was succeeded by the son of his aunt (Iulia) Mammaea:

4. Alexander Aug. (always so called in legal works), adopted by Elagabal, which Alex. however disclaimed afterwards and called himself the son of Antoninus Magnus (n. 1). As Caesar he was called M. Aurelius Alexander, as Augustus also Severus. He was born c. 205, reigned since 222, and was killed March 235. Lamprid. Alex. 27, 5 sqq.: facundiae graecae magis quam latinae nec versu invenustus. . . vitas principum bonorum versibus scripsit. K. Salzer, the Syrian Emperors Heliog. and Alex. Sev., Heidelberg 1866. Lamprid. Alex. 44, 4 sq.: rhetoribus, grammaticis, medicis, haruspicibus, mathematicis, mechanicis, architectis salaria instituit et auditoria decrevit et discipulos cum annonis pauperum filios, modo ingenuos, dari iussit (at Rome). etiam in provinciis oratoribus forensibus multum detulit, plerisque etiam annonas dedit, quos constitisset gratis agere. 68, 1: ut scias qui viri in eius consilio fuerint: Fabius Sabinus, Sabini insignis viri filius, Cato temporis sui; Domitius Ulpianus, iuris peritissimus; Aelius Gordianus, Gordiani imp. filius scientia iuris insignis; Iulius Paulus, iuris peritissimus; Claudius Venacus, orator amplissimus; Catilius Severus, cognatus eius, vir omnium doctissimus; Aelius Serenianus, omnium vir sanctissimus; Quintilius Marcellus, quo meliorem ne historiae quidem continent.

5. C. Iulius Maximinus (litterarum fere rudis, Aur. Vict. Caes. 25) and his cognominous son, reigned three years, and were killed a. 238 by Pupienus.

6. M. Antonius Gordianus (a. 158–238) and his son (Gord. iunior, 193—238) reigned only 36 days. The father, vita venerabilis, cum Platone semper, cum Aristotele, cum Tullio, cum Vergilio ceterisque veteribus agens, alium quam merebatur exitum passus est, Capitol. Gord. 7, 1. Adulescens cum esset . . poemata scripsit, quae omnia extant, et quidem cuncta illa quae Cicero (above 176, 2). . . scripsit, praeterea quemadmodum Vergilius Aeneidos . . ita etiam ille Antoniniados (libros), h. e. Antoninum Pium et Antonium Marcum versibus disertissimis libris XXX vitam illorum et bella et publice privatimque gesta perscribens. et haec quidem puerulus. . . ubi adolevit . . controversias declamavit etc. ib. 3, 3 sq. Scripsit et laudes soluta oratione omnium Antoniorum qui ante eum fuerunt. ib. 4, 7. His grandson (by a daughter, Orelli-Henzen 5529 sq., cf. Capitol. Gord. 4, 2), Gordianus III reigned at first together with Clodius Pupienus Maximus and Caecilius Balbinus, and alone after their speedy downfall. Duxit uxorem filiam Misithei (or Timesithei) doctissimi viri, quem causa eloquentiae . . praefectum statim fecit, Capitol. Gord. 23, 6. Extat et soceri eius ad eum epistula et ipsius Gordiani ad socerum, qua intellegitur eius saeculum emendatius ac diligentius socero adiuvante perfectum, ib. 24, 1 and the letters ib. 24, 2—25. 4. Oratio Gordiani ad senatum in praise of Timesitheus ib. 27, 4 sqq. But Gordianus M. Philippi (n. 7) praef. praet. insidiis periit sexennio imperii (Febr. 244), Victor Caes. 27, 8.

7. M. Iulius Philippus Arabs Thraconites and his son Philippus annos potentiae quinque egere (Victor Caes. 28, 1. 11). A. 248 = 1001 V. C. the Millennium of Rome was celebrated.

8. C. Messius Q. Traianus Decius, Sirmiensium vico ortus, and his son Etruscus (Caesar), fell in the war with the Goths, a. 251.

9. Gallus and Hostilianus Augusti; but Host. died soon; then Gallus' son, Volusianus, became Caesar. Father and son were supplanted and killed by Aemilius Aemilianus, who reigned only three months, and all together reigned only two years. Victor Caes. 30 sq.

372. The literary works of the Jurist Domitius Ulpianus from Tyre, praef. praet. under Elagabal and Alexander (Severus) and for some time all-powerful under the latter, but assassinated a. 228, were almost exclusively composed in the reign of Caracalla. The most important of his numerous works were the 83 books Ad edictum and the 51 books Ad Sabinum. His Regularum liber singularis and Institutionum libri II are extant, but only in fragments. His works enjoyed for a long time high authority on account of their abundance of mate-

rials, combined with pertinent criticism and a clear style. In Justinian's Digest the Extracts from his works form a full third of the whole work.

1. Ulp. Dig. L 15, 1 pr.: est in Syria Phoenice splendidissima Tyriorum colonia, unde mihi origo est. Spartian. Pescenn. Nig. 7, 4: Paulus (below 373) et Ulpianus . . Papiniano in consilio fuerunt ac postea, cum unus ad memoriam, alter ad libellos paruisset, statim praefecti facti sunt. Lamprid. Heliogab. 16, 4: removit et Ulpianum ictum, ut bonum virum, et Silvinum rhetorem, quem magistrum Caesaris fecerat. et Silvinus quidem occisus est, Ulpianus vero reservatus. Alexand. Sev. 26, 5: Paulum et Ulpianum in magno honore habuit, quos praefectos ab Heliogabalo alii dicunt factos, alii ab ipso. nam et consiliarius Alexandri et magister scrinii Ulpianus fuisse perhibetur, qui tamen ambo assessores Papiniani fuisse dicuntur. Vict. Caes. 24, 6: Domitium Ulpianum, quem Heliogabalus praetorianis praefecerat, eodem honore retinens Pauloque inter exordia patriae reddito, iuris auctoribus, quantus erga optimos atque aequi studiosos esset edocuit. Lamprid. Alex. Sev. 51, 4: Ulpianum pro tutore habuit, primum repugnante matre, deinde gratias agente, . . atque ideo summus imperator fuit quod eius consiliis praecipue remp. rexit. 15, 6: negotia et causas prius a scriniorum principibus et doctissimis iurisperitis et sibi fidelibus, quorum primus tunc Ulpianus fuit, tractari . . praecepit. 31, 2: neque umquam solum quemquam nisi praefectum suum vidit, et quidem Ulpianum, ex assessore semper suo, causa iustitiae singulis. See also ib. 27, 2. 34, 6. 67, 2. Cod. VIII 38, 4 (of 30 March 222): secundum responsum Domitii Ulpiani, praefecti annonae, icti, amici mei. IV 65, 5 (of 1 December 222): ad Domitium Ulpianum, praefectum praet. et parentem meum. Dio LXXX 1: *Ἀλέξανδρος . . Δομιτίῳ τινὶ Οὐλπιανῷ τήν τε τῶν δορυφόρων προστασίαν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπέτρεψε πράγματα.* ib. 2: *ὁ Οὐλπιανὸς πολλὰ μὲν τῶν οὐκ ὀρθῶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Σαρδαναπάλλου πραχθέντων ἐπηνώρθωσε, τὸν δὲ δὴ Φλαουιανὸν τόν τε Χρῆστον ἀποκτείνας, ἵν' αὐτοὺς διαδέξηται, καὶ αὐτὸς οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ὑπὸ τῶν δορυφόρων ἐπιθεμένων οἱ νυκτὸς κατεσφάγη, καίπερ καὶ πρὸς τὸ παλάτιον ἀναδραμὼν καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν αὐτοκράτορα τήν τε μητέρα αὐτοῦ καταφυγών.* The principal author of this Dio states to have been a certain Epagathos. See more details in Zosim. I 11. Hieronym. ad a. 2242 = 228 A. D.: Ulpianus ictus assessor Alexandri insignissimus habetur. This is rather the year in which Ulpian died.

2. Before the death of Severus (a. 211) Ulpian published only his liber singularis de excusationibus, of which the later work de officio praetoris tutelaris, published under Caracalla, is so to say the second edition (Mommsen). The commentary on the Edict, or at least the first half of it, was also written under Severus, though not edited until afterwards, or, if indeed it was published before, it was subsequently revised. The majority of his publications belongs to the time of the

sole power of Caracalla (a. 211—217) or was finally revised by him in this time. Caracalla is in them always mentioned as living (imperator). Only the five books de adulteriis would seem to have been written under Macrinus (or Elagabal). Fitting, the age of the Writ. p. 34—44, with Th. Mommsen, Zeitschr. f. Rechtsgesch. IX p. 101 sq. 113 sq. Lamprid. Heliog. 16, 2 is erroneous: Sabinum consularem, ad quem libros Ulpianus scripsit, . . iussit occidi. See rather above 276, 1.

3. The so-called Fragmenta Ulpiani have been preserved in a Vatican ms. saec. X and are there styled Tituli ex corpore Ulpiani. They belong to his liber singularis Regularum. Both the arrangement and execution agree with Gaius. Much is missing at the beginning, and much at the end; the middle parts are unskilful excerpts from Ulpian's work. Huschke, iurisprud. anteiust.[2] p. 467—470. Editio princeps by Jo. Tilius, Paris 1549. Editions (chiefly with the Inst., n. 4) by Hugo (Götting. 1788. 1811. 1814. 1822. 1834), E. Böcking (Bonn 1831. 1836. 1845. ed. IV Lips. 1855, with an essay by Th. Mommsen, de Ulp. regul. libro sing.), J. Vahlen (Bonn 1856). Also in R. Gneist's Instit. syntagma (Lips. 1858) and Huschke's iurisprud. anteiust.[2] p. 472—521. Heimbach, on Ulp.'s fragments, Leipzig 1834. K. D. A. Röder, Critical Attempts on Ulpian's fragments, Gött. 1856. 99 pp.

4. Of the first book of the Institutions of Ulp. some fragments were discovered by Endlicher a. 1835 on part of a binding in the library at Vienna, originally appertaining to saec. V. Endlicher, de inst. Ulp. fragmento Vindob. nuper reperto, Wien 1835. Cf. Th. Mommsen, in Savigny's Zeitschr. f. gesch. Rechtswiss. XV (Berl. 1850) p. 372 sqq. Huschke, iurisprud. anteiust.[2] p. 522—524. Edited (see n. 3) e. g. by Huschke l. l. p. 525—527. F. P. Bremer, de Dom. Ulp. instit. scripsit atque earundem inst. reliquias adiecit, Bonn 1863. 106 pp. Besides that ms., thirteen passages of the work occur in the Pandect (Hommel Paling. III p. 411 and 413), others in the Collatio legum. See the complete collection in P. Krüger's Critical Attempts on Roman Law (Berlin 1870) p. 163—172, cf. ibid. p. 140 sqq.

5. The principal work of Ulp. was Ad edictam libri LXXXIII, i. e. 81 excerpted in the Pandect and forming its groundwork (Hommel, Paling. III p. 39—383) and two books Ad edictum aedilium curulium (ib. p. 383—394), also (in two editions, see Cod. Iust. const. Cordi nobis § 3 fin.) Ad Sabinum (cf. n. 2) libri LI (Hommel III p. 459–589). Also Ad legem Iuliam et Papiam libri XX; Ad legem Iuliam de adulteriis libri II; Ad legem Aeliam Sentiam libri IV; Protribunalium or de omnibus tribunalibus libri X; De appellationibus libri IV; De censibus libri VI; Fideicommissorum libri XI; De adulteriis libri V (cf. n. 2); De sponsalibus; De officio proconsulis libri X (b. VII contained the Rescripts against the Christians and the mathematici, Lactant. inst. V 11. Collat. leg. XV 2; cf. A. F. Rudorff, on the liber de off. procos., Berlin 1866. 4. Trans. of the Ac.); De officio consulis libri III; De officio quaestoris libri II (or I); libri singulares de officio consularium, de off.

curatoris reip., praefecti vigilum, praefecti urbi, praetoris tutelaris, de excusationibus (n. 2). Also Disputationum (publicarum) libri X, Opinionum libri VI, Responsorum libri II, Institutionum libri II (n. 4), Regularum liber singularis (n. 3), Regularum libri VII. In general 2462 passages from Ulpian have been admitted into the Pandect; they form the third volume of Hommel's Palingenesia (618 pp.). Merely quoted are Ulpian's Pandectarum libri X, and his Notes on Aristo (Dig. XXIX 7, 9), Marcellus (ib. XX 1, 27. XXVI 7, 28, 1) and on Papinian's Responsa (ib. III 5, 31, 2. L 8, 3 pr.).

6. Cod. IX 41, 11 (Diocletian, a. 290): vir prudentissimus Domitius Ulpianus in Publicarum disputationum libris ad perennem scientiae memoriam refert. Justinian Cod. VI 25, 9 (a. 531): tam Ulpiano quam Papiniano, viris disertissimis. VI 51, 9: non ineleganter summi ingenii vir Ulpianus. Novell. XCVII 6, 1: *Οὐλπιανὸν τὸν σοφώτατον*. His pupil Modestinus calls him *ὁ κράτιστος* (Dig. XXVI 6, 2, 5. XXVII 1, 2 fin. 4, 1). On the whole Ulpian was more reproductive than productive, and lacked the originality and independence of Papinian; but he knew how to deal with and arrange his subject. It is strange that he never mentions his contemporary Paulus, who in his turn mentions him in only one place (Dig. XIX 1, 43).

7. J. Lectius, de vita et scriptis D. U., Geneva 1601 = Otto Thesaur. I. H. Steger (F. C. Conradi), de D. U., Lips. 1725. 4. Zimmern, Rom. private Law, I 1. p. 367—374. F. A. Schilling, diss. de U., Breslau 1824. G. Bruns in Pauly's Enc. VI 2. p. 2697—2700. Rudorff, Hist. of Rom. Law I. p. 189—192.

8. In the mss. of the Notitia dignitatum we find also a brief Survey of the various degrees of relation (cf. 373, 4) in agreement with the terms used by Gaius and remarkable for its lucidity, whence Huschke (iurispr. anteiust.[2] p. 529) believes it to have been derived from a work by Ulpian, either the Regulae or Inst. It is printed in Böcking's Corp. iur. anteiust. p. 173, and in his edition of Ulpian's fragments[4] p. 183, in Huschke l. l. p. 530 sq.

9. The fragmentum de iure fisci, which is preserved by two leaves of the Chapter Library at Verona and was first published together with Gaius, is by Huschke, iurispr. anteiust.[2] p. 536—538, attributed to Ulpian on account of the scribendi elegantia et tota tractandi ratio; he declares against the authorship of Paulus, which is accepted by Rudorff, Hist. of Law I p. 193 sq. 241 sq., and against assigning it to the age of Diocletian (between a. 286 and 326), as C. W. Walch does (de aetate fragm. veteris icti de i. f., Jena 1838). It is certain that it belongs to the end of the second or the commencement of the third century. See the text in Göschen's edition of Gaius (above 357, 5), in Böcking's edition of Ulpian; also in Huschke's iurisprud. anteiust.[2] p. 539—545. Edidit P. Krüger, Lips. (Teubner) 1868. 22 pp.

373. Ulpian was surpassed in fertility by his contemporary Julius Paulus, who was likewise under Alexander Severus praefectus praetorio and possessed much influence. He seems to have survived Ulpian. He enjoyed no less authority, but was decidedly inferior to Ulpian in fluency of style and accuracy of detail. The titles and subjects of their works were frequently identical. Paulus wrote numerous monographs on certain subjects. The most comprehensive of his works was his Ad edictum in 80 books, the one most generally circulated his Sententiae. We possess an abridgment of the latter. The extracts from his works constitute one-sixth of Justinian's Digest.

1. Paulus was, like Papinian, a pupil of Scaevola (above 364, 1) and a member of the Imperial consilium (under Septimius Severus). Paul. Dig. XXIX 2, 97: Papinianus putabat, . . dicebam, . . pronuntiavit (imperator). IV 4, 38: victa tam apud praetorem quam apud praefectum urbi provocaverat. putabam bene iudicatum, . . imperator autem motus est quod etc. dicebam etc. movit etiam illud imperatorem etc. Cf. ib. XLIX 14, 50. Originally a solicitor (Dig. XXXII 78, 6: cum vir ita legasset . . ego apud praetorem fideicommissarium petebam . . nec obtinui), subsequently assessor to the praef. praet. under Papinian; see Paul. Dig. XII 1, 40: lecta est . . (above 366, 1) cautio huius modi. dicebam etc. Magister scrinii memoriae, exiled under Elagabal, recalled by Alexander (Severus) and appointed praef. praet.; see above 372, 1.

2. The three books Decretorum and the treatises de iurisdictione tutelari (ed. II) and de excusationibus tutelarum had already been edited before the death of Severus (a. 211); the sententiarum libri V, as it seems, a short time after Severus' death. Under Caracalla he wrote the treatises de publicis iudiciis, de libertatibus dandis, ad orationem divi Severi, de cognitionibus, perhaps also the two books ad legem Iuliam and the three Fideicommissorum. Under Elagabal (218—222) the books de censibus. The Responsa were not finished until the reign of Alexander (222—235). After Caracalla's death were written the treatises de adulteriis and de iure liberorum, and the commentary on the Edict was concluded under Elagabal or Alexander. In general Paulus offers few hints for the chronological determination of his works, owing to the want of accuracy in his statements. Cf. Fitting, On the Age of the Writ. p. 44—50, and Th. Mommsen, Ztschr. f. Rechtsgesch. IX p. 106 sq. 111 sq. (n. 53). 114—116.

3. The Sententiarum ad filium libri V were a sort of juridical vademecum, containing the uncontested principles of the most usual cases, without statement of reasons and sources, according to the order

of the Edict. Their simplicity and brevity recommended them to ordinary readers and gained for them public authority in a time which was averse to long controversies. See an edict of Constantine a. 327 (Cod. Theod. I 4, 2): Sententiarum libros, plenissima luce et perfectissima elocutione et iustissima iuris ratione succinctos, in iudiciis prolatos valere non dubitatur. Theodosius II and Valentinian III (a. 426) enlarged (Cod. Theod. I 4, 3): Pauli sententias semper valere praecipimus; cf. Consult. 7, 3. In the leges barbarorum these Sent. form the principal source of the prevailing right (hence receptae sunt). Being admitted, though even more abridged, into the Breviarium Alarici, they have come down to us. The Excerpts given there are supplemented by the quotations in the fragmenta Vaticana, the Collatio legum, Consultatio and especially the Digest. Cf. Huschke, iurispr. anteiust.[2] p. 352—358. The principal editions by Cujacius (1566) and J. A. Schulting (Iurisprud. vetus anteiust.), L. Arndts (in the Bonn Corpus iuris anteiust. and Bonn 1833), G. Hänel (Lex Rom. Visigoth., Lips. 1849), Huschke (iurisprud. anteiust.[2] p. 359—465) and others. The Excerpts in the Pandect are collected in Hommel Paling. II. p. 227—268.

4. Through the index Florentinus and the Pandect and the Fragm. Vaticana we know the great extent of Paulus' literary activity: Ad edictum libri LXXX and Ad edictum aedilium curulium libri (II?), also an abridgment (with Additions) Brevium libri XXIII (or ad edictum de brevibus). Quaestionum libri XXVI; Manualium libri III; Sententiarum V (n. 3); Institutorum II (cf. Huschke, iurisprud. antei.[2] p. 466); Regularum VII. Responsorum libri XXIII; Decretorum III; Decretorum s. imperialium sententiarum in cognitionibus prolatarum or Factorum libri VI. Ad Sabinum libri (XVII?); ad Vitellium libri IV (? cf. Mommsen ad Dig. XXXII 78 pr. Ztschr. f. Rechtsgesch. IX p. 116); Epitomarum Alfeni (above 195, 2) libri VIII; Labeonis πιθανῶν libri VIII; ad Plautium libri XVIII; ad Neratium libri IV; Notae ad Iulianum, Scaevolam, Papinianum. Ad legem Iuliam et Papiam libri X; ad legem Aeliam Sentiam libri III; ad legem Iuliam libri II. De adulteriis libri III; Fideicommissorum libri III; de officio consulis II; de off. proconsulis II; de censibus II; de iure fisci II. Besides these works there were 59 libri singulares on all departments of Law, e. g. de legibus, ad legem Cinciam, municipalem, Falcidiam, Velleiam, Fusiam Caniniam; de senatus consultis: ad S. C. Orfitianum, Tertullianum, Silanianum, Turpilianum, Velleianum, Claudianum, Libonianum; ad orationem divi Marci, divi Severi; de iure libellorum; ad regulam Catonianam; de iure singulari; de iuris et facti ignorantia; de variis lectionibus. De officio praefecti urbi, praefecti vigilium, praetoris tutelaris, assessorum; de iurisdictione tutelari (in two editions), de excusationibus tutelarum; de gradibus et affinibus; de dotis repetitione; de donationibus inter virum et uxorem; de intercessionibus feminarum; de usuris. De testamentis in several monographs. De libertatibus dandis; de assignatione libertorum; de iure patronatus. De actionibus, concurrentibus actionibus, conceptione formularum, hypothecaria formula, cognitionibus, liberali causa, septem-

viralibus indiciis, appellationibus. De poenis omnium legum, poenis paganorum, militum: de portionibus quae liberis damnatorum conceduntur; de publicis indiciis, extraordinariis criminibus, adulteriis. In general, there are 2080 extracts from his works in the Digest; see Hommel, Palingenesia II p. 3—300.

5. Modestin. Dig. XXVII 1, 13, 2 (above 364). Gordianns in the Cod. V 4, 6 (a. 239), Diocletian ib. IX 22, 11 (a. 287) and Justinian. const. Omnem (Dig. prooem.) 5: responsum viri prudentissimi Pauli. On account of the authority of his sententiae (n. 3) P. is simply styled iuridicus Consult. 7, 3 and by Isid. Orig. V 24. 30.

6. A. A. Pagenstecher, Iul. Paulus, in the Sylloge diss., Brem. 1713. E. A. O. C. Pagenstecher, Paulus iniuria vapulans, Wetzlar 1726. 4. (= Tractat. iur. I. Würzb. 1734). F. C. Conradi, I. P. ab iniuria criticorum vindicatus, Helmst. 1733 (= Parerg. IV p. 507 sqq.). Zimmern, Private Law. I 1. p. 368—171. 374—378. G. Bruns, in Pauly's Enc. V. p. 1251 sq. Rudorff, Hist. of Law I. p. 192—195.

374. Besides these great authorities a number of Jurists of the second and third rank lived and wrote in this time, the most important being Aelius Marcianus, Aemilius Macer, and especially Ulpian's pupil Herennius Modestinus, who wrote his work on 'excusationes' in Greek, but all others in Latin.

1. Paul. (Quaest. XII) Dig. XL 13, 4: Licinius Rufinus Iulio Paulo: . . quaere . . peto itaque plenissime instruas. XXIV 1, 41: Licinius Rufinus libro VI Regularum: . . nam et Imp. Antoninus (Caracalla, see Mommsen, Ztschr. f. Rechtsgesch. IX. p. 102, n. 24) constituit etc. XLII 1, 34: Licinius Rufinus libro XIII Regularum (ind. Flor. mentions only XII books). The thirteen excerpts from this work in the Digest collected by Hommel Paling. II. p. 399 sq. Treatises de L. R. by H. J. O. König (Halle 1772. 4.) and C. A. H. Clodius (Lips. 1791. 4.).

2. Inst. IV 3, 1: sic et Homerus in Odyssea ait, sicut Aelius Marcianus in suis Institutionibus refert. Cf. Dig. XXXII 65, 4. Altogether there were sixteen books, chiefly after Gaius, but in family law and inheritance following Sabinus and with the addition of the ius extraord. (concerning punishments, fiscus and war); written after the death of Caracalla (divi Severus et Antoninus). All the other works of Marc. were likewise written after Caracalla's death (217), as is he always called either divus Antoninus or Ant. Magnus (Magnus Ant.) or divus Magnus Ant.; viz. Publicorum iudiciorum libri II (in which also Papinianus Respons. XVI is quoted), Regularum libri V, and the libri singulares de delatoribus and ad formulam hypothecariam. Of the two books de appellationibus it is at least certain that they were written after Severus' death. Fitting, Age of the Writ. p. 50—52, with Momm-

sen, Ztschr. f. Rechtsgesch. IX p. 106 sq. 108. 112. We do not find any chronological hint in the fragments of the liber sing. ad SC. Turpilianum and of the Notae ad Papinianum. In the Digest these works are employed in 275 places; see Hommel Paling. I p. 399—436. Rescripts to (this?) Marcianus by Alexander Cod. II 13, 6 and X 58 of a. 239. G. Oelrichs, de vita, studiis, honoribus et scriptis Ael. M. icti, Utrecht 1754. 4. Zimmern, Rom. Private Law I 1. p. 380 sq.

3. Aemilius Macer, the author of always two books Publicorum iudiciorum, Ad legem vicesimae hereditatum, De officio praesidis, De appellationibus, De re militari, which are employed in 62 places in the Pandect, see Hommel, Paling. I. p. 341—350. The work de app. was certainly written under Alexander (Dig. XLIX 13, 1), but the others after the death of Severus. Ulpian, Paulus, and Menander are repeatedly mentioned in them. Fitting, the Age of the Writ. p. 52 sq. A devout inscr. in honour of Caracalla by a certain A. Aem. Macer, 15 Aug. 216. ap. Orelli 930.

4. Florentinus, the author of Institutionnm libri XII after the system of Gaius, also used in the Digest; see Hommel Paling. I. p. 175—178. In it are mentioned divus Pius, Aquilius Gallus and Trebatius. We should not hesitate to attribute him to the time of Alexander if it were certain that he were identical with the person mentioned in the Cod. III 28, 8 a. 223 (Imp. Alexander Aug. Florentino). Treatises about him and his fragments by A. F. Rivinus (Wittenb. 1752. 4.), C. F. Walch (de Flor. icti philosophia, Jena 1754 = Opusc. I. p. 337—346), J. Th. Mathews (Lugd. B. 1801. 4.), Th. Schmalz (Königsberg 1801).

5. Iulius Aquila (wrongly called Gallus Aq. in the ind. Flor.), the author of two books of Responsa, two passages from which occur in the Digest (XXVI 7, 34. 10, 12). Zimmern, Rom. Private Law I 1. p. 386 sq.

6. Furius Anthianus wrote a commentary on the Edict, of which the ind. Flor. mentions five books (*μέρος ἐδίκτου βιβλία πέντε*). The three excerpts of the first book in the Digest (II 14, 62. IV 3, 40. VI 1, 80) contain no hint to fix his time. P. F. Besier, de F. A. icto. Lugd. B. 1803.

7. Aelius Florianus Herennius Modestinus (according to the inscr. full. ap. Kellermann Vig. laterc. p. 30 = Rhein. Mus. XXI. p. 10 sq.). Ulp. Dig. XLVII 2, 52, 20: quod et Herennio Modestino, studioso meo, de Delmatia consulenti rescripsi. Capitol. Maximin. iun. (born 217) 1, 5: grammatico latino usus est Philemone, iurisperito Modestino. Imp. Gordianus a. 239 (Cod. III 42, 5): merito tibi a non contemnendae auctoritatis icto Modestino responsum est. a. 244 praef. vigilum at Rome (Inscr. full. l. l.). Cf. Arcad. Charis. Dig. L 4, 18, 26: mixta munera . . Herennius Mod. et notando et disputando et optima ratione decrevit. The works of Mod.: Excusationum libri VI (in Greek); Differentiarum IX and Regularum X (Huschke, Iurisprud. anteiust.[2] p. 546); Pandec-

tarum XII; Responsorum XIX; Ad Q. Mucium at least XXXI books; De poenis VI; libri singulares de enucleatis casibus, heurematicis, differentiis dotis, in officioso testamento, manumissionibus, praescriptionibus, ritu nuptiarum, legatis et fideicommissis, testamentis. The 344 excerpts from this in the Digest are collected by Hommel Paling. I. p. 453—494. None of the fragments can be safely shown to lead beyond the time of Caracalla's sole reign. After Caracalla's death he certainly wrote the libri differentiarum, Pandectarum, Excusationum; under Alexander the liber sing. de enucleatis casibus. In b. I of the Excusationes (Dig. XXVI 6, 2, 5) he had quoted Paulus libro IX Responsorum (above 373, 2), so that the earliest time of their composition would be under Alexander. This work is dedicated (*παραίτησις ἐπιτροπῆς καὶ κουρατορίας*) to Egnatius Dexter, Dig. XXVII 1, 1. Fitting, the Age of the Writ. p. 53—55. In general see Zimmern, Rom. Private Law I 1 p. 383—386.

375. In the first ten or twenty years of the third century the learned grammarian C. Julius Romanus, whom Charisius employed in his grammar, and Juba, a writer on metres who followed Caesius Bassus aud Heliodorus, wrote their works. Censorinus, who lived about the same time, was the author of several grammatical works. We still possess his treatise de die natali, which is dedicated to his wealthy patron Q. Caerellius and composed a. 238. It is chiefly derived from Suetonius and contains some valuable information on historical and chronological details. The treatment is rhetorical.

1. G. Iulius Romanus (Charis. p. 230, 1 K.) is the most learned among the grammarians employed by Charisius (disertissimus Artis scriptor, ib. p. 232, 7). Charisius takes from him large portions, e. g. on analogy (p. 116—147) and on adverbs (p. 190—224), copying him faithfully so as to exscribe even the quotations by Romanus of other parts of his work or references to his other writings e. g. de consortio casuum (Charis. p. 132, 31), de consortio praepositionum (p. 209, 20 sq.), *περὶ ὀρθογραφίας* quaestiones (p. 135, 15), de distinctionibus etc. The work of Romanus used by Char. was perhaps entitled *Ἀφορμαί*, and the separate titles, such as liber de analogia (Charis. p. 56, 4. 114, 1. 116, 29), liber de adverbiis (ib. p. 114, 28), were probably only parts of it. Charis. p. 230, 1: G. I. R. libro *ἀφορμῶν* sub titulo de coniunctione; p. 238, 16: I. R. libro *ἀφορμῶν* sub titulo de praepositione. We can always tell I. R. by his habit of saying Maro instead of Vergilius. As I. R. quotes Fronto's correspondence with M. Aurelius (Charis. p. 223, 26) and Apuleius (ib. p. 240, 28. 248, 5) and also Helenius Acro (above 370, 1) and Porphyrio (above 370, 4), he probably belongs to the first half of the third century. The principal sources of Rom. were Pliny and Flavius Caper, also Asper and Terentius Scaurus. Cf. W. Osann, Contrib. II. p. 327—330. H. Keil, grammatici lat. I. p. XLV

—XLVIII. A. Schottmüller, de Plini libr. gramm. I. p. 32 sqq. W. Christ, Philologus XVIII. p. 121—123.

2. Mar. Vict. ap. Keil, gramm. VI p. 80, 4 sq.: Iuba noster atque alii Graecorum opinionem secuti referunt etc. ib. p. 94, 6 sqq. Iuba noster, qui inter metricos auctoritatem primae eruditionis obtinuit, insistens Heliodori (above 347, 9) vestigiis, qui inter Graecos huiusce artis antistes aut primus aut solus est. Servius Aen. V 222: secundum Iubam artigraphum. His time is fixed by an allusion to a line of Annianus (whom see) in a quotation from Juba ap. Priscian de metr. Ter. 8 (II p. 421 ed. Htz). He may therefore be placed at the earliest about a. 200. This agrees also with such phrases as intellegi datur. H. Keil, quaestiones grammaticae (Leipzig 1860) p. 15—22. R. Westphal on Greek metres II 2 (1865) p. 146—149 = I 2 (1867) p. 223 sqq. A collection of the fragments of Juba by B. ten Brink (Iubae Maurusii de re metrica scriptoris latini reliquiae, Utrecht 1854), H. Wentzel (Symbolae crit. ad hist. script. rei metr. lat. Breslau 1858, p. 18—25), and Keil (l. l. p. 19 sqq.).

3. A quotation from the fourth book of Juba's Ars ap. Rufin. p. 385 Gaisf. (on the iambic trimeter). (Iuba) in octavo ap. Prisc. II p. 420, 25 with Hertz's note. He agrees with the Scholia on Hephaestion and the treatises *περὶ τῆς τῶν ποδῶν ὀνομασίας* edited by Keil from an Ambrosian ms. Juba had given numerous instances of each metre. The work was used by Sacerdos and, as it seems, by Terentianus, also by Asmonius; it was abridged by Marius Victorinus. It was also the source of Pseudo-Atilius and Diomed, and of the metric observations in Endlicher's Analecta p. 521.

4. Priscian. I 17 (p. 13, 19 sq. Htz.): Censorino, doctissimo artis grammaticae. Cf. ib. 16 (p. 13, 9). Cassiod. de art. gramm. 1 mentions him together with Polemon, Phocas and Probus. Priscian. XIV 1, 6 (II p. 27, 23 H.): Censorinus plenissime de his docet in libro quem de accentibus scribit. An extensive passage from it ib. 4, 40 sq. (p. 45—47 H.). Cf. Cassiod. de mus. p. 576.

5. Cassiod. de mus. p. 573 (cf. ib. p. 577): Censorinus, qui ad Q. Caerellium scripsit de natali eius die. It was composed a. 238; see 18, 12. 21, 6 (hic annus, cuius velut index et titulus est Ulpii et Pontiani consulatus, . . est a Roma condita DCCCCXCI[us]). From the dedication (c. 1): te, Q. Caerelli, virtutis non minus quam pecuniarum divitem ista non capiunt, . . quod sapientium disciplina formatus satis liquido comperisti huiusmodi . . esse *τῶν μέσων* etc. quare cum dona pretiosa neque tibi . . desint nec mihi per rei tenuitatem supersint, quodcumque hoc libri est meis opibus comparatum natalicii titulo tibi misi. in quo non, ut plerisque mos est, aut ex ethica parte philosophiae praecepta ad beate vivendum quae tibi scriberem mutuatus sum, aut ex artibus rhetorum locos laudibus tuis celebrandis persecutus, . . sed ex philologis commentariis quasdam quaestiunculas delegi, quae congestae possint

aliquantum volumen efficere. iam vero cum tuo collatu scirem me plura didicisse, . . ego a quo plura in litteris percepi tibi haec exigua reddo libamina. c. 15: quare, sanctissime Caerelli, cum istum annum (the 49th) . . sine ullo incommodo transieris, (you will live to the age of 81). . . quem veterum nunc memoria suspicimus prudentia vel temperantia vel iustitia vel fortitudine tibi antestare dicimus? . . tu officiis municipalibus functus, honore sacerdotii in principibus tuae civitatis conspicuus, ordinis etiam equestris dignitate gradum provincialium supergressus . . omnium omnino amorem cum maxima gloria consecutus es. . . de eloquentia qnoque sileo, quam omnia provinciarum nostrarum (Spain or Gaul?) tribunalia, omnes praesides noverunt, quam denique urbs Roma et auditoria sacra mirata sunt.

6. Censorinus is fond of showing up his erudition and mentions a number of Greek writers, many of whom we need not doubt that he had never seen. Among Latin writers he mentions Fulvius, Iunius Gracchanus, Licinius Macer, Fenestella whom he certainly had not read and the same may perhaps be said of Varro, though he quotes him very frequently. His chief source was Suetonius' Pratum (Reiffersch. Suet. p. 434). Cf. Jahn p. IX. Cens. alludes repeatedly to Horace (1, 1 sqq. = O. IV 8. 3, 6 = O. I 1, 2). In his diction he exhibits quaesita sermonis elegantia, quae nobis quidem nimia videtur et affectata, et rhetoricum artificum (Jahn p. X). Perhaps he thought that a simple style such as would have suited his subject might not have been adapted to the day for which he intended his book as a present. The birthday is the centre of the whole exposition. He treats first of that which precedes a birthday (generation etc.), adds music with rather a bold turn (12, 1: nec vero incredibile est ad nostros natales musicam pertinere), deals with the different ages and the different ways of dividing time (c. 17 sqq.), and while he is speaking of the parts of day and night and their names (24, 6) the mss. suddenly break off.

7. This treatise has been preserved by the codex Darmstadiensis saec. VII and the Vatic. saec. X, which generally agrees with the first ms., the text being very corrupt. All the other mss. are of very little value. O. Jahn p. XVI—XXII. On account of the similarity of the subject a fragment is appended in the mss., which is however even more corrupt, author, time and purpose being unknown, and which treats first de naturali institutione, then de caeli positione, de stellis fixis et errantibus, de terra, then suddenly passes on to statements de geometrica, formis, figuris, postulatis, which are translated from Euclid, and then just as unexpectedly de musica (history), de rythmo, de musica (theory), de modulatione, de metris i. e. numeris, de legitimis numeris, de numeris simplicibus. It seems therefore to contain parts of an encyclopaedia. O. Jahn p. XI: hoc fragmentum . . praeter multa volgaria atque inepta haud pauca tamen continet aliunde non nota, quae satis probant scriptorem (especially in the parts concerning music and metres) fontibus antiquioribus usum esse. It agrees in some

parts with the Scholia on Germanicus (above 270, 8), a fact possibly to be explained from both using one and the same source (Suetonius' Prata?). This fragment was first separated by Carrio from the work of Censorinus and is printed in most editions of the latter, e. g. by O. Jahn p. 75—100 (see, however, p. X—XIII), by Hultsch p. 55—73.

8. Editions of Censorinus. Ed. princeps Bonon. 1497 fol. Aldina Ven. 1581. Rec. L. Carrion, Lutet. 1583. Lugd. B. 1593. Rec. et ill. H. Lindenbrogius, Hamburg 1614. 4. Lugd. B. 1642. Cantabr. 1695. Ed. E. Puteanus, Lov. 1628. 4. Ex rec. A. Götz, Alt. 1742. Ex rec. Havercampi, Lugd. B. 1743. 1767. Cum adn. J. S. Gruber, Norimberg. 1805. 1810. The first critical edition: Rec. et emend. O. Jahn, Berlin 1845. Rec. Fr. Hultsch, Lips. Teubner 1867.

9. Critical contributions on Censorinus by L. Ulrichs (Eos II p. 458—460. Rhein. Mus. XXII p. 465—476), F. Hultsch (Eos II p. 623—626), F. Lüdecke (Götti. Gel. Anz. 1868, p. 482—486), M. Schanz (spec. crit. ad Plat. et Censorinum pertinens, Götti. 1867).

10. Lamprid. Alex. Sev. 3, 2 sq.: in prima pueritia litteratores habuit Valerium Cordum et T. Veturium et Aurelium Philippum libertum patris, qui vitam eius postea in litteras misit, grammaticum in patria Graecum Nehonem, rhetorem Serapionem, philosophum Stilionem, Romae grammaticos Scaurinum Scaurini filium, doctorem celeberrimum, rhetores Iulium Frontinum et Baebium Macrianum et Iulium Granianum, cuius hodieque declamatae feruntur. Capitol. Maximin. 27 ,3—5: usus est magistro Graeco litteratore Fabillo, cuius epigrammata graeca multa et extant, . grammatico latino usus est Philemone, iuris perito Modestino (above 374, 7), oratore Titiano, filio Titiani senioris (above 360, 10). habuit et graecum rhetorem Eugamium sui temporis clarum.

11. M. Damatius Urbanus, summarum artium liberalium litterarum studiis utriusque linguae perfecte eruditus, optima facundia praeditus etc. An inscription from Sitifis (Africa) a. 231, ap. Henzen 5607 = Renier Inscr. de l'Alg. 3338.

376. The extensive work of Gargilius Martialis treated of husbandry including also an account of the medicinal employment of rural productions and of veterinary art, after Greek and Roman sources, especially Pliny the Elder, showing a great amount of reading and much physiological experience. Considerable parts of it are extant, chiefly in the fourth book of the so-called Plinius Valerianus. It was no doubt the same Martialis who wrote on Alexander Severus' mode of life.

1. Cassiod. inst. div. litt. 28: quodsi huius studii requirantur auctores, de hortis scripsit pulcerrime Gargilius Martialis, qui et nutrimenta olerum et virtutes eorum diligenter exposuit. Serv. Georg. IV.

148 (aliis): Gargilium Martialem significat. The mention of G. M. occurs in Palladius (Mart. 9. 9. haec omnia G. M. asseruit, cf. Martialis ibid. Ian. 15, 10. 19. Mart. 10, 15. 16. 34. Apr. 3, 5. Mai 6. Iun. 5, 3. Oct. 12, 5. 7. Dec. 4, 1.). There are also quotations of M. (see n. 5) Quintilii, extirpated (perhaps a. 181) by Commodus (Lamprid. Comm. 4, 9). He appears, therefore, to have lived in the third century; like the historian Garg. Mart. (below 377, 6 and 11), and as both possessed medical knowledge, they may possibly be identical and would appear to have written about a. 240.

2. A (now lost) Medicean ms. of the script. rer. rust. contained (according to the Index given by Victorius) at the end also unus (liber) Gargili Martialis. A. 1826 some leaves from the section de pomis were discovered in a palimpsest at the library at Naples which agree with Palladius and Ps. Plin. IV 42. This fragmeut ed. by A. A. Scotti, afterwards by A. Mai (Class. auct. I 1828. p. 387 sqq.), reprinted Lüneburg 1832. A few years afterwards, Mai himself discovered in two mss. (said to be saec. X and XII) of the Vatican Library a fragment entitled Incipit liber tertius de pomis Martialis, and which agrees with the first; edited ibid. III (1830) p. 418—426, cf. p. 416 sq. VII p. X. But more of it had already been published by J. Schott (Argentorati 1533 fol.) in the first three books of the supposed Latin Oribasius; see V. Rose, Anecd. gr. II p. 110 sqq., cf. n. 4.

3. Published from a Leyden ms. of Veget. mulomed. Curae boum ex corpore Gargilii Martialis by M. Gesner and J. G. Schneider (Scriptores r. rust. IV 1 p. 168—171, cf. ib. IV 2 p. 73—76). Edited by C. Th. Schuch, Donaueschingen 1857. 47 pp. 8.

4. In the St. Gall ms. 762 (saec. IX) which contains a Latin version of Hippocrates *περὶ διαίτης* b. II, the portions *περὶ λαχάνων* and *περὶ ὀπώρης* are, instead of taking them from Hippocr., rather borrowed from the work of G. M. (the parts de oleribus and de pomis). In some parts they agree verbally with c. 1—38 (de oleribus) and 39—58 (de pomis) in b. IV of Pseudo-Pliny (Valer.), which appear therefore to be derived from Martialis, the latter text being more extensive and faithful (Rose, Anecd. II p. 125 sq.). Edited from the St. Gall ms. by Rose II p. 131—150 (de virtutibus herbarum). 151—156 (Hippocrates de cibis). 157 sq. (Excerpts from Martialis and others, in a Berlin ms. saec. XII). Three extensive extracts (in the manner of Ps. Pliny IV) at the end of b. II of the St. Gall ms.; see ibid. p. 129. De pruno ibid. p. 130.

5. The chief sources of Mart. appear to have been Dioscorides and Galenus; but also Hippocrates' work *περὶ διαίτης* had been employed, and Aristoteles in Georgicis (Rose, Aristoteles pseudep. p. 273 sq.) and others had been quoted, among the Roman writers Celsus, Columella, Curtius Iustus (ap. Mai p. 496. sqq. 410), Julius Atticus, Julius Frontinus, G. Plinius (p. 412 Mai; Plinius noster ap. Rose p. 129), Quintilii (p. 392. 394. 396. 405. 410. 412. Mai), Sextilius Niger (Rose p. 129).

6. E. Meyer, Hist. of Botany II p. 228—236. Val. Rose, Anecdota graeca et graecolatina II (Berlin 1870) p. 103—160.

376. Historiography produced in Marius Maximus (about a. 165—230) a continuer of Suetonius' biographies of the Emperors from Nerva down to Elagabal, at considerable length, but without attention to truth. The first half of the Historia Augusta consists of meagre extracts from his work. Besides him, the authors of that collection frequently mention as their source and predecessor Junius Cordus, who wrote on the less known Emperors from Clodius Albinus to Maximus and Balbinus, taking in even the smallest details; Aemilius Parthenianus, Aelius Maurus, Marcellinus, and others. Herodianus wrote in Greek a History of his time from the death of Marcus (Aurelius) to the accession of Gordianus III (a. 180—238), in eight books; Cassius Dio composed a Roman History in eighty books, from the foundation of the City until the year 229 (= 982 V. C.). The labours of Julius Africanus, the author of comparative pagan and Christian chronology, were even more extensive.

1. Cassius Dio Cocceianus of Nicaea in Bithynia, about a. 155—230, Cos. (under Macrinus, 221?) II under Alexander a. 229. He spent ten years in collecting his materials and twelve in writing his work. The years 222—229 were treated only summarily. We possess complete the books 37—54, containing a. V. C. 689—744; of the first 34 books we have only scanty fragments, larger ones of b. 35 and 36. The later parts we know through Constantine's Excerpts, the abridgment of Xiphilinus and Zonaras. From a. 180 Dio begins to describe the events which took place in his life-time (LXXII 4). Editions by F. W. Sturz (Lips. 1824—1843. 9 vols.), Imm. Bekker (Lips. 1849. 2 vols.) and L. Dindorf (Lips. Teubner 1863—1865, 5 vols.). Treatises Dé Dionis Cassii fontibus et auctoritate by R. Wilmans (Berol. 1835) and Grasshof (Bonn 1867). Schwegler, Rom. History I p. 124 sq.

2. Asinius Quadratus' *Χιλιετηρίς* or *Χιλιαρχία*, was a history of the Roman Empire during the 1000 years of its existence, in 15 books. The same writer composed *Παρθικά* and *Γερμανικά*; see Pauly's Encycl. I 2 p. 1868 sq., nr. 28. C. Rübel, n. 6. p. 32 sq.

3. Hieron. vir. ill. 63: Iulius Africanus, cuius quinque de temporibus extant volumina, sub imp. M. Aurelio Antonino qui Macrino successerat (i. e. under Elagabal) legationem pro instauratione urbis Emmaus suscepit. . . extat eius ad Aristiden epistola, in qua super *διαφωνίᾳ* quae videtur esse in genealogia salvatoris apud Matthaeum et

Lucam plenissime disputat. He placed the birth of Christ in the year of the world 5500. His *χρονολογικὸν πεντάβιβλον* was carried down to A. D. 218. Idler, Manuel of Chronology II p. 456 sqq. One of his successors was Hippolytus of Portus, whose Easter-table for the years 222—237 on a marble slab (which also enumerates the works of Hipp., e. g. *Χρονικά*) is preserved in the Vatican. Th. Mommsen, on the Chronographer of a. 354 (Leipzig 1850) p. 595 sq. 597 sq. 610.

4. Herodian wrote *τῆς μετὰ Μάρκον βασιλείας ἱστορίαι*, in the beginning of which, in opposition to most historians, who *τῆς μὲν ἀληθείας ἐν ταῖς ἀφηγήσεσιν ὠλιγώρησαν, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ ἐπεμελήθησαν φράσεώς τε καὶ εὐφωνίας*, he says of himself: *ἐγὼ δὲ ἱστορίαν οὐ παρ' ἄλλων ἀποδεξάμενος ἄγνωστόν τε καὶ ἀμάρτυρον, ὑπὸ νεαρᾷ δὲ τῇ τῶν ἐντευξομένων μνήμῃ, μετὰ πάσης ἀκριβείας ἠθροισα εἰς συγγραφήν*, an explanation by no means infringed by his continuing: *οὐκ ἀτερπῆ τὴν γνῶσιν καὶ τοῖς ὕστερον ἔσεσθαι προσδοκήσας ἔργων μεγάλων τε καὶ πολλῶν ἐν ὀλίγῳ γενομένων*. It should only be confessed that Dio's higher position enabled him more often to discover the truth. Editions by F. A. Wolf (Halle 1792). I. Bekker (Berol. 1826. Lips. Teubner 1855). E. Volkmann, de H. vita, scriptis fideque, Königsberg 1859. J. A. Poblocki, de H. vita, ingenio, scriptis, Munster 1864. R. Sievers, on the historical work of H., Philologus XXVI p. 29—43. 253–271. E. Brocks, de IV prioribus h. aug. script. (1869) p. 46—69. J. J. Müller in Büdinger's Investigations of the Imperial History III p. 138 sqq. 181—191 (especially b. II and III). K. Dändliker, the last three books of H., ibid. III p. 203—319.

5. Orelli-Henzen 5502 (from Rome): L. Mario L. f. Quir. Maximo Perpetuo Aureliano cos. (a. 195; II a. 223), sacerdoti feciali, leg. Augg. pr. pr. provinciae Syriae Colae (Coelesyria), leg. Aug. pr. pr. provinciae Germaniae inferioris, item provinc. belgicae, duci exercit. mysiaci apud Byzantium et apud Lugdunum, leg. leg. I Italic., cur. viae latinae, item reip. Faventinorum, allecto inter praetorios, trib. pleb., candidato quaestori urbano, trib. laticl. leg. XXII Primig., item III Italicae, IV vir viarum curandarum. Cf. ib. 2275. Borghesi, iscrizione ardeatina di M. M., Oeuvres V p. 455—484. The identity of the historian with this great personage is, however, rendered doubtful by the complete ignorance of the first as to Severus' Eastern wars and his general want of attention to military events. (J. J. Müller p. 32, cf. 170—174). He seems to be all the better informed of the events under Macrinus and is, therefore, no doubt identical with the praef. urbi of a. 217 *Μάξιμος Μάριος* in Dio LXXVIII 14, and perhaps with the Cons. Maximus of a. 207 (and L. Marius Maximus, cos. II a. 223). In the later years of Commodus (about 190) he was already grown up and at Rome (Lampr. 13, 2: versus in eo — the rupture of Comm. — multi scripti sunt, de quibus etiam in opere suo Marius Maximus gloriatur), perhaps already as Senator (cf. ib. 18, 1 sq.: adclamationes senatus post mortem Commodi . . de Mario Maximo indidi), according to which he might be

born c. 165. As he did not carry his work beyond Elagabal († 222, see J. Müller p. 26—28), he appears not to have lived until the death of Alexander (a. 235), but to have written in his reign.

6. Capitol. Clod. Alb. 12, 14: quae qui diligentius scire velit legat Marium Maximum de latinis scriptoribus, de graecis scriptoribus Herodianum, qui ad fidem pleraque dixerunt. Vopisc. Prob. 2, 7: ut imitarer . . Marium Maximum, Suetonium Tranquillum, Fabium Marcellinum, Gargilium Martialem (above 376) ceterosque qui haec et talia non tam diserte quam vere memoriae tradiderunt. Firm. 1, 1: Marius Maximus Avidium Marci temporibus — libris alienis innexuit (cf. Müller p. 28 sq.). 1, 2: Marius Maximus, homo omnium verbosissimus, qui et mythistoricis se voluminibus implicavit. Lamprid. Alex. Sev. 48, 6: neque in vita eius (Traiani) id Marius Max. ita exposuit etc. 30, 6: de quo in libris suis Marius Max. loquitur, cum Hadriani disserit vitam. Volcat. Avid. Cass. 6, 7: Marius Max. refert in eo libro quem secundum de vita Marci Antonini edidit. Cf. ibid. 9, 5. Capitol. Pert. 15, 8: epistula quae vitae illius (i. e. Pertinax) a M. M. apposita est. Cf. Czwalina I p. 15—19. Lamprid. Alex. p. 5, 4: Marius Max. dixit in vita Severi. Spartian. Geta 2, 1: in vita Severi Marius Max. primo septenario (Müller p. 180 sq.) satis Heliogabali. M. M. wound up with the last-named Emperor, having commenced with Nerva (Müller p. 23—28). He appears, therefore, to have written twelve vitae, just like Suetonius. The minusculi tyranni were mentioned in speaking of the generally recognised Augusti Vopisc. Firm. 1, 1: et Suet. Tranq. Vindicem tacuit . . et Marius Max. Ammian. XXVIII 4, 14 (quidam . . Iuvenalem et Marium Maximum curatiore studio legunt). J. J. Müller, on the historian M. M., in M. Büdinger's Investigations on the Imperial History III (1870). C. Rübel, de fontibus IV priorum hist. aug. scriptorum I (Bonn 1872) p. 8. 12—18. 22—24. 26—28. 30—32. 37 sq. 40 sq. 44. 48 sq. 49 sq. 53. 57—60. 62—64.

7. Capitol. Macrin. 1, 3—5: Iunio Cordo studium fuit eorum imperatorum vitas edere quos obscuriores videbat; qui non multum profecit. nam et pauca repperit et indigna memoratu, adserens se minima quaeque persecuturum, quasi vel de Traiano aut Pio aut Marco sciendum sit quotiens processerit, quando cibos variaverit et quando vestem mutaverit et quos quando promoverit. quae ille omnia exequendo libros mythistoricis replevit. Max. et Balb. 4, 5: placet aliqua dici de moribus atque genere, non eo modo quo Iunius Cordus est persecutus omnia, sed illo quo Suetonius Tranquillus et Valerius Marcellinus, quamvis Curius Fortunatianus, qui omnem hanc historiam perscripsit, pauca contigerit, Cordus vero tam multa ut etiam pleraque et minus honesta perscripserit. ib. 4, 2: libris quos Iunius Cordus affatim scripsit. Gordian. 21, 3 sq.: non nobis talia dicenda sunt quae Iunius Cordus ridicule ac stulte composuit de voluptatibus domesticis ceterisque infimis rebus. quae qui velit scire ipsum legat Cordum, qui dicit et quos servos habuerit unusquisque principum et quos amicos et quot paenulas quotve chlamydes. Maximin. 27, 7: Iunius Cordus, harum rerum persecutor.

Cf. ib. 28, 10. 29, 10. 31, 4. and in other passages. Probably the same writer is meant ib. 12, 7: Aelius (or Helius) Cordus dicit hanc omnino ipsius orationem fuisse. Cf. J. J. Müller (n. 6) p. 92 sq. n. 3. K. Dändliker, in Büdinger's Investigations III p. 306—314. C. Rübel p. 9 sq. 19 sq. 26. 38—40. 45 sq. 50—52. 53—55. 61.

8. Capitol. Maximin. 32, 1: scribit Aelius Sabinus.

9. Volcat. Avid. Cass. 5, 1: de hoc (Av. Cass.) multa . . inveniuntur apud Aemilium Parthenianum, qui adfectatores tyrannidis iam inde a veteribus historiae tradidit. Was he the principal source of Volcatius in his life of Avidius Cassius? C. Czwalina I p. 19. C. Rübel p. 34 sq.

10. Spartian. Sever. 20, 1: legisse me apud Helium Maurum, Phlegontis Hadriani libertum, memini Septimium Severum etc. C. Rübel p. 55 sq.

11. Lamprid. Alex. Sev. 58, 6 sq.: scio volgum hanc rem . . Traiani putare; sed neque in vita eius id Marius Maximus ita exposuit neque Fabius Marcellinus (cf. n. 6) neque Aurelius Verus neque Statius (or Tatius) Valens, qui omnem eius vitam in litteras miserunt. contra autem et Septimius (qui vitam eius non mediocriter executus est ib. 17, 2) et Acholius et Encolpius (ib. 17, 1) vitae (of Alexander Sev.) scriptores ceterique de hoc (Alex.) talia praedicaverunt. To which we should add ib. 37, 9: ne longum sit omnia inserere quae Gargilius (cf. n. 6) eius temporis (of Alex.) scriptor singillatim persecutus est. See also above 375, 10.

12. Lamprid. Diadum. 9, 2: Lollius Urbicus in historia temporis sui dicit etc.

13. Capitol. Gordian. 21, 5: lectum apud Volcatium Terentianum, qui et ipse historiam sui temporis scripsit, . . Gordianum seniorem Augusti voltum repraesentasse etc. Gräfenhan, Hist. of Class. Philology p. 302 sq. thinks him (or Volc. Gallicanus) identical with that Volcatius who wrote commentaries in orationes Ciceronis (Hieron. apol. c. Rufin. I 16).

14. Lactant. inst. div. I 21 (p. 52 Fri.): Pescennius Festus in libris historiarum per saturam refert Carthaginienses Saturno humanas hostias solitos immolare etc.

15. To the middle of this century we should probably assign the map from which the tabula peutingeriana was copied; see vol. 1 p. 78.

378. Like Minucius Felix and Tertullian, Thascius Caecilius Cyprianus (c. 200—257), bishop of Carthage, had also received a rhetorical education. He does not possess the originality, fertility and liveliness of Tertullian, whom he greatly admires, but surpasses him in lucidity and correctness, his diction being also more even and pleasing. His frequent ci-

tations from Scripture impart to his works a character specifically Christian, and owing to the absence of all heretic elements they long continued to enjoy a high authority. Their contents are partly of an apologetic, and partly of a practical and paraenetic character. His letters are of much importance in illustrating the history of the administration of the churches. Novatianus, who wrote at Rome about the same time, likewise employed Tertullian.

1. Hieron. vir. ill. 67: Cyprianus Afer primum gloriose rhetoricam docuit, exinde suadente presbytero Caecilio, a quo et cognomentum sortitus est, christianus factus omnem substantiam suam pauperibus erogavit ac post non multum temporis electus in presbyterum etiam episcopus Carthaginiensis constitutus est (a. 248). huius ingenii superfluum est indicem texere, cum sole clariora sint eius opera. passus est (by being beheaded) sub Valeriano et Gallieno principibus (a. Abr. 2272 = 256 A. D. according to Amand., 2273[1] = 257 according to the other mss. of Hieron. chron.), persecutione octava, eodem die quo Romae Cornelius (XVIII Kal. Oct.), sed non eodem anno. 68: Pontius, diaconus Cypriani, usque ad et diem passionis eius cum ipso exilium sustinens, egregium volumen vitae et passionis Cypriani reliquit. He had been his companion in his flight in the persecution under Decius (the seventh). The vita Cypriani which bears the name of Pontius is at least very much interpolated (see it e. g. in Hartel's ed. III p. XC sqq.). *Κυπριανὸν ἅγιον ἄνδρα μάλιστα πάντων οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι σέβονται* and celebrate an annual festival in remembrance of him, *Κυπριανά*, Procop. Vand. I 21.

2. Cyprian's works: Ad Donatum (de gratia dei); Quod idola dii non sint (Hieron. epist. 70, 5. p. 429 sq. Vall.: Cyprianus quod idola dii non sunt qua brevitate, qua historiarum omnium scientia, quo cum verborum et sensuum splendore perstrinxit! Yet the author has made much use of the Octavius and the Apologeticum); Testimoniorum adversus Iudaeos libri III; De habitu virginum (according to Tertullian's work); De unitate ecclesiae; De lapsis; De oratione dominica; De mortalitate; Ad Fortunatum de exhortatione martyrii, also from Tertullian; Ad Demetrianum (cf. Lactant. inst. V 4); De opere et eleemosynis; De bono patientiae (a copy of Tertull. de pat.); De zelo et livore; and in the last place eleven sermons and 83 letters, the latter in two redactions of the text, suiting the countries where they were used. Interesting are also the minutes of the provincial Synod at Carthage a. 256 (de haereticis baptizandis) in Hartel's ed. I p. 435—461.

3. Lactant. inst. div. V 1 (p. 230 sq. Fri.): unus igitur (see above 369, 2) praecipuus et clarus extitit Cyprianus, quoniam et magnam sibi gloriam ex artis oratoriae professione quaesierat et admodum multa conscripsit in suo genere miranda. erat enim ingenio facili, copioso, suavi et, quae sermonis maxima est virtus, aperto, ut discernere non

queas utrumne ornatior in eloquendo an facilior in explicando an potentior in persuadendo fuerit. hic tamen placere ultra verba sacramentum ignorantibus non potest, quoniam mystica sunt quae locutus est et ad id praeparata ut a solis fidelibus audiantur; denique a doctis huius saeculi quibus forte scripta eius innotuerunt derideri solet. audivi ego quendam hominem sane disertum qui eum immutata una littera Coprеanum vocaret, quasi qui elegans ingenium et melioribus rebus aptum ad aniles fabulas contulisset. Hieron. Ep. 58, 10 (p. 326 Vall.): Tertullianus creber est in sententiis, sed difficilis in loquendo; beatus Cyprianus instar fontis purissimi dulcis incedit et placidus. 82, 2 (p. 523 Vall.): beatus Cyprianus Tertulliano magistro utitur, ut eius scripta probant. Cf. de vir. ill. 53: vidi ego quendam Paulum Concordiae, quod oppidum Italiae et senem qui se beati Cypriani iam grandis aetatis notarium, cum ipse admodum esset adolescens, Romae vidisse diceret referreque sibi solitum, numquam Cyprianum absque Tertulliani lectione unum diem praeterisse ac sibi crebro dicere 'Da magistrum;' Tertullianum videlicet significans.

4. Editions of the works of Cyprian (see Hartel III p. LXX sqq.) by Des. Erasmus (Basil. 1520 fol. and elsewhere), J. Pamelius (cum adnot., Antverp. 1568 fol. and elsewhere), N. Rigaltius (ill. observ., Paris 1648 fol. and elsewhere), St. Baluzius (finished by the Maurine monk Prudentius Maranus, Paris 1726 fol. Ven. 1728. 1758 fol.), Fr. Oberthür (Würzburg 1782. 2 vols.), Migne (Patrolog. curs. IV Paris 1844), J. G. Krabinger (recogn. et adn. crit. instr., Tubing. 1823. 1859. 2 vols.; which contains, however, only the principal treatises). W. Hartel (rec. et comm. crit. instruxit, 3 vols. Vienna 1868—1871. The treatise de unitate eccl. ad opt. libr. fid. expr. . . M. F. Hyde, Buckington 1853.

5. H. Dodwell, dissert. Cyprianicae, 1684. 4. R. Ceillier, hist. génér. des auteurs s. et eccl. III (Paris 1732) p. 1—224. P. G. Lumper, hist. theolog. crit. XI. (August. 1790) p. 58 sqq. F. W. Rettberg, Th. C. Cypr. Götti. 1831. On the share, which Cypr. possibly had in the collection of the notae tironianae see W. Schmitz in the symb. philol. Bonn. p. 540—543.

6. Hieronym. vir. ill. 70: Novatianus Romanae urbis presbyter adversus Cornelium (a. 250) cathedram sacerdotalem conatus invadere Novatianorum quod graece dicitur *Καθαρῶν* dogma constituit, nolens apostatas recipere paenitentes. huius auctor Novatus Cypriani presbyter fuit (cf. Hier. on Euseb. chron. 2269 = 253 A. D.: Novatus presbyter Cypriani Romam veniens Novatianum et ceteros confessores sibi sociat, eo quod Cornelius paenitentes apostatas recepisset). scripsit autem De pascha, De sabbato, De circumcisione, De sacerdote, De oratione, De cibis iudaicis, De instantia, De Attalo, multaque alia, et De trinitate grande volumen, quasi *ἐπιτομὴν* operis Tertulliani faciens, quod plerique nescientes Cypriani existimant. Hieron. Ep. 10, 3 (p. 24 Vall.) asks for epistolas Novatiani, ut dum schismatici hominis venena cognoscimus libentius sancti martyris Cypriani bibamus antidotum. Cf. also

Cyprian. Epist. 60. Euseb. hist. eccl. VI 43. R. Ceillier (cf. n. 5) III p. 290—296. The treatises de trinitate and De cibis iud. epistola are extant and appended to many editions of Tertullian and Cyprian (e. g. by Oberthür). They have been separately edited by Ed. Welchmann (Oxon. 1724) and Jackson (London 1728). In Migne's Patrologiae cursus III (1844) p. 885—970. Cf. ib. p. 861—884.

379. There was in this time no want of men who could manage metrical composition, but they did not succeed in attaining the harmonious agreement of form and matter. E. g. Alfius Avitus wrote an account of Roman History in iambic dimeters and Marianus composed Lupercalia in the same metre. Septimius Serenus in his Opuscula (ruralia) imitated many Greek metres with much skill and elegance. The extant didactic poem of Q. Serenus Sammonicus, De medicina praecepta, in 1115 hexameters, deals in a rhetorical manner with a subject not well suited to poetry, but the technical and prosodiacal details agree with the best models. Gordianus the Elder, who wrote an Antoninias, was a fertile versifier.

1. Terentianus 2446—2451 of the iambic dimeter: plerumque nec carmen modo sed et volumen explicat, ut pridem Avitus Alfius libros poeta plusculos, usus dimetro perpeti, conscribit Excellentium. Three dimeters from the first book of Alphius Avitus Excellentium in part of the mss. of Priscian. IV 29 (p. 134, 3 Htz.); sex dimeters of the second ib. VIII 71 (p. 426 sq.), cf. p. 409 and II p. 233 (spatiando); two ib. XII 23 (I p. 591). Hence they have passed into the collections (Anthol. lat.) of Burmann and of Meyer. Wernsdorf poetae lat. min. p. XXXI—XXXIII. L. Müller de re metr. p. 102 sq. and in his ed. of Rutil. Nam. p. 51 sq.

2. Five iambic dimeters from Marianus Lupercaliorum poeta ap. Philargyr. (and Serv.) on Verg. Ecl. 1, 20. Cf. L. Müller de re metr. p. 103, and in his ed. of Rutil. Nam. p. 53.

3. Terentian. 1891—1900: dulcia Septimius qui scripsit opuscula nuper ancipitem tali cantavit carmine Ianum etc. 1973—1982: nemo tamen culpet si sumo exempla novella; nam et melius nostri servarunt metra minores. Septimius, docuit quo ruris opuscula libro, hoc genere adsidue cecinit. . . sic hephthemimeres servavit carmine utroque. 1991: ultima quae metro fuit hoc inventa Sereni. 2627—2630: hoc de Septimii potes iunctis noscere versibus. Specimens of skilful metrical formations of Serenus are given by Diomed p. 511. 513 (cf. Martian. Cap. V 518). 514. 517. 518 K., others by Nonius (e. g. p. 539 M.: Serenus opusculo lib. I; p. 210 Ser. opusculis, but p. 214 Ser. Ruralibus), Servius and others; the fragments collected by Wernsdorf poëtae lat.

min. II p. 279—291, and L. Müller in his ed. of Rutil. Nam. p. 44—51. What Terentian. 1998 designates as docta Phalisca, is by Mar. Vict. p. 2578 erroneously attributed to Septimius Severus (see L. Müller Rh. Mus. XXV p. 338—342). Sept. Ser. renovated the kind set in vogue (349, 3) by Annianus; cf. Serv. de cent. metr. p. 465 K. (T. IV): docta falisca, Serene, reparas. He is probably meant by Sidon. Ap. carm. IX 260 (Stella et Septimius Petroniusque), cf. ad Polem. (above 370, 5), and Hieronym. ep. 53 (p. 279 Vall.): Catullus et Serenus. On Sept. Ser. cf. Wernsdorf l. l. p. 247—253. C. Lachmann's Terentianus p. XII —XV. L. Müller metr. p. 97: et numerorum elegantia et sensuum proprietate excelluit. quare abstrusa quaedam et contorta imitationi veterum et imbecillitati saeculi facile condonabuntur. Cf. Rh. Mus. XXV p. 343 sq. The trifling tone occasionally conspicuous in his compositions resulted from the artificial character of his metres.

4. Lamprid. Alex. 30, 2: latina cum legeret non alia magis legebat quam de officiis Ciceronis et de rep., nonnumquam et oratores (or orationes) et poetas, in quis Serenum Sammonicum, quem ipse noverat et dilexerat, et Horatium. Cf. Capitol. Gord. (iun.) 18, 2 (above 370, 5). As the father (370, 5) is never mentioned as the author of any poetical composition, and as Alexander was only seven years old and not yet at Rome, when he was called, the passage of Lamprid. and consequently the didactic poem should be referred to the son. He would then appear to have died before Alexander, i. e. before 235. His father would in all probability have made the poem more learned. All the statements contained in it can be traced in Pliny, besides whom the author employed only Dioscorides *περὶ ὕλης ἰατρικῆς* and *περὶ εὐπορίστων φαρμάκων*. He does not show any individual knowledge of the subject-matter, but is very superstitious, in recommending such remedies as a paper inscribed with Abracadabra (944—949), urina canis (1104) etc. He mentions Ennius, Titinius, (the writer of togatae), Horace (533: quodque satis melius verbis dicemus Horati), Livy (728 sq.: tertia namque Titi simul et centesima Livi charta docet etc.). The phraseology is derived from Virgil, Horace and in parts also from Lucretius. At the commencement the poet invokes Phoebus for salutiferum quod pangimus . . carmen (4); cf. v. 397 sq.: dis ista requirat, at nos pauperibus praecepta feramus amica. Similar are v. 523—526. He begins with remedies for affections of the head (celsa de corporis arce, 3), and concludes (if indeed the poem be complete) with remedies for warts. In the earlier editions the poem is divided into 65 chapters. The poet follows very strict laws with regard to synaloepha and caesura which he violates but rarely in favour of technical expressions; but 941 sqq.: mortiferum magis est quod Graecis *ἡμιτριταῖον* volgatur verbis; hoc nostra dicere lingua non potuere ulli, puto, nec voluere parentes. The whole work is rather the trifling production of a young man well-versed in metrical composition than a serious work.

5. Manuscripts: Turicensis saec. IX or X (F. A. Reuss, lect. Sammon. part. I. Würzburg 1836. 4.), a Paderborn ms. saec. XIII, Breslau

ms. (Ch. G. Gruner, variae lectt. in Q. S. S. ex cod. vratisl. decerptae, Jena 1782. 4.), and a Leipzig ms. Editio princeps s. l. et a. (Milan before 1484). Other editions by G. Humelberg of Ravensburg (Tigur. 1540. 4. 1581. 4.), R. Keuchen (Amstelod. 1662. 1706), J. Ch. G. Ackermann (Lips. 1786). Frequently together with Celsus and in such collections as Burmann's poetae lat. min. II p. 185 sqq., W. E. Weber's corpus poetar. lat. p. 1174—1188, cf. p. LXI—LXIII.

6. J. B. Morgagni epistolae duae in Serenum Sam. e. g. in his Opusc. miscell. (Naples 1763. 4.) I p. 191—226. Thierfelder, Q. S. S. didactic poem on medical art, in Küchenmeister's Zeitschr. f. Medicin V 2 (1866). Choulant, Bibliography of early medical art, (Leipz. 1841) p. 210—212. E. Meyer, Hist. of Botany II p. 209—217.

7. D. Caelius Balbinus, Cos. II a. 213, chosen Emperor by the Senate after the death of Gordianus the Elder together with Maximus Pupienus, but soon afterwards killed with him by the Praetorian guard (a. 238); see Pauly's Encycl. I 2. p. 2243 sq. n. 4. Capitol. Max. et Balb. 7, 5: eloquentia clarus, poeta inter sui temporis poetas praecipuus. Cf. ib. 2, 7: vitae, quam a prima aetate in studiis semper ac litteris tenuit.

8. Capitol. Maximin. 27, 6: Toxotius . . senator, qui perit post praeturam, cuius etiam poemata extant.

9. On the metrical compositions of Macrinus, Albinus, and Gordianus (Antoninias) see above 365, 6. 371, 2. 6.

10. Albinus from whose Rerum romanarum primo Priscian. VII 2 (p. 304 H.) quotes three hexameters, in which cui is twice used with an iambic prosody, belongs to this time at the earliest. Cf. L. Müller, metr. p. 270 with 247, 6 extr. above.

380. A peculiar figure is Commodianus of Gaza, by whom we possess two poems, filled with a Christian zeal very ardent, though not quite correct in a dogmatical point of view, and in hexameters which in defiance of metre and prosody merely follow the ear and the accentuation of every day pronunciation. The earlier poem, the Instructiones composed about a. 238, is besides this barbarism also composed in the form of an acrostich. In the carmen apologeticum, composed a. 249, the author has deserted that crotchet and exhibits a greater abundance of words.

1. Gennadius de scriptor. eccl. 15: Commodianus dum inter saeculares litteras etiam nostras legit occasionem accepit fidei. factus itaque christianus . . scripsit mediocri sermone quasi versu librum adversus paganos. et quia parum nostrarum attigerat litterarum magis illorum destruere potuit dogmata quam nostra firmare. Instr. 80 bears

the heading Nomen Gazaei (from Gaza in Palestine Syria) and reading the initials backwards forms the words Commodianus mendicus Christi. Praef. 4 sqq.: ego similiter erravi tempore multo, fana prosequendo, parentibus insciis ipsis abstuli me tandem inde, legendo de lege. . . ob ea perdoctus ignaros instruo verum. Apolog. 3 sq.: errabam igna rus spatians, spe captus inani, dum furor aetatis primae me portabat in auras. (11 sqq.) aggressusque fui traditor in codice legis, quid ibi rescirem. statim mihi lampada fulsit, . . et ideo tales hortor ab errore recedant. In both poems we have the same Patripassianism and Chiliasm. Instr. 40, 10: ipse deus vita est, pependit ipse pro nobis; cf. apolog. 763 sq.: unus est in coelo deus coeli, terrae marisque, quam Moises docuit ligno pendere pro nobis. Instr. 80, 6 sqq.: hoc placuit Christo, resurgere mortuos imo . . sex milibus annis completis, mundo finito; cf. apol. 783 sq.: sex milibus annis pervenient ista repletis; . . tunc homo resurget etc. The peculiarities of diction and metre are the same in either poem, only the carmen apol. exhibiting some progress by having correct hexameters among the accentuated lines in more instances, eight being right among the first 100 (v. 15, 17, 24, 44 sq., 49, 89, 97). In the Instr. (acr. 41 sq.) only one Antichrist (Belial) is mentioned, but in the carmen two (Nero and the man of the East, every $3^1/_2$ years). A. Ebert p. 414—419. Leimbach p. 23—27.

2. The Instructiones consist of eighty poems of various extent, according to the subject treated in an acrostichic manner, e. g. praefatio; de fulmine ipsius Iovis; de septizonio et stellis; Apollo sortilegus falsus; Hercules; de Ammudate et deo magno; repugnantibus adversus legem Christi dei vivi; item gentilibus ignaris, qui iudaeidiant fanatici; de populo absconso sancto omnipotentis Christi dei vivi etc. The first half (acr. 1—45) is chiefly devoted to the heathens, acr. 37—40 to the Jews, 41—45 to the end of the world and to resurrection; 46—80 to the Christians, catechumeni and ecclesiastics. The author's acquaintance with earlier apologetic writings (above 368 sq.) is evident. The constraint which he imposes upon himself by the strange acrostichic composition of his poems, is amply compensated by his helter-skelter prosody. On the time of composition cf. 6, 2 sq.: cur annis docentis (after the death of Christ) fuistis infantes? Dodwell, diss. de Commodiani aetate, in his annales Quintil. (Oxon. 1698) and in the edition of Schurzfleisch. A. Ebert p. 417. Editions by N. Rigaltius (Tulli Leuc. 1650. 4.), H. L. Schurzfleisch (Vitemberg 1704. 4.), in Migne's Patrologiae cursus III (Paris 1844) p. 202—262, and in Fr. Oehler's Minuc. Felix.

3. The carmen apologeticum adversus Iudaeos et gentes was from a cod. at Middle-Hill saec. VIII edited by J. B. Pitra, spicilegium Solesmense I (Paris 1852) p. 21—49. Cf. p. 537—543 and p. XVI—XXV. There are altogether 1054 lines, the last thirty being fragmentary and illegible in the ms. At the end: explicit tractatus sancti episcopi Commodiani (Archives des missions IV 3. p. 97). A chronological hint occurs v. 998 sqq.: sed quidam haec, aiunt, quando haec (end of the

world) ventura putamus? (800) multa quidem signa fient tantae termini pesti, sed erit initium septima persecutio nostra (according to August. civ. d. XVIII 52 the one by Decius). ecce ianua pulsatur et cogitur esse (?) quae cito traiciet Gothis inrumpentibus amnem (the Danube, a. 250) rex Apolion erit cum ipsis, nomine dirus. (806) pergit ad Romam cum multa milia gentis decretoque dei captivat ex parte subactos. (878 sqq.) haec Nero tum faciet, . . ut urbs et populus ille cum ipso tradatur, tollatur imperium quod fuit inique repletum, quod per tributa mala diu maceraverat omnes. Considering the approaching end of the world, all infidels are exhorted to be converted while it is still time. A. Ebert, Commodian's carmen apologeticum, in the Trans. of the Saxon Society of Lit., (philol.-hist. Cl.) 1868. p. 387—420. C. Leimbach, on C.'s carm. ap., Schmalkalden 1871. 28 pp. 4.

4. The hexameters of Comm. have always six arses, but are regardless of hiatus and prosody, nay in many instances the pronunciation supposed in them violates the rules of Latin accentuation (e. g. tollatur, immites as dactyls). Owing to the arbitrary practice adopted in them (at least L. Müller's statements de re metr. p. 448 cannot well be accepted as principles) the lines of Comm. are much more difficult to read than correct verse, all the more as their difficulty is increased by such strange (perhaps plebeian) forms as the sing. milia and the plur. nuntia and peculiar constructions. He alludes to Terence, Cicero, and Virgil, and borrows from the latter.

5. The same combination of an acrostichic arrangement with barbaric prosody and metre as in the Instr. of Comm. (n. 2) appears also in the Inscription of L. Praecilius Fortunatus of Cirta ap. Renier, Inscr. d'Alg. 2074.

2. The second half, A. D. 253—305.

581. The commencement of this time inaugurates an unfortunate epoch for Italy and the Roman Empire. The countries themselves were ravaged by fearful plagues and epidemies, and sorely pressed by enemies from without, in the West by the Franks, in the North by the Alemanni, in the North-East by the Goths, and in the East by Sapor. Another misfortune was the reign of the weak Gallienus (a. 218—268) who first ruled conjointly with his father Valerianus (a. 253—260), and after the latter had been taken prisoner by the Persians was sole Emperor (a. 260—268) — an Emperor whose weakness encouraged many provincial commanders to declare themselves independent, the result being a general confusion and dissolution. In rapid succession we have now a number of Emperors of Thracian and Illyrian origin, who were raised to the throne by their military valour, some of them also

excellent in other respects e. g. Claudius (a. 268—270), Aurelianus (a. 270—275), Probus (a. 276—282). But none of them reigned long enough; most of them were both raised and assassinated by the armies. At last a powerful organizing genius arose in Diocletian (a. 245—313, Emperor 284—305), the son of a slave in Dalmatia. But just as he was the last Emperor who celebrated a triumph and was consecrated, so it is with him that the old time, the old Roman character and Empire end. While until then Eastern influences had penetrated all departments of life, Northern influences commenced now be perceptible. In external appearance, it is true, all conformed to the Latin language, both the Syrian Commodianus and the Bithynian Lactantius writing in it, and in the following time Ammianus of Antiochia, Claudianus of Alexandria and Priscian of Caesarea. But both form and contents suffered in this process. The educated aimed at a merely imitative correctness, e. g. Nemesianus and afterwards Terentianus Maurus; but the multitude were more and more infected by barbarism, and the language as such grew poor and ran riot. The general oppression did not allow anything great to develop itself, whether good or bad. The time before Diocletian is poorest of all. Jurisprudence which had until then kept above water, suddenly became silent, probably because the codification of the Edict admitted of no proper after-growth. The state of erudition is represented by the stolid epitomizer Solinus. Historical composition dragged on in the most miserable manner. Grammar is represented by such a tiro as Nonius. Eloquence appeared only in bombastic flattery towards the rulers; the panegyric orators commenced in this time, beginning with Gaul.

1. New views (especially in the estimation of Diocletian) were disclosed by J. Burckhardt, the time of Constantine the Great, Basle 1853. 512 pp. He was succeded by Th. Bernhardt, Hist. of Rome from Valerian until Diocletian's death (253—313). I. The political history of the Roman Empire from Valerian to the accession of Diocletian (253—284), Berlin 1867. 318 pp. Th. Preuss, The Emperor Diocletian and his time, Berlin 1869. 182 pp.

2. Trebell. Poll. Gallien. 11, 6—9: fuit Gallienus . . oratione, poemate atque omnibus artibus clarus. huius illud est epithalamion quod inter centum poetas praecipuum fuit. nam cum fratrum suorum filios iungeret et omnes poetae graeci latinique epithalamia dixissent,

idque per dies plurimos, ille . . ita dixisse fertur etc. (Anth. lat. 711 R.) longum est eius versus orationesque conectere, quibus suo tempore tam inter poetas quam inter rhetores emicuit. sed aliud in imperatore quaeritur, aliud in oratore vel poeta flagitatur. G. Thomas, on the Epithalamium of Gall., Reports of the Meetings of the Munich Academy 1863, II p. 41 sq. In general see Th. Bernhardt I p. 51 sqq.

3. Vopisc. Car. 11: Numerianus, Cari filius (the younger brother of Carinus) . . eloquentia praepollens (cf. 7, 1: adulescentem cum lectissimum tum etiam disertissimum), adeo ut publice declamaverit feranturque illius scripta nobilia, declamationi tamen magis quam tulliano adcommodatiora stilo. versu autem talis fuisse praedicatur ut omnes poetas sui temporis vicerit. nam et cum Olympio Nemesiano contendit . . et Aurelium Apollinarem iamborum scriptorem, qui patris eius gesta in litteras rettulit, isdem quae recitaverat editis veluti radio solis obtexit. huius oratio fertur ad senatum missa tantum habuisse eloquentiae ut illi statua . . quasi rhetori decerneretur, . . cui subscriptum est: Numeriano Caesari, oratori temporibus suis potentissimo. He and Carinus were Caesars, with his father Carus, from Narbo in Gaul; after Carus' death Augustus for a very short time, but he was soon killed by his father-in-law Arrius Aper, Sept. 284. See Th. Bernhardt I p. 245—263.

4. The corruption of the language (vulgar metre and vulgar Latin) increased from this time forth and left its traces in the inscriptions (of popular origin and such parts as Africa); a glaring instance of this is the inscr. of Praecilius (above 380, 5). Cf. W. Fröhner, Philol. XIII p. 170 sqq. XVI p. 719. Especially the cases became hopelessly confused, e. g. filias fecerunt (Renier 863), ob meritis (ib. 1769), cum Albinium coniugem (ib. 2275), per Iulio Casto fratre.

5. The provincial orators and writers strongly feel the difficulties with which they have to contend. Panegyr. Constantin. (VIII) 1, 2: neque ignoro quanto inferiora sint ingenia nostra romanis, siquidem latine et diserte loqui illis ingeneratum est, nobis elaboratum, et si quid forte commode dicimus ex illo fonte et capite facundiae imitatio nostra derivat., Pacat. in Theodos. 1, 3: huc accedit auditor senatus, cui difficile sit . . pro ingenita atque hereditaria orandi facultate non esse fastidio rudem hunc et incultum transalpini sermonis horrorem.

6. Christianity now spread also among the educated. Arnob. II 6: tam magnis ingeniis praediti oratores, grammatici, rhetores, consulti iuris ac medici, philosophiae etiam secreta rimantes magisteria haec expetunt, spretis quibus paulo ante fidebant. A philosopher who wrote against Christianity at Nicomedia, and hence probably in Greek, is mentioned by Lactant. inst. V 2.

a. The time before Diocletian, a. 253—284.

382. In the time of Carus and his sons, M. Aurelius Olympius Nemesianus of Carthage wrote his didactic poem on

the chase (Cynegetica), the first 425 lines of which have come down to us. They attest much fluency and command of words, all technical details being the same as in the four eclogues usually appended to those of Calpurnius, but belonging to Nemesianus.

1. Vopisc. Car. 11, 2: (Numerianus) cum Olympio Nemesiano contendit, qui *Ἁλιευτικά*, *Κυνηγετικά* et *Ναυτικά* scripsit inque (?) omnibus colonis illustratus emicuit. See above 381, 8. In the only one of these didactic poems which we possess the author first shows why he disdained mythological subjects, which had been so much treated by others: nos saltus viridesque plagas camposque patentes scrutamur (40 sqq.) etc. talique placet dare lintea curae, dum non magna ratis, vicinis sueta moveri littoribus, . . nunc primum dat vela notis portusque fideles linquit (58 sqq.) He promises (63 sqq.) the sons of Carinus a work on their deeds: mox vestros meliore lyra memorare triumphos accingar, divi fortissima pignora Cari, atque canam nostrum geminis sub finibus orbis (in North and East) litus et edomitas fraterno numine gentes etc. haec vobis nostrae libabunt carmina Musae cum primum vultus sacros . . contigerit vidisse mihi etc. It appears that the poem was written away from Rome and after the death of Carus, a. 284. The designation of the Spaniards by gens ampla iacet trans ardua Calpes culmina (251 sq.) would seem to suggest that the author wrote in Africa, and indeed in the ms. of Th. Ugoletus (above 301, 1) N. is styled poeta carthaginiensis. Of the 425 hexameters extant, 102 belong to the introduction; after which the poet speaks of the preparations of the chase, especially of the hounds. There are some isolated archaisms, like mage (317), and frequent reminiscences, chiefly from Virgil. On the four eclogues of N. and their relation to his Cynegetica see above 301, 1 and 3—5.

2. In the time of archbishop Hincmar of Rheims the work was used as a text-book in Schools (puer scholarius in libro qui inscribitur Kynegeticon Carthaginiensis Aurelii didici). In the mss. and editions it is generally appended to the similar work of Gratius; see above 248, 1. In Wernsdorf's poetae latt. min. I p. 90—120, in Weber's corpus poett. latt. p. 1189—1191. Critical contributions by M. Haupt, de carm. buc. (Lips. 1854. 4.) p. 35—37.

3. There are two fragments of a poem on the trapping of birds, in 28 hexameters: see Wernsdorf's poett. latt. min. I p. 128—131 and Anth. lat. 883 sq. R. But the origin of this work is quite apocryphal and though the archaism contemplaverit (v. 3) is not foreign to N., he could not have used gulae as a spondee (v. 28), nor would he so frequently have used synaloepha with a long vowel (v. 5, 6, 14, 27). These lines are probably a production of modern times.

4. The beginning of the Pontica of an unknown author, consisting of 22 well-made hexameters in elegant diction, has accidentally got

into the mss. of Solinus; see Mommsen Solin. p. XXXIX—XLI. Wernsdorf poet. latt. min. I p. 153—157. 161—163. Cf. J. Klein, Rhein. Mus. XXII p. 627 sq. Anthol. lat. 720 R.

5. The contents of a prayer to Oceanus for a fortunate voyage (in 28 hexameters) by a pagan author are similar, Wernsdorf IV p. 314—318, cf. p. 51. Anth. lat. 718 R.

6. The poem in praise of Hercules which is found in some mss. of Claudian, but was attributed to Nemesianus by Wernsdorf (I p. 275—282), though on unsatisfactory grounds, might well belong to this time on account of the elegance of its rhythms. L. Müller de re metr. p. 57.

383. The history of this time was written by a number of authors, whose task might have been facilitated by the brevity of the single reigns, if the majority had not lacked real independence of thought. We hear of them only through the scriptores historiae augustae who availed themselves of them. Dexippus, a Greek author, was more important than all these writers.

1. Vopisc. Aurelian. 12, 4: in ea re, quam fidei causa inserendam credidi ex libris Acholii, qui magister admissionum Valeriani principis (a. 253—260) fuit, libro Actorum eius nono. Lamprid. Alex. 64, 5: qui . . historicos eius temporis legant et maxime Acholium, qui et itinera huius principis scripsit. Cf. ib. 14, 6. 48, 7 (above 377, 11).

2. Trebell. Valerian. 8, 2: ut Caelestinus dicit.

3. Trebell. Gallien. 18, 6: quae qui volet scire legat Palfurium Suram, qui ephemeridas eius vitae composuit.

4. Trebell. XXX tyr. 6, 5: satis credimus Iuli Atheriani partem libri cuiusdam ponere, in quo de Victorino sic loquitur. This is followed by a very candid judgment. Macrob. III 8, 2: apud Calvum Aterianus (libri: aetherianus) adfirmat legendum etc. He is no doubt the Haterianus who is mentioned as a commentator of Virgil (Ribbeck, Prolegg. Verg. p. 177 sq.) in the Veronese Scholia (on Aen. VII 337. IX 360. 390. 397. X 242). Gräfenhan, Hist. of class. Philol. IV p. 303 sq.

5. Trebell. XXX tyr. 12, 3: verba Ballistae, quantum Maeonius Astyanax, qui consilio interfuit, adserit, haec fuerunt.

6. Trebell. XXX tyr. 15, 8 of Zenobia: mulier, ut Cornelius Capitolinus adserit, speciosissima.

7. Trebell. XXX tyr. 25, 2: illibato patrimonio, quod quidem ad suos posteros misit, ut Dagellius (?) Fuscus dicit.

8. Trebell. Claud. 5, 3 sq.: et hunc (Aureolus) tamen quidam historici laudare conati sunt, et ridicule quidem. nam Gallus Antipater, ancilla honorum et historicorum dehonestamentum, principium de Aureolo habuit: venimus ad imperatorem nominis sui.

9. Vopisc. Tacit. 11, 7: si quis omnia de hoc viro cupit scire legat Suetonium Optatianum, qui eius vitam adfatim scripsit.

10. Vopisc. Firm. 6, 2: ea quae de illo (Firmus) Aurelius Festivus, libertus Aureliani, singillatim rettulit (merely res leves) si vis cognoscere eundem oportet legas.

11. Vopisc. Aurelian. 1, 6 sq.: ephemeridas illius viri (i. e. Aurelianus) scriptas habemus, etiam bella charactere historico digesta. . . quae omnia ex libris linteis, in quibus ipse cotidiana sua scribi praeceperat, . . condisces.

12. Vopisc. Firm. etc. 10, 4: M. Salvidienus hanc ipsius (Saturnini) orationum vere fuisse dicit, et fuit re vera non parum litteratus. nam et in Africa rhetoricae operam dederat et Romae frequentaverat pergulas magistrales.

13. Vopisc. Car. 4, 3: Fabius Ceryllianus, qui tempora Cari, Carini et Numeriani solertissime persecutus est.

14. Vopisc. Car. 17, 7: de eius luxuria . . quicumque ostiatim cupit noscere legat etiam Fulvium Asprianum usque ad taedium gestorum eius universa dicentem.

15. Vopisc. Firm. etc. 14, 4: ut Onesimus dicit, scriptor vitae Probi. Cf. ib. 13, 1. Car. 4, 2 (O., qui diligentissime vitam Probi scripsit). 7, 3. 16, 1. 17, 6.

16. P. Herennius Dexippus defeated the Goths a. 269. He was ῥήτωρ καὶ συγγραφεύς (C. Inscr. gr. 380). We possess information as to his four books τῶν μετὰ Ἀλέξανδρον, his comprehensive Χρονικὴ ἱστορία from the beginning until a. 268 and his Σκυθικά. Cf. Westermann in Pauly's Encycl. II p. 987. L. Dindorf, hist. gr. min. I (Lips. Teubner 1870) p. 165—200.

384. In about the same time lived the rhetorician Aquila Romanus to whom we owe a meagre and hasty little book De figuris sententiarum et elocutionis, to which Julius Rufinianus subsequently added a similar work as supplement.

1. Jul. Ruf. begins: hactenus Aquila Romanus ex Alexandro Numenio, exinde ab eo praeteritas, aliis quidem proditas (figuras) subtexuimus. Aquila dedicates his work to an anonymous person, whom he thus addresses at the beginning: rhetoricos petis longioris morae ac diligentiae quam pro angustiis temporis, quod me profecto urget, ideoque postea plenum hoc tibi munus reddemus. in praesenti autem nomina ipsarum figurarum cum (Latin) exemplis percurrisse sufficiat. 17: hae fere sunt ab elegantissimis electae figurae sententiarum. quibus si, ut adulescens acerrimo ingenio, utebaris . . ex imitatione lectionis tullianae, . . nihil mirum est. The work is extant in its complete form, but is greatly inferior to that of Rutilius Lupus (above 265). The

diction is harsh, careless and frequently at variance with the rules of good Latinity.

2. The work is in the editions commonly appended to Rutilius Lupus, e. g. by Ruhnken (Lugd. B. 1768) p. 139—194. In C. Halm's rhetores lat. min. (Lips. 1863) p. 22—37. Critical contributions by J. G. Fröhlich (in Fleckeisen's Jahrb. 89, p. 208—211) and J. Simon (Philologus XXVIII p. 628—647). Wensch, de Aquila Romano, Wittenberg 1861. 4. (?).

3. On Saturninus see 383, 12.

385. The grammarian C. Julius Solinus composed his Collectanea rerum memorabilium in the first ten or twenty years of this period. His work contains chiefly extracts from a manual of geography made after Pliny's nat. historia; in all historical statements the author has availed himself of chronicles written in the classical period. The individual additions of the author are quite worthless, his diction is pretentious and void of taste, the style long-winded. But this work still suited the taste of the succeeding age. It was revised in the sixth century and then received the new title of Polyhistor.

1. Aldhelm († 709) quotes (p. 323) Iulius Solinus in collectanea rerum memorabilium; the monk Dicuil (a. 825) Iulius Solinus in collectaneis. In the Heidelberg ms. the work bears the title: Iulius Solinus Advento sal(utem); in Paris. 6831: Iulii Solini collectio rerum memorabilium; in other mss. saec. X (e. g. Monac. 6384) the subscription: expl. fel. G. Iuli Solini grammatici. Servius (Georg. II 215) and Isidor (de rer. nat. 40, 1) call the author merely Solinus; so also Priscian with the addition in collectaneis (X 50), in memorabilibus (II 61. V 15. VI 15. XVIII 213), and (erroneously) in admirabilibus (VI 44), once (I 28) in collectaneis vel polyhistore, the last two words being probably the addition of a late interpolator (Mommsen p. LXII).

2. Mommsen p. VI: cum Solini liber saeculo V iam pervulgatus fuerit (see below n. 5), a feliciore autem litterarum latinarum aevo tam rerum eius exilitas quam sermonis infantia abhorreat, hoc restat quaerendum, utrum saeculo III probabilius adscribatur an quarto. Mommsen decides for the first assumption (the time of Valerianus and Gallienus), because Sol. knows Constantinople only by the name of Byzantium and on account of the absence of any trace of the division of the Empire into provinces by Diocletian and Constantine; nor does the author ever allude to Christianity. Cf. ib. p. VII sq.

3. From Solinus' dedication to Adventus (1). Cum et aurium clementia et optimarum artium studiis praestare te ceteris sentiam . . re-

putavi examen opusculi istius tibi potissimum dare. . . (2) liber est ad compendium praeparatus quantumque ratio passa est ita moderate repressus ut nec prodiga sit in eo copia nec damnosa concinnitas. cui . . velut fermentum cognitionis magis inesse quam bratteas eloquentiae deprehendes. (3) exquisitis enim aliquot voluminibus studuisse me impendio fateor ut et a notioribus referrem pedem et remotis largius immorarer. locorum commemoratio plurimum tenet, in quam partem ferme inclinatior est universa materies. . . (4) inseruimus et pleraque differenter congruentia, ut . . saltem varietas ipsa legentium fastidio mederetur. . . (5) nonnulla etiam digna memoratu, quae praetermittere incuriosum videbatur quorumque auctoritas . . de scriptoribus manat receptissimis. quid enim proprium nostrum esse possit, cum nihil omiserit antiquitatis diligentia quod intactum ad hoc usque aevi permaneret? . . opiniones universas eligere maluimus potius quam innovare. (6) . . des velim infantiae meae veniam. constantia veritatis penes eos est quos secuti sumus. The author's attention is chiefly devoted to curiosities of any kind (*παράδοξα*). He starts with Rome, passes on to Italy, the islands, Greece with the northern countries, including Thrace, and the islands; Pontus, Scythia, Germany, Gaul, Britain, Spain; the North of Africa and Egypt; Asia (Arabia, Syria, Asia Minor, Assyria, India, Parthia). He winds up with the Gorgades and Hesperides, the whole amounting to 56 chapters (see n. 6).

4. Three fourths of Solinus' subject-matter are borrowed from Pliny whose diction is rhetorically dressed up by him, with the addition of numerous mistakes (Mommsen p. IX). Yet from some additions which Solinus cannot have made independently, especially of sources not mentioned by Pliny, or of the praenomina or of the period, it appears that he cannot have used Pliny direct (ib. p. XIX sq.). The additions from Mela were likewise found in the source of Sol., the chorographia pliniana (above 308, 7). On the chronological additions see above 286, 4. Cf. Mommsen, Sol. p. 249—254.

5. Solinus' work was already copied by Theodosius II (a. 402—450), according to the subscription in the first class of the mss.: Iulius Solinus (de memorabilibus) explicit feliciter. studio et diligentia domni Theodosii invictissimi principis. O. Jahn, Trans. of the Saxon Soc. of Lit. 1851, p. 342 sq. It was used by St. Augustin (de civ. dei) and Capella (with Pliny), by Priscian (especially in his translation of Dionysius Periegeta), Servius (see n. 1) and Isidor (de nat. rer. and origg.). Capella and Isidor have frequently mistaken the sense of Solinus (Mommsen p. IX sq.). The numerous mss. attest the diligent use of the work in the Middle Ages (n. 6). Mommsen p. XXX—XXXII p. 255—259. An abridgment in hexameters was made in the tenth century, under the title of Theodericus (e. g. in a Brussels ms. saec. XII), also called Petrus Diaconus (saec. XII); see Mommsen p. XCII sq. Latapie, mém. sur l'abrégé poétique du Polyh. Sol. par Thierry (Theodericus), attribué jusqu'ici à Pierre Diacre (Petr. Diac.), Bull. de l'académie de Bruxelles XVI p. 79—101; cf. Roulez ib. p. 143 sq.

6. The manuscripts of Solinus are divided into three classes, all of which are derived from an archetypus which was itself corrupt (Mommsen p. XXXII—XXXIV), but differ in their headings (ibid. p. XXXVII and p. 239—246) and the divisions of chapters (ib. p. XXXVIII sq.). The first class (especially Heidelberg and Paris 6813. 6833) saec. XI sqq. is derived from a ms. (at the latest saec. VIII) in which the last leaf but one had been lost. The few interpolations in this class are nearly all from Isidor (Mommsen p. 238 and p. XLI—XLIV). The second class is principally represented by a Leyden ms. saec. IX. It is in some respects better than the first class, but contains numerous additions (p. XLIV—LII). The third class contains partly variations of the diction, partly amplifications of the contents (p. 234—237 M.) from Pliny and other sources, which are due to a general revision (perhaps by Scotch monks who had settled on the Lake of Constance, saec. VI), with a new preface (p. 233 M.), the title also being changed to the unsuitable one of Polyhistor, the appearance, however, being kept up of the authorship of Solinus (Mommsen p. LVIII—LXVI). This class is most accurately represented by the Angelomontanus saec. X (A). The St. Gall ms. (S) saec. X is a combination of the first and third classes, the Paris. 6810 (P) of the second and third: see Mommsen p. LII—LX and his Elenchus p. LXXIX—XCIII.

7. Editions (ed. princeps Venet. 1473 sq.) by J. Camers (Vienna 1520 sq.), El. Vinetus (Pictav. 1554. 4.), M. Delrio (Antv. 1572. Lugd. 1646) and others. The chief work is: Claudii Salmasii Exercitationes in Sol. Polyh., Paris 1629 and (cur. S. Pitisco) Utrecht 1869. 2 vols fol. Lips. 1777. 8. An excellent edition by Th. Mommsen (recognovit), Berol. 1864. XCIV and 287 pp. Cf. Fr. Lüdecke, Gött. Gel. Anz. 1865, p. 1089—1109.

8. On the 22 hexameters found in the mss. of Solinus see above 382, 4.

386. Towards the end of this time Nonius Marcellus seems to have composed his extant lexical work (Compendiosa doctrina per litteras). It is a mechanical compilation in a merely casual arrangement (c. 2—4 are alphabetical), in which Gellius has been much used. In spite of the glaring want of solid information, criticism and accuracy, the work is still invaluable to us, as better works have been lost, and as it contains numerous quotations of earlier Roman literature.

1. Nonius Marcellus is in the headings styled peripateticus tuburticensis, which certainly proves him to have been a native of Africa; see Gerlach and Roth p. IV—VIII. The grammaticus pertenuis meriti Marcellus, to whom amissam primum Narbo dedit patriam (Auson. prof. Burdig. 18), appears to be a different person. The latest writers men-

tioned by N. are Apuleius (s. v. abstemius) and (Septimius) Serenus (above 379, 3). The exceptional attention paid to the latter appears to be due to personal relations or at least to indicate proximity of time. Nonius is partly quoted, partly copied silently (M. Hertz, Philol. XI p, 593—596, cf. on Priscian. XV 13 p. 70) by Priscian. p. 35, 21 (teste Nonio Marcello de doctorum indagine = c. 12). 269, 24 (quod ponit N. M. de doct. ind.). 499, 20 H. (Nonius Marcellus de mutatis coniugationibus = c. 10). The title (in the Guelferbytanus and other mss.) de compendiosa doctrina per litteras ad filium is applicable only to three out of Nonius' nineteen chapters; but those three are the most extensive (p. 49—285 out of 383 in Gerlach and Roth's edition).

2. Contents and division. c. 1: de proprietate sermonum. 2: de honestis et nove veterum dictis, per litteras. 3: de indiscretis generibus, per litteras. 4: de varia significatione sermonum (per litteras). 5: de differentiis verborum. 6: de inpropriis. 7: de contrariis generibus verborum. 8: de mutata declinatione. 9: de generibus et casibus. 10: de mutatis coniugationibus. 11: de indiscretis adverbiis. 12: de doctorum indagine. 13: de genere navigiorum (only 17 articles). 14: de genere vestimentorum. 15: de genere vasorum vel poculorum. 16: de (genere vel) colore vestimentorum (13 articles). 17: de genere ciborum vel pomorum (16 articles). 18: de genere armorum. 19: de propinquitate (9 brief articles, without quotations, but the end: de quibus exempla multa sunt in antiquis auctoribus et maxime in Afranio et iuris vetustissimis scriptoribus). The last seven chapters (p. 364—383 ed. G. et K.) appear therefore to be arranged in agreement with the subject-matter, but are far from complete.

3. The work is so mechanically put together that in recent times Nonius' proceeding in his compilation has been successfully pointed out and his rude tissue cut up into its component shreds. In pursuance of a hint by F. W. Schneidewin (Gött. gel. Anz. 1843 p. 697 sq.), M. Hertz (in Fleck.'s Jahrb. 85, 1862, p. 706—726. 779—799) showed how Gellius had been used by Nonius; his observations were then carried further by A. Riese, Symb. phil. Bonn. p. 483—487, A. Schottmüller, ibid. p. 809—832 (on the first chapter of N. M.) and P. Schmidt, de Nonii Marcelli auctoribus grammaticis (Lips. 1868) 155 pp. with a table of contents. It is now proved that N. followed the same plan in almost all his chapters. Fixed series of quotations recur always in the same order, whence it follows that he entered them into this book in regular order from his sources. He generally begins with Plautus, limiting himself to 18 of the fabulae Varronianae; then come illustrations from Lucretius, Attius, Pomponius, Lucilius (p. 1—20), Pacuvius, Cic. de rep., Varro (22 saturae), Sallust, Afranius; Cic. de off., Hortens., de sen. and de rep.; Virgil, Terence, Cic. Verrinae, Lucilius (b. 20—26), a list of verbs, chiefly in the dramatists, adverbs, then the philosophical writings of Cicero already mentioned; then illustrations from Plaut. Amphitruo, Asin. and Aulul.; then again from Varro (18 saturae) his

Excerpts from Gellius; again from 5 saturae of Varro; Cic. de fin.; Sisenna; Cic. or., de or., Acad. and Tusc.; lastly from Varro de vita pop. rom., de re rust. and from Cato. Deviations from this order are comparatively scarce and may no doubt be explained from mere casualties.

4. Nonius is very careful not to mention his real sources, and the name of Gellius, whom he copies so very frequently, is never found in his pages. His principal authorities were secondary and late, such as commentaries on writers, encyclopaedias, dictionaries and grammars, though these were no doubt based upon earlier works, e. g. on Verrius Flaccus. There are many points of resemblance between Nonius and Charisius, but merely because the sources of the latter belonged to the same class of grammatical tradition, or because the authorities followed by Nonius had also employed Caper, Pliny or Probus. Nonius used his sources in a very superficial manner, without reading them carefully. All the scholars who have had to do with him speak of him in very contemptuous expressions. Bücheler e. g. (Rhein. Mus. XIII p. 596) says: cum Nonio qui comparari posset levitate et stupiditate neque antiquitas neque nostra aetas ullum grammaticum tulit. So also L. Müller (metr. p. 25 sqq.), Schottmüller (Symb. p. 810), P. Schmidt (p. 38: homo inter omnes hebetissimus; p. 92: splendida inscitia ac stupor iste paene incredibilis cuius documentis liber Nonianus scatet). It has actually happened to Nonius to take M. Tullius and Cicero for two different authors (Schmidt p. 92).

5. On the manuscripts of Nonius see Gerlach in his edition p. XXIV—XXVIII. Ed. princeps by Pomponius Laetus, Rom. 1470. Venet. 1476. Ed. Pius, Mediol. 1500 and Paris 1511. Aldina Ven. 1513. 1527. Basil. (Froben) 1526. Ed. Hadr. Iunius, Antv. 1565. Jos. Mercier, Paris 1583 and especially 1614; reprinted Lips. 1825. Ad fidem veterum codd. ediderunt et appar. crit. indicesque adiec. F. D. Gerlach et C. L. Roth. Basil. 1842 (c. 1 and 4 by G., the rest by R.). Collatis V codd. saec. IX et X ed. L. Quicherat, Paris 1871. XXXII and 678 pp. A critical edition by L. Müller is advertised (Lips., Teubner).

6. J. Vahlen, analectorum Nonianorum libri II Lips. 1859. 40 pp. L. Müller, de re metr. p. 29—39 and in Fleckeisen's Jahrbb. 95, p. 490—496. 97, p. 422—434. For others see n. 3.

b) The time of Diocletian, a. 284—305.

387. The most important art continued to be Eloquence. Its chief home was now in Gaul, where Massilia, Narbo, Tolosa, Burdigala, Augustodunum, Remi (Durocortorum) and Treviri had rhetoricians of their own, whose lectures were much favoured by the vivacity and linguistic versatility of the population. A diction was formed here which differed from

the dry tortuosity of the Africans by its smoothness and correctness, and surpassed it in store of words, though it was inferior to it in thought. The subject and tone of Eloquence were dependent on the state of political affairs. In agreement with the Eastern and despotic ceremonies introduced by Diocletian which removed the person of the Emperor from ordinary intercourse, but also from the swords of the soldiers, Eloquence was now devoted to the praise of the Emperors, their superhuman virtues and performances. This was the time of the Panegyrici, who started with the example furnished by Pliny the younger, but in their diction imitated Cicero. The earliest two speeches of this kind were delivered by anonymous orators at the Court of Treves in praise of Diocletian's colleague, Maximianus Herculius, in the years 289 and 291. We possess other four by the rhetorician Eumenius of Autun (born c. 250), an imitator of Cicero's rotundity and fullness of phrase. They were delivered in the years 296 and 297, 310 and 311. In the first he pleads for the restoration of the Schools in his native town, in the last he returns thanks in its name. The other two are panegyrics on the Caesar Constantius Chlorus and his son, the Emperor Constantine.

1. The collections of the panegyrici veteres generally contain also the earliest example of this kind, the 'panegyricus' of Pliny (above 335, 12). They then extend from Diocletian to Theodosius; see below 396. 410. 419. There are numerous manuscripts of them, but none of them older than saec. XV, and all derived from the same archetype, probably the same as John Aurispa discovered at Mayence a. 1433; see H. Keil, praef. in Plin. p. 38 sq. and Ioa. Aurispae epistula (Halle 1870. 4) p. IV and VIII. Relatively speaking, the best mss. are the vetus Bertiniensis, vetus Puteani and Vaticanus 3461; see H. Rühl (n. 3) p. 7—18. In these mss. Pliny's panegyric is commonly followed by Latini Pacati Drepani panegyricus Theodosio Aug. dictus; Claudi Mamertini pro consulatu suo gratiarum actio Iuliano Aug.; Nazari panegyricus Constantino Aug. dictus; then by the shorter panegyrics on Maximian and Diocletian and his successors. The editions (n. 2) generally adopt the chronological arrangement.

2. Editions of the panegyrici by Jo. Cuspinianus (Vienn. 1513. 4), B. Rhenanus (Basil. 1520. 4.), P. Navius (Venet. 1576), J. Livineius (Antverp. 1599), C. Rittershusius (cum notis J. Gruteri et Acidalii, Francof. 1607), Chr. Cellarius (rec. et adn. illustr., Hal. 1703), J. de la Bunae (in us. Delph., Venet. 1728. 4.), Chr. G. Schwarz (Altorf 1739—1748. 4.),

L. Patarol (notis ac nummis illustr., Venet. 1743. 4.), Wolfg. Jäger (ex cod. ms., Nürnberg 1779. 2 vols.), H. J. Arntzen (cum notis et animadv., Utrecht 1790–1795, 2 vols. 4.), Valpy (London 1838).

3. J. G. Walch, parerga acad. (Lips. 1721) p. 849 sqq. C. G. Heyne, censura XII panegyricorum veterum, in his Opuscula acad. VI p. 80—118. J. Burckhardt, the time of Constantine, p. 62—66. H. Rühl, de XII panegyricis latinis propaedeumata, Greifswald 1868. Fr. Eyssenhardt, lectiones panegyricae, Berlin 1867. 4. (Fr. Werder'sches Gymn.)

4. The earliest two speeches, on Maximian, are usually attributed to an elder Mamertinus, though without any ms. authority. The difference of their rhetorical treatment and linguistic peculiarities almost proves that they are not by the same author. Cf. n. 6.

5. The first was delivered on the birth-day of Rome (21 April) before the commencement of the expedition against Carausius (c. 12), a. 289, away from Rome (13, 4. 14, 1. 4.) in the North (12, 5), in a town situated on a navigable river (12, 6), no doubt in Maximian's residence at Treves. The orator doubts whether his hero had ever heard of the passage of Scipio the Elder to Africa (c. 8).

6. The second (Genethliacus) was delivered on Maximian's birthday (2, 1), with which that of his colleague Diocletian was joined; certainly before Constantine and Galerius were appointed Caesares (1 March 293; see Preuss, Diocl. p. 172 sq.). Navalia tropaea (on Carausius) are still in view (19, 5); yet this point is lightly passed over so that some time would appear to have gone by since this misfortune. This speech was likewise delivered away from Rome (12, 1. 19, 5) and beyond the Alps (9, 3 sqq.). The author had once before delivered a speech in honour of Maximian; see 1, 1 sqq.: ut expectationem sermonis eius quem tuis quinquennalibus (Nov. 289) praeparaveram hac natalis praedicatione compensem et dicendi munus, quod tunc voti promissione susceperam, nunc . . repraesentem. voveram autem . . ut me dignatione qua pridem audieras rursus audires. . . gaudeo igitur . . dilatam esse illam cupiditatem meam. neque enim orationis eius quam composueram facio iacturam, sed eam reservo . . decennalibus tuis. 5, 1: sed de rebus bellicis victoriisque vestris . . et multi summa eloquentia praediti saepe dixerunt et ego pridem, cum mihi auditionis tuae divina dignatio eam copiam tribuit, quantum potui praedicavi. This time he says that he confines himself to the Emperor's pietas (c. 6—12) and felicitas (c. 13—18). The latter theme had already been treated by the former rhetorician (n. 5), only more briefly (9 sq. 11, 1. 7. 13, 1 sqq.), not only the res bellicae. The present speaker expects more historical knowledge of the Emperor. He is also fond of detailed description (10—12) and bolder rhetorical figures (c. 15). He quotes (14, 2) the line Iovis omnia plena by the poeta romanus (Vergil. Ecl. III 60) and styles Ennius (16, 3) ille romani carminis primus auctor. This speaker differs from the first (n. 5) in his use of the particles si quidem and quasi, also at enim (7, 5) and nihilominus.

7. Eumen. pro rest. schol. 1, 1: certum habeo . . plerosque mirari quod ego, qui ab ineunte adolescentia usque in hunc diem numquam isto in loco dixerim et quantulumcumque illud est quod . . videor consecutus exercere privatim quam in foro iactare maluerim, nunc demum, sero quodam tirocinio, ad insolitum mihi tribunal adspirem. 3, 1: relictis docendi praecipiendique rationibus. 6, 2: (Constantium) mirari satis nequeo, qui . . me filio potius meo ad pristina mea studia aditum molientem ipsum iusserit disciplinas artis oratoriae retractare et hoc mihi munus iniunxerit. 11, 2 sq.: salarium me liberalissimi principes . . in sexcenis milibus nummum accipere iusserunt, . . ut trecena illa sestertia quae sacrae memoriae magister acceperam . . geminarent. hoc ego salarium . . cupio ad restitutionem huius operis . . destinare. 13, 1: litteras quibus misi tanti principes instituendam iuventutem commendare dignati sunt, in which (14, 3) e. g.: auditorio huic . . te potissimum praeficere debuimus, cuius eloquentiam et gravitatem morum ex actus nostri habemus administratione compertam. hortamur igitur . . ut professionem oratoriam repetas etc. 17, 3: illic avum meum quondam docuisse audio, hominem Athenis ortum, Romae diu celebrem, mox in ista urbe (Autun) . . detentum. cuius locum, in quo, ut referunt, maior octogenario docuit etc. Panegyr. Constantino Aug. 23, 1 sq.: tibi . . commendo liberos meos, praecipueque illum iam summa fisci patrocinia tractantem (he would thus appear to have been advocatus fisci). . . praeter illos quinque quos genui etiam illos quasi meos numero quos provexi ad tutelam fori, ad officia palatii. We do not know in what year Eum. died.

8. The speech pro restaurandis scholis (of Augustodunum), was delivered a. 296 (see c. 21) before the praeses provinciae (Gall. Lugd. I), and chiefly contains the declaration that Eum. intended his salary for it (n. 7). We possess by him also: 2) panegyricus on the Caesar Constantius, delivered at Treves, at the close of 296; cf. 4, 4: habenda est ratio temporis, Caesare stante dum loquimur. The orator does not, however, keep this intention. 5, 3: aliis haec (the deed of Diocletian, Maximian and Galerius) . . celebrabo temporibus, . . ipsis qui gessere praesentibus. Maximian is still in Mauretania (5, 2), and Constantine has not yet gained his Lingonica victoria (paneg. Constantin. 6, 3). The author has again given up his chair and returned to Court; see 1, 2 sqq.: quo in genere orationis quanta esset cura . . sensi etiam cum in quotidiana illa instituendae iuventutis exercitatione versarer. . . sed cum ex veteri illo curriculo me . . post indultam a pietate vestra quietem (pension?) studium ruris abduxerit etc. He alludes to a speech in honour of Maximian 1, 5; to his former charge at Court 2, 1; to the restoration of his native town of Augustodunum 20, 2. — 3) Panegyricus Constantino Aug. dictus at Treves (22, 4 sq. cf. 13, 2), on the dies natalis of the town (22, 4), a short time after the execution of Maximian at Massilia (20, 3), n. 310. Again he declares his intention to be brief (1, 3. 7, 1). He says of himself that he is in the media aetas (1, 1). The adulation displayed in this speech is very strong,

e. g. 10—12. 21, 4. 22, 1. At the close of the speech Constantine is invited to visit Augustodunum (22, 3 and 7). — 4) Gratiarum actio Constantino Aug. in the name of Augustodunum, his patria, whose appellation had been changed to Flavia, for the remission of taxes and other benefits Constantine had bestowed upon the town during his recent sojourn there (a. 310 or 311). The end seems to be incomplete. It was delivered at Treves (2, 1). For the time see 13, 2: quinquennalia tua nobis, etiam perfecta, celebranda sunt. There is no trace of Christianity in all these speeches, but on the contrary polytheism is displayed rather ostentatiously. On the criticism of the text see Haupt, Hermes IV p. 151 sq.

9. Burckhardt, Constantine p. 66: Eumenius surpasses the other panegyric orators not only in tact and talent, but is even quite a respectable patriot, who did not flatter for his personal advantage. Cf. n. 7. Tacitus (Agr. 12) is employed in panegyric. Const. 9, 3.

10. Symmach. ep. VI 34 wants a Gallus rhetor for the education of his son at Rome. Cf. ib. IX 88: gallicanae facundiae haustus requiro, non quod his septem montibus eloquentia latiaris excessit, sed quia praecepta rhetoricae pectori meo senex olim Garumnae alumnus immulsit.

388. Of the six scriptores historiae augustae three wrote still under Diocletian, viz. Aelius Spartianus, Vulcatius Gallicanus, and Trebellius Pollio. There is no doubt that the lives of Adrian, Helius Verus, Septimius Severus, Pescennius Niger are by Spartianus, and it is very probable that he also wrote the biographies of Pius, Marcus, Verus, Albinus and Macrinus. Vulcatius Gallicanus is the author of the biography of Avidius Cassius. Trebellius Pollio wrote the (incomplete) account of the Valeriani, Gallieni, the thirty tyrants (so called by him), and of Claudius. The whole collection embraces the Emperors from Adrian to Numerianus (a. 117—284), only those of 244—253 not having come down to us in a separate treatment. The time and the author of this collection are not known to us. In several cases it is doubtful to whom the authorship belongs. All these writers are void of talent and ability; but their intentions are honest and they are our sole historical source.

1. All mss. of the scr. hist. aug. are derived from the same source, as all have suffered by the same gap, in which the biographies of the Emperors posterior to Gordian. III and the beginning of the vita Valerianorum were lost. The mss. of authority are the Bambergensis saec. IX and the Palatinus (at Rome) saec. X or XI. Vatic. 1899 saec.

XIV is copied from a ms. very much resembling the latter ms. All the other mss. are of saec. XV and without value. Cf. the preface in H. Peter's edition. The collection bears in the mss. the title: vitae diversorum principum et tyrannorum a divo Hadriano usque ad Numerianum a diversis compositae. The order of the vitae in the mss. is a mixture of a chronological and a literary arrangement; see Brocks p. 43 sq.

2. Ed. princ. of the scriptores hist. aug. by Bon. Accursius, Mediol. 1475 fol. Aldina, Venet. 1516. 1519. Editions by D. Erasmus (Basil. 1518 fol. and often), J. B. Egnatius (Paris 1544), J. Gruter (Hanov. 1611 fol.), Is. Casaubonus (Paris 1603. 4. 1620 fol. with the notae of Cl. Salmasius). A variorum edition Lugd. Bat. 1671. 2 vols. Cum notis U. Obrechti, Strassburg 1677. Cum praef. J. L. E. Püttmanni, Lips. 1774. Henr. Jordan et Fr. Eyssenhardt recensuerunt, Berol. 1864, 2 vols. Recens. Herm. Peter, Lips. Teubner 1865, 2 vols.

3. H. Dodwell, praelectiones Camdenianae (Oxon. 1692) p. 32—151. G. Mascov, de usu et praestantia hist. aug. in iure civili (1731) in his Opusc., Lips. 1776. C. G. Heyne, censura sex scriptorum hist. aug., Opuscula acad. VI p. 52—78. H. E. Dirksen, the script. h. aug. Suggestions concerning the criticism of the text and its interpretation, Leipzig 1842. 271 pp. G. Bernhardy, de script. h. a. prooemia duo, Halle 1847. 4. Fr. Richter, on the scr. h. a., Rhein. Mus. VII (1850). p. 16—51. Krause, de fontibus et auctoritate scriptorum h. a., Neustettin 1857. 24 pp. 4. H. Peter, historia critica scriptorum h. a., Lips. 1860. 40 pp. E. Plew, de diversitate auctorum h. a., Königsberg 1869. E. Brocks, de IV prioribus h. a. scriptoribus, Königsberg 1869. 69 pp. C. Czwalina, de epistularum actorumque quae a scriptoribus h. a. proferuntur fide atque auctoritate, part. I. Bonn 1870. 45 pp. C. Rübel, de fontibus IV priorum h. a. scriptorum, Bonn 1871. 64 pp. J. J. Müller, in Büdinger's Investigations on the Imperial History III p. 33—116. C. Paucker, de latinitate scriptorum h. a. meletemata, Dorpat 1870. 214 pp.

Critical contributions by A. Becker (Observationes criticae in etc., Breslau 1838), H. Peter (Exercitationes criticae in, Posen 1863. 4.), O. Hirschfeld (Hermes III p. 230—232), M. Haupt (Hermes I p. 45. III p. 217—220. IV p. 152 sqq.), J. Oberdick (Journal f. Austrian Gymn. 11865, p. 737—745. 1868, p. 340—343). J. J. Cornelissen (Coniectanea at., Daventr. 1870. 4.), J. Golisch (Schweidnitz 1870. 4. and in Fleckeisen's Jahrb. 103, p. 646—648), E. Bährens (ib. p. 649—664).

4. The following vitae are dedicated to Diocletian: 1) Helius Caesar, with the title: Diocletiano Aug. Aelius Spartianus suus sal. In animo mihi est, Diocletiane Aug., tot principum maxime. 2) Marcus (19, 3: ut vobis ipsis, sacratissime imp. Diocletiane, et semper visum est et videtur). 3) Verus (11, 4: praeter vestram clementiam, Diocletiane Aug.). 4) Avid. Cass. 3, 3 (proposui enim, Diocletiane Aug.). 5) Septim. Sever. 20, 4: reputanti mihi, Diocl. Aug. 6) Pescenn. Nig. 9, 1:

haec sunt, Diocletiane maxime Augustorum etc. 7) Macrin. 15, 4 (serenitati tuae, Diocl. Aug., detulimus, quia te cupidum veterum imperatorum esse perspeximus). Of these vitae that of Avidius Cassius certainly belongs to Vulcatius Gallicanus, to whom it is attributed in the mss. with the addition (V. C.) v. cl. which does not recur in any other place. The other six are divided between Spartianus and Capitolinus (nr. 1. 5. 6 Spartianus, 2. 3. 7 to Capitolinus, the latter, however, without any statements of an individual character and contrary to probability, as Capitolinus (below 397) no doubt wrote under Constantine, and, as it seems, after the victory over Licinius, (a. 323). The second and third biography (which is referred to Hel. 2, 9: de huius familia plenius in vita . . filii huiusce . . disseremus; cf. Ver. 1, 6 sqq. with Fr. Richter p. 39 extr.) agree in all particulars (cf. Brocks p. 23 sqq.), while the seventh agrees with the sixth. Both exhibit the same fondness of citing letters and passages of Virgil (which appears also in Helius) and refer to the same sources (Pesc. Nig. 9, 1: haec . . didicimus ex pluribus libris. Macrin. 1, 1: nos ex diversis historicis eruta in lucem proferemus, and 15, 4: quae de plurimis collecta etc.) It is, therefore, probable that all are by Spartianus. On the other hand, in the life of Clodius Albinus that of Pescennius (Alb. 1, 4: sortem illam qua . . in Pescennii vita diximus = Pesc. 8, 1 sq.) and of Severus (Alb. 12, 14: quae quidem omnia in vita eius posita sunt = Sever. 9—12) by the same author are quoted, so that also Albinus would seem to be by Spartianus; and in the Helius (which is no doubt by Spartianus) the author explains a statement he had made in his vita Hadriani (Hel. 5, 5: de quo genere cibi aliter refert Marius Maximus, non pentapharmacum sed tetrapharmacum appellans, ut et nos ipsi in eius vita persecuti sumus, = Hadr. 21, 4: unice amavit tetrapharmacum). Pius again, which is in the mss. attributed to Capitolinus (the addition of ad Diocl. Aug. being due to interpolation, as in the case of Did. Iul.) quite agrees with the lives of Adrian, Marcus and Severus (Brocks p. 23 sqq.) and therefore seems to be by the same author. In the mss. Spartianus is also credited with the lives of Didius Iulianus, Caracalla, and Geta, the latter probably by an error, as it is dedicated to Constantine, and hence Spartianus does not appear to be the author of the life of Caracalla which is closely connected with the other biography (Carac. 11, 1: occidendi Getae multa prodigia extiterunt, ut in vita eius exponemus = Get. 3, 3 sqq.; Get. 1, 1: quaestionem . . cur etiam Geta Ant. a me tradatur). No trustworthy argument against this is implied by the impersonal reference to Severus in Car. 1, 2. The manner of Did. Iul. (except the stemma at the beginning) has little in common with the manner of Spartianus. This intricate question has recently been excellently investigated by C. Brocks, though he does not pay sufficient attention to the various references (cf. Fr. Richter p. 39—42) and dwells too much on the general aspect of arrangement and diction which may be the result of the source adopted in each instance. To judge of Spartianus with a certain degree of safety, we should start with the biography of Helius.

5. Spartian. Hel. 1, 1: in animo mihi est . . non solum eos qui principum locum . . retentarunt, ut usque ad divum Hadrianum feci, sed illos etiam qui vel Caesarum nomine appellati sunt nec principes aut Augusti fuerunt, vel quolibet alio genere aut in famam aut in spem principatus venerunt, cognitioni numinis tui sternere. 7, 5: de quo idcirco non tacui quia mihi propositum fuit omnes qui post Caesarem dictatorem, h. e. divum Iulium, vel Caesares vel Augusti vel principes appellati sunt quique in adoptionem venerunt vel imperatorum filii aut parentes Caesarum nomine consecrati sunt singulis libris exponere, meae satisfaciens conscientiae, etsi multis nulla sit necessitas talia requirendi. Hence his intention appears to have been to write a complete history of the Emperors in the form of biographies. We do not know whether this intention was actually carried out; at all events, we possess only parts of his work. His principal source was Marius Maximus (above 377, 5 sq.). A chronological hint Hel. 2, 2: nostris temporibus a vestra clementia Maximianus atque Constantius Caesares dicti sunt (a. 292).

6. Vulcat. Gall. Avid. Cass. 3, 3: proposui, Diocletiane Aug., omnes qui imperatorum nomen sive iusta ex causa sive iniusta habuerunt in litteras mittere, ut omnes purpuratos Augustos cognosceres. His plan was, therefore, somewhat more limited than that of Spartianus (n. 4). Only his Avidius Cassius was admitted into the extant collection — a biography remarkable for an extensive use of the correspondence (also the answers). Cf. E. E. Hudemann, Philologus VII p. 585—588. IX p. 189 sqq.

7. Vopisc. Aurelian. 2, 1: quoniam sermo nobis de Trebellio Pollione, qui a duobus Philippis usque ad divum Claudium et eius fratrem Quintillum imperatores tam claros quam obscuros memoriae prodidit, . . fuit, adserente Tiberiano quod Pollio multa incuriose, multa breviter prodidisset. The commencement of Pollio's portion and his dedication are lost. He is the inventor of the incorrect notion of the XXX tyranni. Pollio XXX tyr. 1, 1 sq.: scriptis iam pluribus libris, non historico nec diserto, sed pedestri adloquio . . in unum eos (the XXX) libellum contuli, . . maxime cum vel in Valeriani vel in Gallieni vita pleraque de his dicta . . constet. 33, 8: libellum non tam diserte quam fideliter scriptum. neque ego eloquentiam mihi videor pollicitus esse, sed rem, qui hos libellos quos de vita principum edidi non scribo, sed dicto, et dicto cum ea festinatione . . ut respirandi non habeam facultatem. 11, 6 sq.: ut fidelitas historica servaretur, quam ego prae ceteris custodiendam putavi, qui quod ad eloquentiam pertinet nihil curo. rem enim vobis proposui deferre, non verba. Claud. 11, 5: vera dici fides cogit, simul ut sciant ii qui adulatores nos aestimari cupiunt id quod historia dici postulat [nos] non tacere. ib. 3, 1: in gratiam me quispiam putet Constantii Caesaris loqui, sed testis est et tua conscientia et vita mea me nihil umquam cogitasse, dixisse, fecisse gratiosum. 10, 7: ut sit omnibus clarum Constantium divini generis virum . . esse, . . salvis Diocletiano et Maximiano Augg. et eius fratre Galerio. He appears to

have written in the life-time of Chlorus († 25 July 306), but after the completion of Diocletian's Thermae (a. 2318 = 304 according to Hieron. chr.); see XXX tyr. 21, 7: in his locis fuerunt in quibus thermae Diocletianae sunt exaedificatae, tam aeterni nominis quam sacrati. His grandfather had lived under Aurelian and had been a friend of Tetricus (XXX tyr. 25, 3). Valerian. 8, 5: quoniam vereor ne modum voluminis transeam, . . ad aliud volumen transeam. . . semper enim me vobis dedidi . . et famae. Gallien. 14, 2: Claudius, ut suo dicemus loco, vir optimus. XXX tyr. 31, 5 sqq.: haec sunt quae de XXX tyrannis dicenda videbantur. . . nunc ad Claudium principem redeo. de quo speciale mihi volumen . . videtur edendum. Claud. 1, 1: ventum est ad principem Claudium, qui nobis intuitu Constanti Caesaris cum cura in litteras digerendus est. XXX tyr. 31, 10: nemo in templo Pacis dicturus est me feminas inter tyrannos, . . ut ipsi de me solent cum risu et ioco iactitare, posuisse. Richter (Rhein. Mus. VII) p. 20—23. H. Peter, hist. crit. p. 9 sq. H. Cannegieter, Treb. P. neglegentia castigata, in his Liber sing. de mut. nom. rom. rat. (Utrecht 1758. 4.) p. 177 sqq.

8. Vopisc. Aurelian. 44, 2: Herennianus teste Asclepiodoto saepe dicebat Diocletianum frequenter dixisse, and 44, 3: Asclepiodotus . . perhibet.

9. Vopisc. Car. 18, 5: quorum (i. e. Diocletian and his three colleagues) vitam singulis libris Claudius Eusthenius, qui Diocletiano ab epistulis fuit, scripsit.

10. On *Σαμωχὸς ἱστορικὸς* mentioned by Lyd. magg. III 32 see above 370, 5.

11. About the close of this century the earliest Latin translation of the romance of Pseudo-Callisthenes on Alexander the Great (n. 200) was composed under the title Res gestae Alexandri Macedonis transratae ex Aesopo Graeco, Julius Valerius being given as the name of the author. It is made use of in the Itinerar. Alex. (of a. 340—345). Cf. C. Kluge, de it. Alex. p. 34—45. On the diction of Jul. Val. (who e. g. frequently uses quod instead of the acc. c. inf.), see ibid. p. 46—49. 51—54. The work was first edited, from a codex Ambrosianus, by A. Mai together with the Itin. Alex. (Mediol. 1817. 4.) and (completed) in his Classici auctt. e codd. vaticanis VII p. 61 sqq. Cf. Spicileg. rom. VIII p. 513 sqq. J. Zacher, Pseudo-Callisthenes, Halle 1867. There is also extant an abridgment of this translation (saec. V), edited by J. Zacher, Iulii Valerii epitome, Halle 1867. XIV and 64 pp.

12. Among the historical documents of the time of Diocletian we should also mention the list of the Roman provinces in a. 297, discovered at Verona and edited by Mommsen, Trans. of the Berlin Acad., 1862, p. 489—531. Cf. Revue archéol. XIII (1866) p. 377 sqq. XIV p. 369 sqq. XV p. 1 sqq. In the end of a. 301 we possess Diocletian's edictum de pretiis; Th. Mommsen, Diocletian's Edict etc. Leipzig 1851. H. W. Waddington, édit de Dioclétien etc. publié avec de nouveaux

fragments et un commentaire, Paris 1864. Cf. K. Keil, Rhein. Mus. XIX p. 610—614.

389. By the division of the Empire and the Imperial power the possibility had arisen of conflicting decisions of legal questions, whonce a general uncertainty of law might easily result. Owing to this a want was felt under Diocletian to collect the existing laws, so far as they rested on Imperial rescripts. Hence a collection of the constitutions made by the Emperors from Adrian until Diocletian was made by a Jurist of the name of Gregorianus, the codex Gregorianus. This was, in the fourth century, supplemented by the similar collection of Hermogenianus, which embraced the years 291—365 in three different editions. Both these collections survive only in those portions which were inserted in Justinian's Codex.

1. The best edition of the fragments of the codex Greg. and Hermog. is by G. Hänel in the Bonn Corpus iuris anteiust. (Bonn. 1837. 4.): Codicis Gregoriani et codicis Hermog. fragmenta ad XXXVI librorum mss. . . fidem recogn. et annot. crit. instruxit. Chr. Fr. Pohl, diss. de codd. Greg. atque Herm., Lips. 1774. 4. Zimmern, Hist. of Roman Private Law I 1. p. 157—164. H. F. Jacobson, diss. crit. de codd. G. et H., Königsberg 1826. Hänel's praefationes. Rudorff, Hist. of Roman Law I. p. 274—277. Huschke, on the cod. Gr. and H., Journ. f. Hist. of Law VI (1867) p. 279—331.

2. The title of codex Gregorianus is probably an abridgment of the original title which probably was: Gregoriani codex constitutionum principalium. The earliest constitution that can be dated is of a. 196, but as the cod. Iust. which was based on it contains also a const. of Adrian, it is probable that Greg. began with him. The latest constitution in Greg. is of a. 295, in which year it is probable that the collection was published. Diocletian and Maximian are called in it domini nostri (Collat. I 10. Huschke p. 280—286. It seems likely that Diocletian encouraged the work, just as this is certain in the case of the scriptores hist. aug. (see 388) who likewise commence with Adrian. A predecessor of Greg. was Papirius Iustus, above 364, 7, and Julian's redaction of the Praetorian Edict (above 345, 2) was an analogous work. Being a collection of the imperial ius generale, the cod. Gr. embraced constitutions of all kinds, excluding what was antiquated. The arrangement was probably that of the Edict which was also followed in all main points in the cod. Iust. The work probably contained sixteen books, like the cod. Theodos., which is also arranged ad similitudinem Gregoriani atque Hermogeniani codicis (cod. Theod. I 1, 5). The last three books seem to have contained the criminal law. The documents

themselves with inscriptions and subscriptions were inserted, a few being also derived from the works of Jurists, as there are undated constitutions in the cod. Just. Huschke, p. 294—303. 314—321.

3. The codex Hermogenianus is always mentioned after the Greg., only titles, not books, being quoted if it. It appears therefore to have been a supplement of the Greg. Only Rescripts are quoted from the Hermog., the earliest of a. 291. From Dig. IV 4, 17 it appears that the collection was later than Constantine's edict of a. 331, enjoining that there should be no further appeal from the praef. praet. But Consult. 9, 1—7 attributes to it five more by Valentinian and Valens of a. 364 sq. The last edition would thus appear to have been published about 365, cf. Sedul. pasch. op. praef. (p. 149 Arev.): cognoscant Hermogenianum, doctissimum iuris latorem, tres editiones su ioperis confecisse. They appear to have differed chiefly in the addition of subsequent Rescripts. Huschke p. 291—294.

4. Index florent. mentions among the sources of Justinian's Digest in the last place *Ἑρμογενιανοῦ ἐπιτομῶν βιβλία ἕξ (ἔχουσι στίχ. σλ.)*, an abridgment of the ius, made about a. 339; see J. Gothofredus prolegg. ad cod. Theod. p. CCX. The Excerpts from it are collected by Hommel Paling. I p. 185—194. J. Finestres, comm. in Herm. icti iuris epitomarum libros VI, Cervar. 1757. 4. 2 vols. H. E. Dirksen, on H.'s libri iuris epit., Posthumous Writings II p. 482 sqq.

390. The grammarian and writer on metre, Marius Plotius (Claudius) Sacerdos, by whom we have an Ars grammatica in three books (the third treating of metre and containing many illustrations from Greek), probably wrote in the reign of the Emperor Diocletian.

1. Grammat. lat. ed. Putsch p. 2623 (= Scriptores rei metr. ed. Gaisford p. 242): Marius Plotius Sacerdos composui Romae docens de metris. Cum de institutis artis grammaticae primo libro me tractavisse comperisset vir cl. Uranius nec ei displicuisset, vel quod non absurde compositum vel quod ad eius filium v. cl. mihi contubernalem et aetate paene studiisque mihi coniunctum Gaianum scriptus esset, compulit ut etiam de nominum verborumque ratione nec non de structurarum compositionibus exprimendis breviter laborarem. cuius praestantissimi viri iussionibus libens arbitror libro secundo nos explicabiliter oboedisse. nunc in hoc sive tertio sive novissimo Artium libro . . vobis viris amplissimis, nobilitatis splendore praedito Maximo et omni laude praedicabili Simplicio, quorum et ad quos seria nonnisi de litteris exercentur, quoniam . . me posse de metris etiam tractare iudicastis, (de his) breviter esse componendum decrevi. Books I and II (grammar) were first edited from a Vienna ms. saec. (VII—) VIII by Endlicher and Eichenfeld, Analecta gramm. (Vindob. 1837) p. 1—74. Conf. p. I—V. The first two quaternios as well as the fifth are lost.

The first book terminates (p. 46): hucusque Artium grammaticarum fecimus instituta. de catholicis vero nominum atque verborum latius exponemus. Subscriptio: M. Claudi Sacerdotis Artium grammaticarum (lib. I expl.) feliciter. p. 74: M. Claudi Sac. Art. gramm. lib. II expl. fel. The contents of the second book are nearly the same as the Catholica of Probus (above 295, 8), a fact explained by F. Osann (Contributions II p. 299 sqq.) on the supposition that Sac. despoiled Probus, while H. Wentzel (Symb. crit. p. 28 sqq., cf. p. 40—43) assumed that Probus had derived his work from Sacerdos, and Steup (de Probis p. 149—166, cf. Rhein. Mus. XXVI p. 318 sqq.) considered Sacerdos as the real author of the work and both writings (Cath. Probi, and the second book of Sacerdos) only as two copies of one and the same work. See above 295, 8a. As (Cath. p. 9 sq.) Saxon Saxonis and Franco Franconis are quoted as instances, the work cannot have been composed before Diocletian. The Gaianus to whom the first book of Sacerdos is dedicated is therefore probably the same to whom Rescripts of Diocletian and Maximian are addressed Cod. Iust. III 32, 11. V 46, 3. VI 42, 26. VIII 28, 18. The agreement of the contents with the statements of Plotius Sac. and the great similarity of the two names render it probable that Plotius Sacerdos and Claudius Sac. are one and the same person (Endlicher, Wentzel, Steup). Diomed (p. 317 K.) was not aware of this predecessor. Wentzel p. 67. W. Christ, Philol. XVIII p. 130 sq. 178 sq. Steup p. 165 sq. not 44.

2. The third book of Sacerdos de metris has been known for a considerable time (ap. Putsche p. 2623, Gaisford p. 242 sqq.). Iuba is already quoted in it (p. 301 G.). It is dedicated to a certain Maximus (Rescripts to Maximus of a. 294—305 in the Cod. Iust. VI 9, 5. IX 22, 18. 41, 15. X 31, 11) and Simplicius (see n. 1). De graecis nobilibus metris lectis a me et ex his quidquid singulis fuerit optimum decerpto composui, p. 297 G. Westphal, allgem. Metr. p. 50 sq.

391. Terentianus from Mauritania, a writer on metre, probably belongs to the close of the third century. In pursuance of Caesius Bassus and the manual of his countryman Juba, he wrote in his later years a metrical manual de litteris, syllabis, metris, addressed to his son Bassinus and his son-in-law Novatus. It consists of three parts, the last of which we do not possess complete. Though the work is not original as regards the subject-matter, it is still highly creditable to the author's skill in managing the most different metres.

1. Mar. Victor. p. 2529 P.: Terentianus, non paenitendus inter ceteros artis metricae auctor. Terentian. 1969 sqq. (after quoting an example from Pomponius Secundus): non equidem possum tot priscos nosse poetas ut veterum exemplis valeam quae tracto probare; Maurus item quantos potui cognoscere Graios? . . nemo tamen culpet si sumo

exempla novella, after which he quotes Septimius Severus (above 379, 3), just as in another passage he refers to Alfius Avitus (above 379, 1). These facts prove that the age of Ter. has no doubt been rightly fixed by Lachmann (p. XI), see L. Müller de re metr. p. 55. 99. Westphal, allg. Metr. p. 44, 71, though G. Studer doubts it, Rhein. Mus. II p. 63—66. Gräfenhan (Hist. of class. Phil. IV p. 99. 134 sq.) still follows the former way of identifying this writer with Terentianus qui nunc niliacam regit Syenen, Martial. I 86, 6 sq., and places him under Nerva and Trajan.

2. Terent. preface (stichic Glyconeans) 51 sqq.: sic nostrum senium quoque . . angustam studii viam et callem tenuem terit. (59 sq.) quid sit littera, quid duae, iunctae quid sibi syllabae. This is explained in the first part, in Sotadeans: v. 85—273 (sat duco meas hactenus occupasse nugas). Then (v. 342—1281) de syllabis (versus heroici) in trochaic tetrameters and dactylic hexameters, after a preface (279—341) which is, however, rather an epilogue. It begins: syllabas . . disputatas attuli versibus, sane modorum quo sonora laevitas addita stili levaret sicciores taedium. haec prius, Bassine fili et tu gener Novate mi, perpolite qua potestis crebriore limula. 319 sqq.: morosa intentio tam legentis debet esse quam fuit nobis quoque, qui . . forsitan nec lecta multis e latebris scalpsimus, ardui laudem expetentes, non favorem ex obviis. 348 sq.: hoc opus, de syllabis quod recepi nunc loquendum. In the first half the author repeats and enlarges upon the contents of the opusculum de litteris (in Sotadean metre). The discussion of syllabic prosody does not begin before 997. The second epilogue 1282—1299: forsitan hunc aliquis verbosum dicere librum non dubitat etc. (1291 sq.:) haec ego cum scripsi bis quinis mensibus aeger pendebam etc. (1296 sqq.:) sic varios tam longa dies renovando dolores duxit ad hoc tempus semper sine fine minando. cum potui tamen obrepens incepta peregi, quo vitae dubius vel sic vixisse viderer. The third part treats de metris (v. 1300—2981), special attention being paid to (Catullus and) Horace (from v. 2914 the metres of the Epodes are treated exclusively); whence the heading in the ed. princeps 'de metris Horatii' might perhaps be genuine. The introduction treats again briefly de syllabis, litteris, then (1335 sq.) de pedibus. Metrical system, properly so-called, begins v. 1580, is well arranged and contains imitations of the metres treated of. This part is without preface and conclusion, and there are also some repetitions of preceding lines (1306—1312 = 357 sq. 360—364) and other traces of the lack of final polish (Lachmann p. IX). Terentianus de litteris (= v. 183) is quoted by Priscian. XIII 15 (II p. 10 H.); Terentianus de syllabis (= v. 238) id. VII 22 (p. 305 H.).

3. The most important of the three parts (or books) is the third, on metres, in spite of many mistakes and errors (e. g. 1797), being the reproduction of some earlier work, which had also contained Greek illustrations (cf. 2128). This original was in all probability the work of Caesius Bassus (above 299, 1—3), whose order was, however, changed

by Ter. in more than one place. R. Westphal, allg. Metr. (1865) p. 56—72. 127—130. = On Greek metres ² I p. 138—153. H. Keil, grammat. lat. VI p. 251 sq.

4. After the loss of all complete mss., the text of Ter. rests on the editio princeps (Mediolani 1497. 4.), which bears the title: Terentianus de litteris syllabis et metris Horatii. Later editions Paris. 1510. 1531. 4. Venet. 1533. 4. In Putsche's grammatici lat. p. 2383 sqq. With a lengthy commentary by L. Santen (ed. D. J. van Lennep), Utrecht 1825. 4. Recensuit C. Lachmannus, Berol. 1836. In Gaisford's Hephaestion (Oxon. 1855) I p. 215—315; annotationes II p. 349—642.

392. The rhetorician Arnobius at Sirca in Numidia wrote, still under Diocletian, about a. 295, his seven books adversus nationes in defence of his conversion to Christianity. This apology has a chiefly polemical character and exhibits little comprehension of the purport of Christianity. The author impugns polytheism with rhetorical exaggeration, is fond of strong expressions and uses quite a motley diction.

1. Hieronym. chron. ad a. Abr. 2343 = 329 = 1082 V. C. (probably the year in which Arnobius died): Arnobius rhetor in Africa clarus habetur. qui cum Siccae ad declamandum iuvenes erudiret et adhuc ethnicus ad credulitatem (i. e. to Christianity) somniis compelleretur, neque ab episcopo impetraret fidem quam semper impugnaverat, elucubravit adversum pristinam religionem luculentissimos libros et tandem, veluti quibusdam obsidibus pietatis (datis), foedus impetravit. De vir. illustr. 79: Arnobius sub Diocletiano principe Siccae apud Africam florentissime rhetoricam docuit scripsitque adversum gentes quae vulgo extant volumina. Epist. 70, 5 (ad Magnum): septem libros adv. gentes Arnobius edidit. ibid. 58 (ad Paulin.), 10 (p. 326 Vall.): Arnobius inaequalis et nimius et absque operis sui partitione confusus. That the work was composed about a. 295 = 1048 V. C. appears from I 13: trecenti sunt anni ferme, minus vel plus aliquid, ex quo coepimus esse christiani et terrarum in orbe censeri, and II 71: aetatis cuius urbs Roma in annalibus indicatur? annos ducit quinquaginta et mille, aut non multum ab his minus. A vague indication of past persecutions of the Christians occurs IV 36: nostra scripta cur ignibus meruerunt dari, cur immaniter conventicula dirui?

2. Arnob. I 1: quoniam comperi nonnullos . . dicere, postquam esse in mundo christiana gens coepit terrarum orbem perisse, . . statui pro captu ac mediocritate sermonis contraire invidiae et calumniosas dissolvere criminationes. This is done in b. I, which winds up with the justification of the beginnings of Christianity. There we read c. 62: Christus interemptus est non ipse, (sed) homo quem induerat et secum ipse portabat. The second book contains a comparison of the doctrines of the philosophers and of Christianity and a psychology

which has a Gnostic colouring. B. III—V attack heathen mythology, VI and VII the worship of temples and images, sacrifices and spectacles. Arn. does not mention his sources, though he has made considerable use of his predecessors, among the Greeks especially of the *Προτρεπτικὸς* of Clemens Alex. He gets many of his materials from the Epicureans (e. g. from Lucretius, cf. E. Klussmann, Philol. XXVI p. 362—366), rationalists (like the Euhemerus of Ennius), and antiquarians like Varro. Owing to the great amount of materials accumulated Arnobius possesses also some antiquarian value.

3. Arnobius knows nothing of the Old Testament, and very little of the New (Oehler p. XIII—XVIII). The divinity of Christ is by him merely based upon his miracles, which he explains I 48 in such a manner as to leave it doubtful whether he had actually read the gospel. He is not a proof of his assertion (I 58): numquam veritas sectata est fucum, nec quod exploratum et certum est circumduci se patitur orationis per ambitum longiorem: rather his loose views concerning barbarisms and solecisms (I 59) apply to him. He is fond of accumulating rhetorical figures, e. g. II 39—42 he has one anaphora and rhetorical question after the other (idcirco deus animas misit ut etc.). He likes to join synonymous expressions.

4. The text of Arnobius rests solely on a Parisinus saec. IX (see above 368, 5), in which the work is entitled Adversus nationes. Ed. princeps by F. Sabaeus, Rom. 1543 fol. Editions by Gelenius (Basil. 1546. 1560), Canterus (Antv. 1582), Ursinus (Rom. 1583), Elmenhorst (Hanov. 1603. Hamb. 1610), Stewechius (Antv. 1604), Salmasius (Lugd. B. 1651), in Gallandi bibl. patr. IV p. 133—224, and by Oberthür (Würzburg 1783). Ed. J. C. Orelli, Lips. 1816. Ex nova cod. Paris. collatione rec., perpet. comm. instr. G. F. Hildebrand, Halle 1844. In Migne's cursus compl. V (Paris 1844), text p. 718—1288; various treatises ib. p. 551—714. 1291—1372. Rec. ill. Fr. Oehler (in Gersdorf's bibl. patr. XII), Lips. 1846.

5. On Arnobius cf. R. Ceillier, hist. génér. des auteurs sacrés etc. III p. 373—387. Th. Hug in Pauly's Encycl. I 2. p. 1747—1750. J. Meursius, criticus Arnobianus, Lugd. B. 1598. J. C. Bulenger, eclogae ad Arnob., Tolos. 1623. Le Nourry, Apparat. ad bibl. patr. II p. 257—570.

6. E. Klussmann, emendationes Arnobianae, Lips. 1863. 4; Philologus XXVI p. 623—641. Th. Hug, Contributions to the criticism of the Latin prose-writers (Basle 1864), p. 21—31. M. Zink, Journal for the Bavarian Gymn., VII p. 295—312.

393. Arnobius' pupil in eloquence, Lactantius Firmianus, professor of rhetoric at Nicomedia and subsequently in the West tutor of the prince Crispus, surpasses all other Christian writers by the purity and elegance of his diction

which is formed on the best models. His conversion to Christianity had not impaired his gratitude to the sources from which he had previously derived intellectual nourishment. A later time thought his orthodoxy less correct than his style. The more important ones of his numerous works in prose and verse have come down to us: his seven books Institutionum divinarum, a popular and apologetic manual of Christian doctrine considered as the highest truth — a work of which we also possess an abridgment; De opificio dei, a popular anthropology from the Christian point of view; De ira dei, a similar work on the doctrine of God. More fanatical than the usual manner of Lactantius, but not at all unlike his style is the work handed down under the name of Caecilius on the end of all persecutors of the Christian religion from Nero down to Galerius and Maximinus Daza, a work of importance for historical studies.

1, Hieronym. de vir. ill. 80: Firmianus, qui et Lactantius, Arnobii discipulus, sub Diocletiano principe accitus cum Flavio grammatico, cuius De medicinalibus versu compositi extant libri (cf. contra Iovin. II p. 332 Vall.: Marcellum Sidetem et nostrum Flavium hexametris versibus disserentes; Plin. Val. de re med. III 14), Nicomediae rhetoricam docuit et penuria discipulorum, ob graecam videlicet civitatem, ad scribendum se contulit. . . hic extrema senectute magister Caesaris Crispi, filii Constantini, in Gallia fuit, qui postea (a. 326) a patre interfectus est. Chron. ad a. 2333 = 319 A. D.: Crispum Lactantius latinis litteris erudivit, vir omnium suo tempore eloquentissimus, sed adeo in hac vita pauper ut plerumque etiam necessariis indiguerit. Epist. 70, 5 (ad Magnum): septem libros adversus gentes Arnobius edidit totidemque discipulus eius Lactantius, qui De ira quoque et Opificio dei duo volumina condidit; quos si legere volueris dialogorum Ciceronis in eis ἐπιτομὴν reperies. 58, 10 (ad Paulin.): Lactantius quasi quidam fluvius eloquentiae tullianae utinam tam nostra affirmare potuisset quam facile aliena destruxit! Lactant. inst. V 2: ego cum in Bithynia oratorias litteras accitus docerem. I 1: professio . . illa oratoria in qua diu versati non ad virtutem, sed plane ad argutam malitiam iuvenes erudiebamus. . . multum tamen nobis exercitatio illa fictarum litium contulit ut nunc maiore copia et facultate dicendi causam veritatis peroremus. III 13: equidem tametsi operam dederim ut . . dicendi assequerer facultatem propter studium docendi tamen eloquens numqam fui, quippe qui forum ne attigerim quidem. Lactantius would seem to be of Italian descent, as he is used to contrast the Romans as nostri (inst. I 5. p. 11, 2 Fri.) with the Graeci (ib. p. 2, 17).

2. Hieron. vir. ill. 80: habemus eius Symposium, quod adolescentulus scripsit, ὁδοιπορικὸν de Africa usque Nicomediam, hexametris

scriptum versibus, et alium librum qui inscribitur Grammaticus, et pulcherrimum De ira dei et Institutionum divinarum adversum gentes libros VII et Ἐπιτομήν eiusdem operis in libro uno acephale et Ad Asclepiadem libros II; De persecutione librum unum; Ad Probum Epistolarum libros IV; Ad Severum (cf. vir. ill. 111) epistolarum libros II; Ad Demetrianum auditorem suum epistolarum libros II; Ad eundem de opificio dei vel formatione hominis librum unum. To the Grammaticus we should probably refer Victorin. de carm. her. 5 (p. 1957 P.): nostra quoque memoria Lactantius de metris pentameter, inquit, et tetrameter. The letters ad Probum were probably written before his conversion and dealt chiefly with questions of scholarship, while those ad Demetrianum turned on Christian subjects. Hieron. epist. 84, 7 (ad Pammach. et Oe.): Lactantius in libris suis et maxime in epistolis ad Demetrianum spiritus sancti omnino negat substantiam et errore iudaico dicit eum vel ad patrem referri vel ad filium; and comm. in ep. ad Gal. 4, 6: multi per imperitiam scripturarum, quod et Firmianus in octavo (? Vall.: altero) ad Demetrianum epistolarum libro facit, asserunt spiritum s. saepe patrem, saepe filium nominari etc. Damasus to Hieronymus (Hier. opp. ed. Vall. I 1 p. 159): fateor tibi, eos quos mihi iampridem Lactantii dederas libros ideo non libenter lego quia et plurimae epistolae eius usque ad mille spatia versuum tenduntur et raro de nostro dogmate disputant; quo fit ut et legenti fastidium generet longitudo et si qua brevia sunt scholasticis magis sint apta quam nobis de metris et regionum situ et philosophis disputantia. Rufin. de metr. p. 2712 P.: Firmianus ad Probum de metris comoediarum sic dicit etc. Hieron. comm. in ep. ad Gal. (Opp. ed. Vall. VII 1 p. 426): Lactantii nostri quae in tertio ad Probum volumine de hac gente (Galate) opinatus sit verba ponemus. F. Osann, Contributions II p. 365—367. Lactantius does not seem to have carried out his intention of writing a special work against the Jews (inst. VII 1 extr.: sed erit nobis contra Iudaeos separata materia, in qua illos erroris et sceleris revincemus).

3. De opificio dei. Dedication (not before a. 304): quam minime sim quietus, etiam in summis necessitatibus (cf. n. 1), ex hoc libello poteris existimare, quem ad te rudibus paene verbis, . . Demetriane, perscripsi, ut et quotidianum studium meum nosceres et non deessem tibi, praeceptor etiam nunc, sed honestioris rei meliorisque doctrinae (than formerly in the study of rhetoric). . . profiteor nulla me necessitate vel rei vel temporis impediri quominus aliquid excudam quo philosophi nostrae sectae quam tuemur instructiores doctioresque in posterum fiant. . . tentabo . . corporis et animi . . rationem explicare. The somatic part is also treated elaboretely, after Aristotle and the Stoics, teleologically and theologically. Virgil and Lucretius are repeatedly quoted, the latter impugned. The conclusion (c. 20): haec ad te, Demetriane, interim paucis et obscurius fortasse . . peroravi, . . plura et meliora laturus si nobis indulgentia caelitus venerit. tunc ego te ad verae philosophiae doctrinam et planius et verius cohortabor. statui enim quam multa potero litteris tradere quae ad vitae beatae

statum spectent, et quidem contra philosophos. . . incredibilis enim vis eloquentiae etc. This is doubtless an allusion to his institutiones which were perhaps originally dedicated to his pupil Demetrianus; cf. n. 4. An edition of the work cum notis Des. Erasmi (Basil. 1529. Paris. 1529), Willichii (1542).

4. Lact. Instit. I 1 (p. 4, 4 Fr.): veritatis, cui asserendae atque illustrandae septem volumina destinavimus. . . quae licet possit sine eloquentia defendi, . . tamen claritate ac nitore sermonis (cf. V 2: ornate copioseque) illustranda . . est, ut potentius in animos influat (p. 2 n. M.). si quidam prudentes . . institutiones civilis iuris compositas ediderunt, . . quanto melius nos . . divinas institutiones litteris persequemur. Cf. de ira 2: horum imperitiam iam coarguimus in secundo divinarum institutionum libro. . . quos ex parte iam refutavimus in quarto supra dicti operis libro. 11: docuimus in nostris institutionibus. 17: quibus in sexto libro institutionum satis respondimus. The first book bears in the mss. the title De falsa religione, b. II: de origine erroris; III: de falsa sapientia; IV: de vera sapientia; V: de iustitia; VI: de vero cultu; VII: de vita beata. He purposes to prove the Christian religion to be cum solam religionem tum etiam et solam et veram sapientiam (V 4 extr.); he considers it as revealed veritas and iustitia. His predecessors Minucius Felix, Tertullian and Cyprian (e. g. V 1) are mentioned and used. He frequently refers to classical writers, especially Cicero and Virgil, Lucretius and Ovid (Met. and Fasti) also Ennius, Plautus, Terence, Lucilius, Horace, Persius, Varro, Sallust, Seneca and others. In part of the mss. we find I 1 an extensive address to Constantinus imperator maximus, V 1 after the first words at least Constantine imperator maxime. If these words are by Lactantius they must be a later addition in a copy Lactantius presented to the Emperor. The work itself was doubtless written before the official victory of Christianity (cf. e. g. V 23).

5. Besides the Institutiones we also possess an abridgment of them. It begins: quamquam divinarum institutionum libri quos iam pridem ad illustrandam veritatem religionemque conscripsimus ita legentium animos instruant ut nec prolixitas pariat fastidium nec oneret ubertas, tamen horum tibi epitomen fieri, Pentadi frater, desideras. . . faciam quod postulas, etsi difficile videtur ea quae septem maximis voluminibus explicata sunt in unum conferre. The first complete edition by C. M. Pfaff (Paris 1712), then J. Davis (Cantabrig. 1718).

6. Hieronym. comm. in ep. ad Ephes. 4, 26 (Opp. VII 1. p. 628 Vall.): Firmianus noster De ira dei docto pariter et eloquenti sermone conscripsit. The work is chiefly directed against the Epicureans. Cf. c. 22: haec habui quae de ira dei dicerem, Donate carissime, ut scires quemadmodum refelleres eos qui deum faciunt immobilem. restat ut more Ciceronis utamur epilogo ad perorandum. . . illorum persuasionem revincamus qui sine ira deum esse credentes dissolvunt omnem religionem. As his source he alleges doctrinam dei (c. 1), without ever proving it to be so; on the contrary, all his arguments rest on

his own and foreign reflexion. That the work was composed after the inst. appears from c. 2, 11 and 17 (see n. 4).

7. The work de mortibus persecutorum (of the end of a. 313 or the beginning of a. 314, Ebert p. 123 sq.) has been preserved in only one ms., bibl. Colbert. 1297, and was first published from it (Paris 1679) by Steph. Baluze (Miscell. II p. 1 sqq. 347 sqq.) The title is: Lucii Cecilii ad Donatum confessorem de m. p. It begins: audivit dominus orationes tuas, Donate carissime. . . ecce . . ecclesia rursum exurgit. . . excitavit enim deus principes qui tyrannorum nefaria et cruenta imperia resciderunt etc. c. 35: hoc edictum proponitur Nicomediae prid. Kal. Maias (a. 311). tunc apertis carceribus, Donate carissime, . . liberatus es, cum tibi carcer sex annis pro domicilio fuerit. 48: Nicomediam ingressus . . die id. Iun. (a. 313) . . litteras proponi iussit. . . sic ab eversa ecclesia usque ad restitutam fuerunt anni decem, menses plus minus quattuor. The accurate acquaintance with all the events at Nicomedia, the dedication to Donatus (cf. n. 6), the great similarity of diction and the frequent quotations of Virgil (also Horace) render it almost certain that the work is actually the one entitled de persecutione by St. Jerome (n. 2), and that L. Caecilius (or Caelius) is justly given by some mss. among the names of Lactantius. The concise style of this work as compared with the profuseness of the Inst. is easily explained from the difference of subject, and the passionate tone may be due to the consciousness of having at last overcome all dangers and to long repressed anger. There is, however, a passage inst. V 23: quidquid adversum nos mali principes moliuntur fieri ipse (deus) permittit. et tamen iniustissimi persecutores . . non se putent impune laturos. . . veniet, veniet rabiosis ac voracibus lupis merces sua, qui iustas et simplices animas nullis facinoribus admissis excruciaverunt. The doubts advauced by N. Le Nourry, O. F. Fritzsche (ed. p. VIII—X) and others do not appear well-founded, though the latter justly says that the author non historicum, sed suae partis patronum egit. J. Burckhardt, Const. p. 46. 327—329. 337, n. 2. 338 sq. 349 (n. 1). 355, n. 1. 356. 366. 368 n. O. Rothfuchs, qua historiae fide Lactantius usus sit in libro de m. pers., Marburg 1862. 42 pp. 4. Hunziker, in Büdinger's Investigations on Imperial Hist. I p. 117 sqq., and especially A. Ebert, on the author of the work de m. p., in the Trans. of the Saxon Soc. of Lit. 1870, p. 115—138. A separate edition by F. Dübner, Paris 1863.

8. The name of Lactantius is also given to the poem on Phoenix (170 lines in distichs). It is rhetorical and in the usual mythological phraseology. The last ten lines differ from the rest in tone and technical details, and perhaps the original conclusion may be lost. The poem is found in many editions of Lactantius, in Wernsdorf's poetae lat. min. III p. 298—322 (cf. p. 283—297), in Weber's corp. poett. latt. p. 1416 sq., and especially in Al. Riese's Anthol. lat. nr. 731. Separate editions by A. Martini (Lüneburg 1825) and H. Leyser (Quedlinburg 1839). Move questionable is the authorship of the carmen de

passione domini (80 hexameters). The 55 distichs de resurrectione domini are the production of the bishop Venantius Fortunatus, the 100 aenigmata belong to Symphosius (below 442).

9. Lactantius expresses his admiration of Cicero in many passages, e. g. de opif. 1 (vir ingenii singularis) and 20 (eloquentiae ipsius unicum exemplar). inst. I 15 (non tantum perfectus orator sed etiam philosophus). III 13 (romanae linguae summus orator .. vir eloquentissimus). VII 1 (eximius orator). He even calls Ovid poeta non insuavis (de ira 20). The doctrine had not yet been pronounced that all the virtues of the Heathens were only disguised vices. Even Lactantius' positive doctrine, though honestly Christian and very zealous, does not show the slightest trace of dogmatic casuistry and obstinacy. Such assertions as inst. V 3: non idcirco a nobis deum creditum Christum quia mirabilia fecit, sed quia vidimus in eo facta esse omnia quae nobis annuntiata sunt vaticinio prophetarum, necessarily appeared very unsatisfactory to later persecutors of heretics. Such early writers as St. Jerome (see n. 1 sq.) and Sidonius (Ep. IX 3: instruit ut Hieronymus, destruit ut Lactantius, adstruit ut Augustinus) dwell on this as the weak part of Lactantius. Cf. F. W. Ammon, Lact. opin. de relig. in syst. redig., Erlangen 1820. Overlach, the Theology of Lact., Schwerin 1858. 40 pp. 4. Dorpat Journal of Theol. IV. His Latinity was all the more admired. J. A. Krebs, de stilo Lact., Halle 1706. 4. M. N. Kortholt, de Cicerone christiano Lactantio, Giessen 1711. 4.

10. The mss. of Lactantius (except mort. pers.) are numerous but mostly of saec. XIV and XV, and not yet employed in a methodical manner. Even more numerous are the editions of his works. We may mention the following: Ed. princeps Rom. 1465 fol. Cum comm. X. Betulei, Basil. 1563 fol. Studio M. Thomasii, Antv. 1570. Cum comm. op. S. Gallaei, Lugd. B. 1660. Rec. J. G. Walchius, Lips. 1715. Cum notis ed. C. A. Heumann, Gotting. 1736. Rec. et notis ill. J. L. Bünemann, Lips. 1739. Ed. J. B. Le Brun et N. Lenglet du Fresnoy, Paris 1748. 2 vols. 4. Ed. Oberthür, Würzb. 1783. 2 vols. In Gallandi's Bibl. patr. IV p. 229 sqq. Bipontina 1786. 2 vols. Ed. O. F. Fritzsche, Lips. 1842. 1844 (Gersdorf's bibl. patr. X 1. 2). In Migne's Curs. compl. Tom. VI and VII (Paris 1844).

11. R. Ceillier, hist. génér. des auteurs s. et eccl. III p. 387—434. Le Nourry, Apparatus ad bibl. patr. II diss. III p. 571 sqq. Walch's Diatribe in his edition. J. G. Geret, de Lact. eiusque theologia iudicia, Wittenberg 1722. 4. P. Bertold, Prolegomena to Lact., Metten 1861. 38 pp. 4.

394. To the time preceding the official victory of the Christian religion we should probably assign a number of metrical compositions which turn on subjects of heathen mythology with a certain enjoyment and in which the traditional forms of composition are generally employed with correctness,

and frequently with artificiality. Among these the small epic by Reposianus on the loves of Mars and Venus, the votive inscription of T. Caesius Taurinus, the distichs of Pentadius deserve special mention, and on account of their subjects we may also name the speech of Achilles on hearing the trumpet of Diomed, Dido's epistle to Aeneas, and similar imitations of originals of the classical period.

1. On the poems of Lactantius see above 393, 2; on those ascribed to him 393, 8. On the Pervigilium Veneris above 358, 5 sqq.; on Vespae iudicium above 358, 10. Metrical Sentences (Cato) see 24, 2.

2. The 182 hexameters by Reposianus de concubitu Martis et Veneris (Wernsdorf, poett. latt. min. IV p. 319—345; in the Latin anthologies, last of all in Riese's Anth. I p. 170—176). Along with a half-sentimental description of the beauty of nature (of a wood, v. 33—50), the author exhibits a wanton Imagination and somewhat frivolous maxims (140 sqq. 178 sqq.) The caesura and synaloephe are according to rule, but we notice tuo as a monosyllable 93, gratiosa as paeon III (or perhaps as palimbacch.) 126. Wernsdorf IV p. 52 sq. Burckhardt, Const. p. 169 sq.

3. By a certain Modestinus we have an epigram in 11 hexameters on Amor asleep, with the synaloephe myrti inter aud the hiatus Dido et, Evadne igne; lastly edited by Riese, anthol. lat. I p. 183. Cf. p. X.

4. T. Caesius Taurinus dedicates the portrait of his father T. Caesius Primus who was a fruiterer or curator annonae, to Fortuna quae tarpeio coleris vicina Tonanti in 23 hexameters. Wernsdorf IV p. 309—313. Meyer, Anthol. lat. 622 (cf. I p. 174).

5. The cod. Salmasianus contains six poems in distichs by Pentadius (cf. above 393, 5), in Riese's Anth. lat. 234 sq. 265. 266—268. (I p. 162—164. 181 sq.). The first three which are somewhat larger (de fortuna, de adventu veris, on Narcissus) are all echoici; see above 32, 9 [Add.]; the other three are Epigrams.

6. By an unknown author and rather a rhetorical exercise is the letter of Dido to Aeneas before killing herself, in 150 hexameters, five of which are an introduction) which terminates: cui grata voluptas esse potest, modicum dignetur amare poetam), in Wernsdorf IV p. 439—461, cf. p. 55 sq., and lastly ap. Riese anth. I p. 94—99. The subject is taken from Virgil, but the execution follows the manner of Ovid. Many rhetorical figures, sentences etc. are employed, the author twice repeats something very like a burden: v. 42—82 after every fourth line sua taedia solus fallere nescit amor, nine times, and v. 100—116, cui digna rependes si mihi dura paras? four times. He delights in alliteration. The form of the poem is correct, except 132, where quod is used long. The author's confession of faith 121 sq.: esse deos natura docet, non esse timendos rerum facta probant.

7. The loquacious speech of Achilles in parthenone, cum tubam Diomedis audisset (89 hexameters), is likewise a rhetorical production (suasoria), not without prosodiacal and metrical faults (v. 12, 47, 60, 70, 71, 72, 80). It would be too much honour to assign this poem to the third century. Wernsdorf IV p. 425—438 cf. p. 54 sq. Riese anthol. I p. 136—139.

D. The fourth Century after Christ.

395. The character of the fourth Century was decided by two circumstances, the official victory of Christianity and the translation of the Imperial residence to Constantinople. Even under Diocletian, Rome had ceased to be the residence of the Emperor; when Constantine built a new residence to suit the new state of affairs, Rome was left to itself and thus retained its pagan and antique character somewhat longer. The victory of the Christian religion perpetuated the rupture with the ancient world, but at the same time contributed to save its culture, as the victorious barbarians would have mercilessly destroyed the civilisation of the West, if not restrained by Christianity. When polytheism ceased to be the religion of the State, Christianity did not at once step into its place; for though the adherents of the Christian religion were favoured, polytheism was at first merely kept down in its excrescences, and subsequently prohibited in all manifestations of life; but in all points of importance equality and toleration reigned until the end of the fourth century. The adherents of the old religion became now the minority and clung all the more passionately to its forms, though quite in vain, as polytheism had long since been decaying, the external circumstances merely accelerating its expiration and surrounding it with the halo of martyrdom. Christianity was, however, also imperilled by its victory. Some deviations and extremes within its own pale, which had remained unnoticed during the time of common persecution, became now the cause of great discordance and mutual dilaceration. A simple confession of faith was not enough now: a prescribed dogmatic form of it was required, and even then faith began to congeal up in orthodoxy and outward conformity to the Church. The naive treatment of ancient culture, which we find in Minucius Felix and even in Lactantius, gave way to intentional estrangement, and not until paganism was completely extirpated, was this con-

trast smoothed over. In literature the Christian religion had now the epoch of its greatest brilliancy; the great fathers of the Church, Ambrosius, Hieronymus and partly also Augustinus belong to this century. But paganism also boasted of a writer like Symmachus. On the whole this period did not lack life, but originality. Like a senile age, it lived on the reminiscences of the past. Rhetoric still maintained its ascendancy and exhibited many names, but few of some brilliancy. It now began to influence Jurisprudence which consequently lost its former fixity and firmness of terminology. In grammar, the old tracks were followed and earlier writers copied (Charisius, Diomed). Historical composition produced only epitomizers like Aurelius Victor, Eutropius, and Sex. Rufus; a higher flight was attempted only by Ammianus Marcellinus, a worthy man. Poetry was treated as a supplement of prose-style and was therefore strongly imbued with a scholastic taste and a fondness for producing all kinds of artificial inventions, such as centos etc.; the numerous Christian poets, the most eminent of whom was Prudentius, did not succeed in combining the ancient form with the new subjects, though some of them, e. g. Damasus and Ambrosius, preferred rhymed poetry.

1. The principal work is J. Burckhardt, The time of Constantine the Great (Basle 1853), especially p. 157 sqq. 248 sqq. 346 sqq. 487 sqq. See also Th. Mommsen, Trans. of the Saxon Soc. of Lit. 1850, p. 69—72. 212 sq. A. de Broglie, l'église et l'empire romain au IVe siècle; I: Règne de Constantin, 2 vols. Paris 1856; II: Constance et Julien, 1859, 2 vols. H. Richter, the West Roman Empire especially under the Emperors Gratian, Valentinian II and Maximus (a. 375—388), Berlin 1865. p. 540 sqq.

2. After the death of his father Constantius Chlorus (25 July 306), Constantine made himself ruler, was recognised as second Caesar by Galerius, and after having gradually put aside Severus, Galerius, Maximinus Daza, Maxentius and Licinius, became sole ruler of the Roman Empire a. 323; he died on Whitsuntide 337. His sons Constantine II, Constantius and Constans (Caesars since 317, 323, 333) a. 337—361. The son of Julius Constantius (Constantine I's brother), Julianus (born 331. † 27 June 363; see W. Teuffel in Pauly's Encycl. IV p. 401—413. 415—417) was Emperor 361—363; his successor Jovianus (see W. Teuffel l. l. p. 245—248) July 363 — Febr. 364. After his death the Empire was divided between the brothers Valentinian I (born 321, Emperor of the West a. 364—375), and Valens (born 326; ruled the East 364—378; see C. Cless in Pauly's Encycl. VI 2 p. 2289—2307). The first was succeeded by his son Gratianus (born 359) 375—383 (Cless l. l. p. 2307

—2314), then by his brother (born 371) Valentinian II a. 383—392 (Cless p. 2314 sq.). In the East Valens was succeeded by Gratianus, the Emperor of the West, who however transferred (a. 379) the rule of the East to the Spaniard Theodosius I (born 346). He ruled both parts of the Empire after the death of Valentinian II (a. 392—395), see Cless l. l. p. 1824—1837. After his death a new division took place between his weak sons Arcadius (born 377. † 423), who received the East, and Honorius (born 384, † 423), who obtained the West, at first under the guidance of Stilicho the Vandal.

3. The tottering of everything and the increasing torrents of hords of barbarians caused, even among the adherents of the victorious religion, the feeling that the days of the Empire were numbered. Hieronym. Ep. 60 (ad Heliod.), 16: horret animus temporum nostrorum ruinas persequi. . . romanus orbis ruit, et tamen cervix nostra erecta non flectitur. On the relation of classical culture and the Christian religion cf. ib. 22: (ad Eustoch.), 29 sq.: quid facit cum psalterio Horatius? cum evangeliis Maro? cum apostolo Cicero? cum ante annos plurimos . . Ierosolymam pergerem bybliotheca, quam mihi Romae summo studio ac labore confeceram, carere omnino non poteram. itaque . . lecturus Tullium ieiunabam. post noctium crebras vigilias . . Plautus sumebatur in manus. si quando . . prophetas legere coepissem, sermo horrebat incultus. Then he says that he had a vision, as if he were dragged into Court, chastised and heard a voice: Ciceronianus es, non Christianus.

4. The extant toleration is characterized by such combinations as in Firmic. math. VIII 24: sacerdotes, prophetas, aruspices, religiosos. It is a rhetorical exaggeration when Mamertinus (grat. act. 23, 5) says that under the Christian Emperors nobody dared to look up to heaven for fear of being suspected of worshipping the Sun (28, 5; see below 377, 5. 382, 4. Anthol. gr. III p. 148 l. J. Anth. lat. 389 R.). On the other hand Julian's reign was for the Christians rather a temptation than persecution. Cf. Hieronym. ad a. 2378 = 362: Iuliano ad idolorum cultum converso blanda persecutio fuit, inliciens magis quam impellens ad sacrificandum. in qua multi ex nostris voluntate propria corruerunt. One of the notions and expressions suiting both religions was divinitas which occurs, therefore, in the two Firmicus and in Mamertinus (grat. act. 7, 2 and 28, 4: pro sancta divinitas! cf. ib. 15, 2. 32, 1) and Constantine's instinctu divinitatis (Orelli 1075). Symmach. ep. II 53 (festa divinitatis). VIII 13. 71 sq. IX 12. X 78. So still Sidon. Ap. ep. III 1. IV 6.

5. Statements of Symmachus. Epist. III 11: trahit nos usus temporis in argutias plausibilis sermonis. . . spectator veteris monetae solus supersum, ceteros delenimenta aurium capiunt. . . te autem non paeniteat scriptorum meorum ferre novitatem.

396. Constantine appreciated literature and himself wrote Memoirs, of which, however, only scanty traces survive. It is

certain that he considered literature merely as a means for the purposes of his power, whence he was pleased with public panegyric speeches. Four such have come down to us, two of which are by the rhetorician Eumenius, and one by Nazarius. With regard to the other rhetoricians we know of two also as writers on rhetoric, Marcomannus and Titianus, both being the sources of C. Julius Victor.

1. Lydus de magistr. II 30: *ταῖς δ'ιαλέξεσι Κωνσταντίνου, ἃς αὐτὸς οἰκείᾳ φωνῇ γράψας ἀπολέλοιπεν.* III 33: *Κωνσταντῖνος . . ὡς αὐτὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ λέγει συγγράμμασιν. . . πολὺς ὢν ἐν τῇ παι-δ'εύσει λόγων.* Constantine used to preach sermons before his Court and other hearers, Euseb. vita Const. IV 29—33. Burckhardt, Constantine p. 400 sq. Victor Epit. 41, 14: nutrire artes bonas, praecipue studia litterarum; legere ipse, scribere, meditari. Eutrop. X 7: civilibus artibus et studiis liberalibus deditus. Optatianus to Const.: eius imperatoris qui inter belli pacisque virtutes . . etiam Musis tibi familiaribus adeo vacas ut . . huius etiam studii in te micet splendor egregius. A specimen of Constantine's appreciation of art below 398, 1. The Edicts which bear his name are in the bombastic style which had become usual in such compositions, i. e. in agreement with the superhuman position of the speaker he affects the tone of heavenly revelations. M. Voigt, Three epigraphic Constitutions of Constantine the Great, Leipzig 1860. Of his son Constantius Vict. Caess. 42, 22 says: litterarum ad elegantiam prudens atque orandi genere leni iucundoque, but after his death in the Epit. 42, 18: facundiae cupidus; quam cum assequi tarditate ingenii non posset aliis invidebat.

2. Laws of Constantine of a. 321, 326, 333 (Cod. Theodos. XIII 3) confirm the Professors and physicians appointed by the state and their families in the exemption chiefly from the decurionship and military service. He himself writes to Optatian: saeculo meo scribentes dicentesque non aliter benignus auditus quam lenis aura prosequitur. denique etiam studiis meritum a me testimonium non negatur. Cf. Victor l. l. (n. 1).

3. The history of Constantine may be chiefly derived from Eusebius' vita Constantini (an insincere servile work; Burckhardt, Const. p. 346 sq. 374 sq. 389 sq. 398 sq. 418), and the fragments of Praxagoras, Bemarchios, Eunapios, all of whom wrote in Greek.

4. On Eumenius' two speeches before Constantine see above 387, 8. (nr. 3 and 4).

5. A festive speech on the marriage of Constantine with Fausta, the daughter of Maximian, a. 307, delivered at Treves by an anonymous Gallic rhetorician, nr. V in Jäger's edition. The father-in-law's renewed longing for power is explained in a prosopopoeia (address by Roma: c. 11: quousque hoc, Maximiane, patiar etc.) in the style of

Cicero. In an anachronism Agrippa is 13, 4 called Augustus' son-in-law in the battle of Actium. Of misfortune he says 9, 1: quae non illis (dis) volentibus, sed aut aliorsum adspicientibus aut fatali rerum cursu urgente videntur accidere. Cf. 12, 3 of Sol: deus ille cuius dona sunt quod vivimus et videmus. Burckhardt, Constantine p. 353 sq.

6. Panegyric on Constantine (VIII in Jäger's edition), delivered at Treves at the beginning of a. 313, after Constantine's return from his Italian expedition, by a provincial speaker (1, 2) who semper res a numine tuo gestas praedicare solitus est (1, 1). The expedition is simply related, the facts themselves speaking loud enough. At a later time it would perhaps not have been observed (or in a different form) that Constantine undertook it contra haruspicum monita (2, 4). On the relation of this speech to the next (IX) see n. 7. Cicero is called summus orator (19, 5), Virgil magnus poeta (12, 3). There are allusions to Virgilian (quantae molis 24, 2) and Horatian (distentus 24, 2, cf. Hor. S. II 5, 40) expressions. Bolder phrases are excused (ut sic dixerim 1, 5).

7. Hieronym. chron. ad a. Abr. 2340 = 324 p. Chr.: Nazarius rhetor insignis habetur. Cf. ad a. 2352 = 336: Nazarii rhetoris filia (according to Pontacus: Eunomia) in eloquentia patri coaequatur. Auson. prof. Burdig. 14, 9: (gloria fandi) Nazario et claro quondam delata Paterae (n. 8) egregie multos excoluit iuvenes. His name is prefixed to a panegyric on Constantine of a. 321. It is the fifteenth year of Constantine's reign (2, 2) and beatissimorum Caesarum quinquennia prima (1, 1. 2, 3. 38, 2). The Caesar Crispus has already distinguished himself in war (c. 36 sq.) and Constantinus Caesar can already write (37, 5). The Emperor himself is absent (3, 1), but yet is always addressed. The capture of Rome (a. 312) pridie (pridem?) prolixius mihi dicta sunt (30, 2). This is done in the preceding speech (see n. 6), which has for this reason been ascribed to Nazarius. But the different peculiarities of these compositions do not favour this identification. One and the same person is styled VIII Pompeianus, IX Ruricius. In VIII historical statements (especially from Roman history) are frequent, but rare in IX. The religious views in VIII are vaguely deistic (13, 2. 26, 1), but in IX there is more Christian colouring (especially 7, 3, cf. also c. 14). Naz.'s fondness for forming substantives (ratiocinator, auxiliator, discriminatrix, concitatrix, incitatrix, ornatrix, interpolatrix; molitio, depulsio, deiectio, adeptio, insultatio, exsultatio), for comparatival expressions (benignius quam securius etc. 2, 6. 1, 3. 3, 4. 25, 3. 26, 1. 27, 4. 28, 5 and elsewhere) and poetical phrases (securus sui, aevi immaturus, immodicus animi; dies conditur; praecipitante die, relaxaverat acies; caeci eventus, cruda hieme etc.) is not shared by VIII; the postposition of quippe occurs in VIII only in one passage (9, 5) borrowed from I (5, 3) but is frequent in IX (1, 2. 3, 6. 8, 2. 9, 4. 32, 8); while sed enim (vero) does not occur in IX, but in VIII (8, 1. 20, 4); so also et quidem, aloquin, the Inf. in an exclamation (2, 2). VIII attests a certain

preference of a dactylic close of sentences (e. g. c. 3, 5 and 10), while IX prefers bacchic, ionic and trochaic terminations (e. g. c. 12).

8. Hieronym. ad a. 2352 = 336 A. D.: Patera rhetor Romae gloriosissime docet. Epist. 120 (ad Hedybiam), 1 (Opp. I p. 818 Vall.): maiores tui Patera atque Delphidius, quorum alter antequam ego nascerer rhetoricam Romae docuit, alter me iam adolescentulo omnes Gallias prosa versuque suo illustravit ingenio. Auson. prof. Burdig. 4 is dedicated to him with the title: Attius Patera pater, rhetor, in which e. g. Patĕra, fandi nobilis (2), . . iuvenisque te vidi senem (4), doctor potentum rhetorum (6). tu Baiocassis stirpe Druidarum satus . . Belĕni sacratum ducis e templo genus (7, 9). fratri patrique nomen a Phoebo datum (Phoebicius, see ib. 10, 17 sq.) natoque de Delphis tuo (13 sq.). The son, Attius Tiro Delphidius, is celebrated ib. 5, where we read e. g.: facunde, docte, lingua et ingenio celer, iocis amoene Delphidi at an early age poeta nobilis. puer celebrasti Iovem. mox inde . . epos ligasti metricum. He was then famous as an orator (cf. Ammian. XVIII 1, 4 a. 359: Numerium Narbonensis paulo ante rectorem accusatum ut furem . . Delphidius orator acerrimus vehementer impugnans etc.) and was carried by his ambition into a political career which, however, nearly destroyed him. mox inde rhetor, nec docendi pertinax, . . medio . . aevi raptus es. His widow Euchrotia and daughter Procula joined Priscillianus; see Sulpic. Sev. chron. II 48, 2 sq. 51, 3. J. Scaliger lect. auson. I 10. See below 410, 3.

9. Hieronym. ad a. 2352 = 336 A. D.: Tiberianus vir disertus praefectus praetorio Gallias regit. He is probably the same who was 326 comes per Africam (Cod. Theod. XII 5, 1), 332 comes Hispaniarum (Cod. Iust. VI 1, 6) and 336 vicarius Hispaniarum (Cod. Theod. III 5, 6). Another is mentioned below 397, 2. cf. 388, 7. A hexameter by a certain Tiberianus is mentioned by Serv. Aen. VI 136; cf. ib. 532: Tiberianus inducit epistolam vento allatam ab antipodibus, quae habet: Superi inferis salutem. Tiberianus in Prometheo ait, in Fulgent. myth. III 7 (p. 120 M.) cf. I 26 (p. 62). Vergil. cont. in Muncker's mythogr. lat. p. 154 (ut T. in libro de Socrate memorat). Fulgent. expos. serm. s. v. sudum (p. 183 Mck.): Tiberianus: aureos subducit ignes sudus ora Lucifer. Versus Platonis ad quendam Tiberianum de graeco in latinum translati, from Vindob. 143 saec. XIII published in Haupt's edition of Ovid's Halieut. p. 65 sq. (cf. p. XXVI in Riese's Anth. lat. 490) cf. ib. II p. 4, not. 5). Quicherat, Bibl. de l'école des chartes IV p. 267 sqq. They are thirty-two correct hexameters, an invocation of the omnipotens who is addressed v. 21 sq. in a pantheistic manner: tu genus omne deum, tu rerum causa vigorque, tu natura omnis, deus innumerabilis unus. Cf. M. Zink, Fulgentius p. 69 sq.

10. Rhetores latt. min. ed. Halm p. 371: C. Iulii Victoris ars rhetorica Hermagorae, Ciceronis, Quintiliani, Aquili, Marcomanni, Titiani (so Mai and Bergk; the cod. has Taciani). In Marcomannus a German name appears for the first time in Roman literature.

11. Hieron. chron. ad a. 2361 = 345 A. D.: Titianus, vir eloquens, praefecturam praet. apud Gallias administrat. He is probably the Cos. a. 337 Ti. Fabius Titianus; see A. Haakh in Pauly's Enc. VI 2. p. 2007, nr. 9. Probably a different person was the Titianus magister who as tutor of an Emperor received compluria ornamenta, and at last municipalem scholam apud Visontionem Lugdunumque variando non aetate quidem, sed vilitate consenuit, Auson. grat. act. p. 290 Eip.

12. Exuperius of Burdigala, a rhetorician at Tolosa and at Narbo, the tutor of the princes Delmatius and Hannibalianus, who became Caesars a. 335 and obtained for him honorem praesidis Hispanumque tribunal, Auson. prof. Burdig. 17.

397. At the beginning of this century the historical design left unfinished by Trebellius Pollio was carried out by Flavius Vopiscus of Syracuse. He is the reputed author of the biographies of Aurelianus, Tacitus and Florianus, the four Usurpers, Firmus, Saturninus, Proculus and Bonosus, of Probus, Carus and his sons. The biographies of Elagabal and Alexander, which bear the name of Aelius Lampridius, and those of the two Maximins, the three Gordianus, and of Maximus and Balbus, which are ascribed to Iulius Capitolinus, are dedicated to Constantine. While the former are merely Excerpts from Marius Maximus, those later biographies (beginning with Severus) appear to be compilations from a plurality of sources.

1. On the scriptores historiae augustae in general see above 388, 1 sqq.

2. Vopisc. Aurelian. 1: Hilaribus . . impletis . . vehiculo suo me . . praef. urbis (a. 303, see Richter, Rh. Mus. VII p. 18 sq.) . . Iunius Tiberianus accepit. Upon his request Vopiscus wrote the life cf. Aurelianus: parui Tiberiani praeceptis, accepi libros graecos, . . ex quibus ea . . in unum libellum contuli (after Diocletian's abdication, cf. 44, 2 sq., when Constantine was Emperor, 44, 5.) The diction is garrulous, and there is much material not put to any definite use. At a later time vita Taciti atque Floriani (Tac. 16, 5). nunc nobis adgrediendus est Probus. . . haec ego in aliorum vita de Probo credidi praelibanda, ne . . Probo indicto deperirem (ib. 16, 6 sq.) Then the vita Probi. Prob. 1, 5: non patiar ego ille a quo dudum solus Aurelianus est expeditus, . . Tacito Florianoque iam scriptis non me ad Probi facta conscendere, si vita suppetet omnes qui supersunt usque ad Maximianum Diocletianumque dicturus. neque ego nunc facultatem eloquentiamque polliceor, sed res gestas. 2, 7: mihi quidem id animi fuit ut non Sallustios . . atque omnes disertissimos imitarer viros in vita principum et temporibus disserendis, sed Marium Maximum . . ceterosque qui

haec et talia non tam diserte quam vere memoriae tradiderunt. 24, 6 sqq. haec sunt quae de Probo cognovimus. . . nunc in alio libro . . de Firmo et Saturnino et Bonoso et Proculo (the quadriga tyrannorum) dicemus. . . post inde . . Carum incipiemus propagare cum liberis Bonos. 15, 10: supersunt mihi Carus, Carinus et Numerianus. nam Diocletianus et qui sequuntur stilo maiore dicendi sunt. Car. 18, 3: post quos Diocletianum et Maximianum principes dii dederunt, iungentes talibus viris Galerium atque Constantium. Their lives, he says, were already written by Claudius Eusthenius (above 388, 9). quod idcirco dixi ne quis a me rem tantam requireret. The life of Probus is dedicated to a certain Celsinus, the quadriga tyrann. to Bassus (see below 398, 2). Firm. 2, 1: scis, mi Basse, quanta nobis contentio proxime fuerit cum amatore historiarum M. Fonteio, . . contra ego mecumque Rufus Celsus et Ceionius Iulianus et Fabius Sosianus contenderent etc. Other contemporaries are the Cons. Furius Placidus (Aurel. 15, 4) and Iunius Messala (Car. 20, 4). Vopiscus' grandfather (Stat. 9, 4. Bon. 15, 4. Car. 13, 3. 14, 1) and father (Aurel. 43, 2) held high positions. Vopiscus himself lived at Rome and was an adherent of the pagan religion, whose superstitions he shared (Aurel. 21, 4; but mendacia haruspicum, Tac. 15, 4). He also believed in the miracles of Apollonius of Tyana and promises (Aurel. 24, 9), si vita suppetit, . . breviter saltem tanta viri facta in litteras mittam. Vopiscus likes to display his knowledge on any opportunity. He availed himself of documents. Whenever his sources differ, his principle is in medio relinquere, e. g. Aurel. 16, 2 sq. Prob. 3, 3. Car. 4, 1 sqq. Cf. F. Richter, Rhein. Mus. VII p. 17—20. H. Peter, hist. crit. p. 10—13.

3. Clod. Albin. (according to BP Iulii Capitolini) 4, 2: quae familia hodie quoque, Constantine maxime, nobilissima est. Maximini II (according to BP likewise Iul. Cap.) 1, 1: ne fastidiosum esset clementiae tuae, Const. max., singulos quosque principes . . per libros singulos legere, adhibui moderationem. See also Gordiani III (Iul. Cap. only in the ed. princ.) 1, 1: fuerat quidem consilium, venerabilis Auguste, ut singulos quosque imperatores . . libris singulis ad tuam clementiam destinarem. . . sed inprobum visum est etc. Cf. ib. 34, 6: quae omnia, Constantine maxime, idcirco sum persecutus ne quid tuae cognitioni deesset. Geta (after ed. pr. by Spartian, cf. n. 4) 1, 1: scio, Constantine Aug., et multos et clementiam tuam quaestionem posse movere cur etiam Geta Antoninus a me tradatur. Heliogab. according to BF Aeli Lampridii) 2, 4: Antoninorum nomen, quod tu, Constantine sacratissime, ita veneraris ut etc. 34, 1: mirum fortasse cuipiam videatur, Constantine venerabilis, quod etc. c. 35 (cf. n. 4). Alexand. (Aeli Lampridii according to BP) 65, 1: soles quaerere, Constantine maxime, quid sit quod etc.

4. Lampridius is in the mss. credited with Elagabal and Alexander, and also with Commodus and Diadumenus. The life of the latter is promised at the close of Elagabal. The general agreement in all peculiarities of diction renders it probable that Pertinax and Geta are

by the same author (E. Brocks p. 32—39). Heliog. 35: cuius vitam me invitum et retractantem ex Graecis Latinisque collectam scribere ac tibi offerre voluisti, cum iam aliorum ante tulerimus. scribere autem ordiar qui post sequentur. quorum Alexander optimus et cum cura dicendus est, . . Aurelianus praecipuus et . . auctor tui generis Claudius. de quo vereor ad clementiam tuam scribens vera dicere, ne malevolis adulator videar esse. . . his iungendi sunt Diocletianus . . et Maximianus . . ceterique ad pietatem tuam. te vero, Auguste venerabilis, multis paginis isdemque disertioribus illi prosequentur quibus id felicior natura detulerit. his addendi sunt Licinius, Severus atque Maxentius, quorum omnium ius in dicionem tuam venit (a. 323), sed ita ut nihil eorum virtuti derogetur. non enim ego id faciam quod plerique scriptores solent, ut de is detraham qui victi sunt. In other passages also Lampridius manifests moral and patriotic feeling; see Heliog. 1, 1 sq. 34, 1 sq. Alex. 1, 2. His further intentions were probably not carried out entirely (Alex. 64, 2: Aurelianum et deinceps. de quibus, si vita suppeditaverit, ea quae comperta fuerint publicabimus); at all events the later vitae are not extant.

5. The mss. ascribe to Capitolinus the vita of the Maximini and in the ed. princ. he is credited with the following lives of the Gordiani, Maximus, and Balbinus. Diction and general treatment are the same in all three (Brocks p. 1—14): self-conceited attacks upon his predecessors (espec. Cordus), the writer's interest in literature, the employment of Greek sources, the aim at rhetorical colouring (chiefly by using anaphora). Actual differences between the life of the Maximini and the other two vitae (B. Schulz, Berl. Journal for Gymn. XIX, 1865, p. 932—937) may be explained from the use of different sources. On the author's relation to Herodianus see Brocks p. 46—69. Brocks (p. 14—21) ascribes to Capitolinus also the vitae Clodii Albini, Opilii Macrini and Alexandri, though he admits that they non plane eodem tumido stilo conscriptae as those of the Maximini etc. On these lives and others bearing the name of Capitolinus see above 388, 4. To characterize Cap. cf. Gordian. 21, 3 sq.: haec de Gordiano iun. digna memoratus comperimus; non enim nobis talia dicenda sunt quae Iunius Cordus ridicule ac stulte composuit (above 377, 7). . . quorum etiam scientia nulli rei prodest, si quidem ea debeant in historia poni ab historiographis quae aut fugienda sint aut sequenda. Max. et Balb. 4, 5: placet aliqua dici de moribus atque genere, non eo modo quo Iunius Cordus est persecutus omnia, sed illo quo Suetonius Tranquillus et Valerius Marcellinus. Maximin. 29, 6 (cf. 28, 10): ne quid praetermissum esse videatur; 33, 4: ne quis me hoc nescisse crederet.

6. Capitol. Max. II 1, 2: servavi hunc ordinem quem pietas tua (Constantine) etiam ab Tatio Cyrillo clariss. viro, qui graeca in latinum vertit, servari voluit.

7. On the Memoirs of Constantine and his historians see 396, 1. 3; on the chronicles of a. 334 see below 407.

398. Under Constantine poetical form was employed by Optatianus and Iuvencus. Publilius Porfirius Optatianus obtained by his nonsensical poem in praise of Constantine his recall from exile and the favour of the Emperor. The Spanish presbyter C. Vettius Aquilius Iuvencus composed versions of the history of the old and the new Testament in epic metre and in the phraseology of the Roman epic poets, especially Virgil, though in a prosody frequently vacillating.

1. Hieron. ad a. Abr. 2345 = Const. 23 = 329 A. D.: Porfirius misso ad Constantinum insigni volumine exilio liberatur. This volumen is extant together with Constantine's letter in praise of it, and the thanks of Optatianus for the favourable reception. From Constantine's letter we extract the following passage: si tantum pondus et gravitas spectarentur in carmine, et graeca post chium maeoniumque vatem et latina post rusticum mantuanum eloquentia siluisset, . . frater carissime . . gratum mihi est studiorum tuorum facilitatem in illud exisse ut in pangendis versibus, dum antiqua servaret, etiam nova nova lyra conderet. vix hoc custoditum pluribus fuit, qui modis quibusdam arctis innexi litterarum, distinctionibus versuum — qui ita medium corpus propositi occulte permeant ut oculorum sensus interstincta colorum pigmenta delectent — hoc tenuere propositum ut etc. . . gratum igitur hoc mihi dicationis tuae munus fuit. exercitatio mentis et naturae facilitas comprobata est. Optatianus then returns thanks to Domino Constantino maximo, pio, invicto et venerabili, semper augusto for having read carmen quod artioribus Musarum ligaveram vinculis. If Optatianus were the prefect of Rome a. 329 and 333, who bore the same name, the date of his recall from exile as given by St. Jerome would be incorrect.

2. J. Burckhardt, Const. p. 314 sq.: 'The pinnacle of all these literary trifles — some of which were however exceedingly difficult — was reached by Publilius Optatianus Porfirius. He had been exiled for some reason or other and now endeavoured to regain Constantine's good graces by some desperate saltos in poetry — and behold; he succeeded. The work consists of 26 pieces, most of them in 20 to 40 hexameters, each amounting to the same number of letters so as to give each poem the aspect of a square. A number of letters which when marked by red colour constitute some new figure (e. g. the monogram XP), form again new sentences. The martyrdom suffered by the reader lets us guess at that of the poet. . . At the end are four hexameters, the words of which can be mixed up in eighteen different manners, in each of which some kind of sense and metre results.' Cf. L. Müller de re metr. p. 466—470. Such sentences as arise from the rubricated letters are: Publilius Optatianus Porfirio haec lusi; omne genus metri tibi pangens, optime Basse; orbem totum pacavit trucidatis tyrannis; sit victoria comes Aug. et natis eius; Constantine maxime imperator et

invicte . . omnia magnus. Part of them also form such acrostichs as: omnipotens genitor, tuque o divisio mixta, filius atque pater et sanctus spiritus unum, faveas votis. For each piece the author has added a peculiar instruction how to use it. In the first poem Thalia appears in mourning: cum dederit clemens veniam natumque laremque reddiderit, comptis ibis et ipsa comis.

3. Editions in P. Pithoei poemata vett., Paris 1590. Lugd. 1596. Publ. Opt. Porf. panegyricus dictus Constantino Aug. ex codice mpto Paulli Velseri, Augsburg 1595, fol. and in Marci Velseri opera (Nürnberg 1682 fol.) as addition without special paging. Three specimens, the poems representing an ara pythia, a syrinx and an organon, with introduction and notes, in Wernsdorf, poetae latt. min. II p. 365—413. F. Liceti encyclop. ad Syringam Porphyrii, Padua 1635. 4. The versus anacyclici also in the cod. Salmasianus (Riese's anthol. lat. I p. 92 sq.). With others in Meyer's anth. lat. nr. 236—240. Migne's Patrolog. XIX p. 391 sqq. Publ. Opt. Porf. carmina rec. et praefatus est Luc. Müller, Lips. (Bibl. Teubner.) 1870.

4. Hieron. ad a. Abr. 2345 = Const. 23 = 329 A. D.: Iuvencus presbyter natione Hispanus evangelia heroicis versibus explicat. Cf. Epist. 70, 5 (I p. 430 Vall.) and De vir. ill. 84: Iuvencus, nobilissimi generis Hispanus presbyter, quattuor evangelia hexametris versibus paene ad verbum transferens quattuor libros composuit et nonnulla eodem metro ad sacramentorum ordinem pertinentia. floruit sub Constantino principe. Cf. hist. ev. IV 808 sq.

5. The works of Iuvencus. 1) Historia evangelica in four books, chiefly after St. Matthew. The Gospels are employed in a Latin translation. 2) Historia veteris testamenti. A cod. Lorschensis scti Lazarii contained according to a catalogue saec. XI: Cypriani (rather Iuvenci) metrum super Heptateuchum, libros regum, Esther, Iudith et Macchabaeorum. For a long time only about 350 hexameters on the Genesis were known, which Martenius (Collect. vett. script. 1724; Gallandi Bibl. patr. IV p. 587 sqq.) increased by about 1200, from a very old ms. (it is said saec. VII) codex Corbeiensis (= Sangermanensis 841 at Paris). At the end (of Iuvenci Historia. Genesis): Incipit Exodus, which part is however wanting. Further 3266 lines were published from mss. (Cantabrigiensis and three Laudunenses, of Laon), which are derived from one original (Pitra p. XXXVII sq.), by J. B. Pitra, Spicilegium Solesmense I (Paris 1852) p. 171—258 (cf. p. XXXV—XLV), viz. a) 54 hexameters of the Genesis; b) a metrical version of Exodus, v. 55—1392 (1388); c) Specimens of incomplete versions of Leviticus, Numeri and Deuteronomium p. 224—258. d) The book of Josua, 586 hexameters, p. 208—223. The song of Moses (Deuteron. 32) is given in Phalaecian hendecasyllabics (p. 253—258). The book of the Judges and Kings had also been treated, as it would seem. Cf. above 21, 3 [Add.].

6. Juvencus' notions of the quantity of many vowels are rather vague. He often uses the diphthong ae (instead of which he probably

wrote e) short (as in such endings of hexameters as Aegypti, praesentat, aeternae, maerente), he likewise has ămissae, prŏtinus etc.; on the other hand he uses short vowels long, not only in caesura, e. g. a of the neuter plur., as in the second declension, also lăborum, lăticibus, pĕdĭsequis, căpitum, fŭgacem, fŭturum etc. Especially at the beginning and end of lines such incorrect quantities are very frequent. Archaic forms (like mage, dicier, miscerier, faxunt, cleptat, lampada) are used according to the necessity of the verse. In the hendecasyllabic lines he often uses an iamb instead of the first trochee. Other specimens: cuius gloriăĕ convenīt honores (1080); cui semper validā vigent inventa (1083); illos bestiae mordicus vorabunt (1159); quam dum stelligera per astra tollo (1183); quem cunctus populŭs, angĕli laudant (1190); parcit subdĭtĭs et pios reservat (1194).

7. There is no complete edition of Iuv. in existence. Of the earlier editions we may perhaps mention: ed. princeps, Daventriae c. 1490. 4. Studio Th. Poelmanni, Basil. 1551. Cum notis ed. Erh. Reusch, Frankf. 1710. Ad vaticanos codd. rec. F. Arevalus, Rom. 1792. In Migne's Patrolog. XIX. O. Korn, the mss. of the hist. evang. of Iuv. at Danzig, Rome and Wolfenbüttel; a contribution to the criticism of Iuv., Danzig 1870. 4. (Leipzig, Teubner).

A. R. Gebser, de C. Vett. Aq. Iuv. vita et scriptis, Jena 1827.

8. Noteworthy Old High-German glossaries on Iuv. hist. evang. are found in Pitra l. l. p. 259—261.

9. Perhaps in Julian's time Claudii hymnus on Luna = Iris = Iuno = Cybele, Anth. lat. 723 R.

399. Jurisprudence still manifested some life in the time of Constantine, but was exclusively devoted to collecting and epitomizing. We should here mention the last two Jurists from whose works Excerpts occur in the Digest, Aurelius Arcadius Charisius, the author of juridical monographs, and Hermogenianus, the author of the codex Hermogenianus and of epitomae iuris. The collection of legal documents generally entitled Fragmenta vaticana was also made in the life-time of Constantine. It was probably the work of a private individual, resembling the one subsequently carried out upon Justinian's order, but it reproduces the sources employed with greater fidelity than Justinian's work, and was therefore perhaps even more extensive than it; but it was made with less knowledge and accuracy and was also less practical. It contained both Imperial constitutions and Extracts from the works of earlier Jurists, especially Ulpian, Paulus and Papinian. Of the original composition only a

small part has been preserved in a palimpsest in the Vatican Library, and even that is not quite complete.

1. In practical life Jurisprudence had a place only in the vocation of solicitor and coincided with eloquence. The astrologer and former solicitor Firmicus never mentions Jurists among the numerous kinds of pursuits he names, but e. g. VIII 27 extr.: advocati optimi et regum amici ac praecipui oratores. It appears also from him that in the Imperial Cabinet not so much Jurists as rhetoricians were used; cf. e. g. VIII 27: regum interpretes vel magistros, scribas quoque et sacrarum (Imperial) litterarum officia tractantes. 30: litterarum officia tractantes, regibus notos et eorum scribas. Cf. Mamertin. grat. act. 20, 1: iuris civilis scientia, quae Manlios, Scaevolas, Servios in amplissimum gradum dignitatis evexerat, libertinorum artificium dicebatur (by the nobles of the Byzantine Court). But by Julian qui in oratoria facultate, qui in scientia iuris civilis excellit ultro ad familiaritatem vocatur (ib. 25, 3). Ammian. XXX 4, 11 sq. (a. 374): secundum est genus eorum qui iuris professi scientiam, . . ut altius videantur iura callere Trebatium loquuntur et Cascellium etc. ib. 16 sq. (of solicitors): e quibus ita sunt rudes nonnulli ut numquam se codices habuisse meminerint. et si in circulo doctorum auctoris veteris inciderit nomen, piscis aut edulii peregrinum esse vocabulum arbitrantur.

2. Dig. I 11, 1: Aurelius Arcadius Charisius, magister libellorum, libro singulari de officio praefecti praet. (in which he was acquainted with the Edict of Constantine a. 331 concerning its competence). To this we should refer *Ἀὐρήλλιος ὁ νομικὸς* ap. Lyd. de magistr. I 14. Dig. L 4, 18: Arcadius Charisius libro singulari de numeribus civilibus. Also four fragments of his liber sing. de testibus, Dig. XXII 5, 1. 21. 25 (Arc. qui et Charisius). XLVIII 18, 10. Chr. Rau, de Aur. Arc. Ch. vetere icto, Lips. 1773. 4.

3. On Hermogenianus and the Codex Hermog. see above 389, 3 sq.

4. The palimpsest of the Fragm. vat. belonged originally to the monastery of Bobbio (near Piacenza), whence the first part (six leaves originally containing parts of the cod. Theod., then Cassian. coll. 3 and 4) came to Turin, the second part which was much larger (100 leaves, 57 of which were written over with Cassian. coll. 4—10) came to Rome into the Vatican Library (nr. 5766). Of the 57 doubly rescribed leaves of this ms. 33 belong to the above collection, 22 to the cod. Theod., 2 to the lex rom. Burgundionum. The original writing agrees with that of the Gaius at Verona (above 357, 5) and of the Dig. florentina, probably of the end of saec. IV or beginning of V. The original quaternios were (probably saec. VIII) cut down according to length so that out of two connected leaves always three new ones resulted. Of this ms. of Cassian (see below 450) the beginning (coll. 1. 2.) and end (coll. 11—24) are lost. After restoring the original order 18 complete leaves were regained, 2 which contained $^2/_3$, and 8 which

contained $^1/_3$ of the juridical text. This is, however, only a small part of the original extent of the work. The text had been emended partly by the original scribe, partly by that owner of the ms. who added (perhaps a generation afterwards) the Scholia in the margin and between the lines. They are divided in an unequal manner, most frequent in the title de donationibus, and generally very brief (indications of passages, quotations etc.)

5. These fragments were first discovered (a. 1821) and published by Ang. Mai: Iuris civilis anteiust. reliquiae ineditae ex cod. rescripto bibl. pontif. vaticanae, Rome 1823. 118 pp. = Paris 1823 and (with a division into 341 §§) Berol. 1824. Recogn., comm. crit. et exeg. instr. A. de Buchholtz, Königsberg 1828. Recogn. A. Bethman-Hollweg, Bonn 1833. 12. (= Corpus iur. civ. anteiust. I p. 229—302). After D. Detlefsen's accurate collation published by Th. Mommsen in a larger (quarto) edition (Codicis vaticani 5766, in quo insunt iuris anteiust. fragmenta q. d. vaticana exemplum addita transcriptione notisque critt. edidit, Trans. of the Berlin Academy, a. 1859, Berlin 1860, p. 265—408; text p. 266—377) and in a small edition (Bonn 1861, XXIV and 144 pp. 12.). In Huschke's iurisprud. anteiust.[2] p. 610—721 (text p. 622 sqq.).

6. The title of the work has not been preserved. There is no trace of a division into books, but (just as in cod. Hermog. and Collatio) of one into titles (species) which extend over two pages each, but are not numbered. The sources are always added at the beginning (e. g. 2 Papinianus libro III responsorum) and continue until another source is mentioned. The principal source is Ulpian, espec. ad Sabinum and de excusationibus = de officio praet. tutel. (above 372, 2.) The work of an anonymous writer (Venuleius Saturninus? see above 356, 6) de interdictis is more extensively quoted 90—93 (. . libro I de interdictis sub titulo in eum qui etc.) than usual and may probably be an addition by some other author (Mommsen p. 396). Cf. Huschke, p. 615 sq. These Excerpts are given in their original shape, without any change, this being the principal merit of the fragments.

7. The Imperial Edicts are, just as in the cod. Just. and its sources (cf. above 389, 2), given together with title and subscription, without any special mention of those collections from which they are taken. Cod. Theodos. has not been employed in the Fragm. vat., some Rescripts being given there in a more complete shape than in the cod. Theod. But cod. Greg. and Hermog. have been much used. Besides this there are Rescripts (especially of the years 296 and 298) from the Western part and which may perhaps have been derived from an edition of the Hermog. which was later and more complete than the one used by the Byzantine compilers (see above 389, 3). Finally unabridged Edicts of the time of Constantine, the titles moreover being differently conceived from the cod. Greg. and Hermog. The latest Imperial decree mentioned (§ 37) is by Valentinian (a. 369—372), but the preceding decree belongs to Constantine's reign (a. 312—337). That Edicts of Va-

lentinian seems to be a later addition (cf. n. 6), especially as it differs from the rest of the collection by its lengthy and bombastic diction, except those of a. 316 (§ 249), 330 (§ 243), 337 (§ 35), which may also be later additions. Cf. n. 9.

8. The extant parts belong to the titles ex empto et vendito, de usufructu, de re uxoria ac dotibus, de excusatione (very extensive), quando donator intellegatur revocasse voluntatem, ad legem Cinciam de donationibus, de cognitoribus et procuratoribus. There is no fixed design followed. On the whole here too (cf. 389, 2) the order of the Edict is followed, though with some unaccountable deviations (Mommsen p. 401). Within the single titles the Excerpts from the Jurists and Rescripts are neither kept separate nor enumerated in regular order and according to chronological succession; repetitions and contradictions being by no means scarce. Less frequent abbreviations are wrongly explained (e. g. f. e. by factum est, instead of familiae erciscundae; l. c. by litium causa instead of litis contestatio). The author appears, therefore, to have possessed a superficial knowledge of the subject and to have done his work hastily. Mommsen p. 401—403. The collection was doubtless intended for judicial use, there being no trace of any official character. It is never quoted. It is not proved that it was composed by several persons (Huschke[2] p. 616 sq.). We do not know whether the work was ever completed.

9. It was composed previously to cod. Theod. (see n. 7; i. e. before 438) and the Law of citation (a. 426), Gaius being not used, but (§ 66) as it seems Ulpian's Notes on Papinian which were invalidated by that law. That it originated during the life-time of Constantine may be inferred from the omission of the names of Maximianus Herculius and Galerius Maximianus (which the Byzantines did not observe), the addition of divus solely with the names of Diocletian (and Constantius), but not (if 288 d = dominus) with those of preceding Emperors; lastly the designation of Constantine as Aug., even in case his real name is omitted. The unequal treatment of Licinius (who is sometimes mentioned, sometimes suppressed) seems to prove that the work was composed before his downfall (a. 323), and revised, though not completely, after it. Cf. n. 7 extr. The Western origin of the work (say in Italy or Gaul) may be defended by the special attention paid to West-Roman edicts (see n. 7), the place where the ms. was discovered (n. 4), the absence of any acquaintance with Modestinus' Greek work de excusationibus, and probably also by the omission of any employment of this work in Justinian's collection. Mommsen p. 403—406. Cf. Huschke p. 618 sqq. (who places it in the time of Honorius or Theodosius I).

10. On the Fragm. vat. cf. B. Borghesi, giorn. arcad. XXII (Rome 1824) p. 48—95. G. Bruns, quid conferant vat. fr. ad melius cognoscendum ius rom., Tübingen 1842. Mommsen, quarto ed. p. 379—408, with his praef. in the small ed. Huschke, iurisprud.[2] p. 610—620.

400. Grammatical studies were more narrowed and limited to the use of the School and without pretence to historical investigation and scholarship. The work of Cominianus seems to have been of this kind; it was one of the chief sources of Charisius and was mixed up with his work in a later time. Metrical art was in this time treated by Albinus (in metrical form), Asmonius, and Atilius Fortunatianus. The grammarian Euanthius wrote a commentary on Terence.

1. Charis. I 18 (p. 147 K.): ablativus casus singularis, ut ait Cominianus grammaticus, etc. II 11 (p. 175 K.): de coniugationibus . . Cominianus disertissimus grammaticus ita disseruit. II 12 (p. 180): Com. grammaticus ita de participio breviter refert. 13 (p. 181): haec quidem (de adverbio) breviter Com. gr. disserit. 14 (p. 224): de coniunctione, ut ait Cominianus. 15 (p. 230): de praepositione, ut ait C. 16 (p. 238): de interiectione, ut a. C. IV 1 (p. 265): de barbarismo, ut a. C. (p. 266) de soloecismo, ut a. C. In each instance an extensive section is derived from C. Other mentions of C. (e. g. Schol. Bern. on Virgil. Buc. III 21. Georg. I 215. III 311) are derived from Charisius or even relate to himself. H. Keil, gramm. latt. I p. XLVIII. The author of the so-called excerpta Charisii has used Com., chiefly in the section de pronomine, without mentioning his name. W. Christ, Philologus XVIII p. 139.

2. The so-called excerpta Cominiani (A. Mai class. auct. V p. 150) are in reality extracts from Charisius; see H. Keil, gramm. latt. I p. XXII sq. not. and on p. 180, 27. Hence the mention of Donatus which once occurs in them cannot be used to fix the period of Com.

3. H. Keil l. l. p. XLVIII: adparet non solum de VIII partibus orationis . . sed etiam de vitiis orationis . . (Cominianum) exposuisse ea ratione usum ut brevi et simplici oratione suae aetatis consuetudinem doceret omniaque quae ad usum antiquitatis pertinerent vel paullo doctiorem disputationem requirerent a suo consilio aliena putaret. Hence he suspects Cominianum non valde antiquum grammaticum fuisse et librum suum non doctis hominibus, sed pueris destinavisse (p. XLIX). See also F. Osann, Contributions II p. 317 sq., 324—327. 340 and against him Keil l. l. p. LVI. W. Christ, Philologus XVIII p. 123 sq.

4. Charis. p. 229, 19 after quoting a view of Romanus (above 375): sed Marcius Salutaris vir perfectissimus . . rectius sensit. This title is a sufficient reason to assign the grammarian M. S., who seems to have commented on Virgil, to the time of Constantine, the quotation itself being either derived from Cominianus or added by Charisius.

5. Two hexameters of a certain Albinus de metris are quoted by Max. Victorin. de carm. her. p. 289 Lind. It was probably a work in the manner of Terentianus (above 391). He may be the same as the Alb. mentioned by Rufin. I 30 p. 388 Gaisf. F. Osann, Contributions II

p. 361, n. 10 considers him identical with Alb. who wrote a manual on metres (Cassiod. de mus. 6) and on geometry and dialectic (Boethius), and with Ceionius Rufius Albinus Cons. 335 and 345 A. D., who is designated philosophus in an Inscription; with which opinion Jul. Caesar agrees, in Pauly's Encycl. I 1 p. 649 sq. n. 4.

6. Priscian. X 24 (p. 516, 16 H.): Asmonius in arte quam ad Constantium (prob. II) imperatorem scribit. Priscian. de metr. Terent. 6—8 (p. 412 Gaisf.) gives a passage of A. on the trimeter of the Latin comic writers. Cf. H. Keil, quaest. gramm. (Lips. 1860) p. 16 sqq. R. Westphal, allg. Metrik p. 45 sq. Jul. Caesar in Pauly's Enc. I 1. p. 1240. The name of Asmonius seems to suggest Semitic descent.

7. Under the title of Ars Fortunatiani (at the end: Ars Atilii Fort. expl.) we possess (edited by Putsche p. 2685—2706, Gaisford p. 333—362, and Keil VI p. 278—304) a manual on metres (omnis summa metrorum, p. 279, 5 K.) dedicated to a young Roman of rank who had absolved grammar, was then studying rhetoric, and had desired a work on metra Horatiana. The author says of his work: ut Sallustius ait, carptim quae memoria digna videbantur de multis auctoribus excerpta perscripsi. In reality he followed Caesius Bassus (above 299, 1) and Juba (above 375), whence it comes that his work agrees with Marius Victorinus, Diomed and the Analecta Vindob. (p. 516 sqq.). He dwells to a great extent on the metra Horatiana (p. 294 sqq. K.). As long as the name of Atil. Fort. was applied to the work of Caesius Bassus, this Ars was sometimes called Atilius II, sometimes Pseudo-Atilius. Cf. J. Caesar in Pauly's Encycl. I 2 p. 2025 sq. H. Wentzel, Symb. critt. (Breslau 1858) p. 11—13. Westphal, on Greek metres [2] I p. 128. On the mss. and editions see H. Keil, gramm. VI p. 245—250.

8. Hieron. ad a. 2375 (according to Bong. and Freh.; Schöne ad 2374) = 359 A. D.: Euantius eruditissimus grammaticorum Constantinopoli diem obit. Cf. Rufin. Antioch. de metr. com. p. 2706 P. = 378 Gaisf.: Euanthius in commentario Terentii de fabula . . sic dicit: concinna etc. . . et postea sic: veteres etsi etc. Both these passages are found in the first part of the treatise de tragoedia et comoedia (p. XXVII. XXVIII Zeune = XIII. XIV Klotz), which is thus proved to be by Euanthius. Even of the commentary on Terence attributed to Donatus some part may belong to Euanthius' commentum in Terentii fabulas; see Usener Rhein. Mus. XXIII p. 493—496, and cf. Dziatzko ibid. XXV p. 438 sq. Rufin. l. l. p. 2713 P. = 388 G. Ritschl, Par. p. 358. 360.

9. To this time belongs also the Ars vaticana (above 295, 8 b.), cf. p. 119, 26 K.: ut puta Roma, Tiberis, Diocletianae (thermae).

401. During the life of Constantine, Firmicus Maternus in Sicily commenced his eight books Matheseos, which were, however, not finished until a. 354. The work is a com-

plete system of astrology, in neoplatonic spirit and hostile to Christianity. The author is quite an honest man who actually believes in his subject-matter, but his intellectual capacities are not very large and his diction is very monotonous. About the same time (a. 347) the Christian writer who bears the same name addressed to Constantine's sons Constantius and Constans his work de errore profanarum religionum in which he exhorts them to eradicate paganism altogether. The first work exists complete, but of the latter four leaves have been lost.

1. In the subscriptio at the end of math. VIII the author is called Iulius Firmicus Maternus Iunior Siculus v. c(larissimus). Cf. Sidon. Apoll. carm. 22, praef.: Iulium Firmicum, . . Saturninum in libris matheseos peritissimos conditores. The work is dedicated to the Procos. Mavortius Lollianus (praef. p. 2 cf. VIII 15 p. 221: talis — as the Catos — nostris temporibus Lollianus, qui severitatis merito etiam ordinarii consulatus insignia consecutus est), who was e. g. proconsul provinciae Africae (Orelli-Henzen 6481), a. 342 praef. urbi, 355 Cos. ord. (Ammian. XV 8, 17), 356 praef. praet. Italiae (Ammian. XVI 8, 5: vir sublimis constantiae. Cod. Theod. VI 29, 1. XI 30, 25. 36, 11). Cf. Borghesi ap. Gervasio, Osservazioni sulla iscr. onoraria di Mavorzo Lolliano (Naples 1846) p. 14 sqq. While the dedication and the eighth book would thus appear to have been composed a. 354, the mention of the eclipse of the sun July 17, 334 (Firm. I 2. p. 5 ed. 1551: cum sol medio diei tempore fulgida splendoris sui denegat lumina, quod Optatii et Paulini consulatu, ut de recentioribus loquar, . . futurum mathematicorum sagax praedixit intentio) and of Constantine as still living (Firm. praef. p. 2 and I 4. p. 14: dominus et Augustus noster ac totius orbis imperator, pius, felix ac providus princeps, Constantinus scilicet maximus, divi Constantini filius etc. ib. p. 15: Constantinum maximum principem et eius invictissimos liberos, dominos et Caesares nostros) suggest a much earlier commencement of the work. Bursian ed. (n. 6) p. VIII. That the composition of the work extended over a considerable space of time, appears from the very beginning: olim tibi hos libellos, Mavorti, decus nostrum, me editurum esse promiseram, verum saepius inconstantia verecundiae retardavit etc. . . tibi omnem divinae matheseos disciplinam dicaturum me esse spoponderam. As to the author's personal circumstances we learn from the preface: cum esses in Campaniae provinciae fascibus constitutus, . . ad me primum in has oras siculas, ad ea potissimum studia quibus ab ineunte aetate uterque nostrum devinctus erat, suavissime divertisti. . . posteaquam de actibus et processibus nostris confabulati sumus scrutatus a me es . . totius Siciliae, quam incolo, situm, . . cetera quae tibi a primo aetatis gradu et atticae et romanae litterae de admirabilibus provinciae siculae tradiderunt. He then says that he was prevailed upon to pro-

mise (p. 2) ut promitterem me tibi editurum quidquid Aegyptii veteres . . Babyloniique prudentes (cf. n. 3) de vi stellarum ac potestatibus . . nobis tradiderunt. He indeed rued this promise almost directly; sed trepidationem meam hortatio sermonis tui erexit coegitque adgredi quod frequenter ex desperatione deserui. nam cum tibi totius orientis gubernacula domini atque imp. nostri Constantini Aug. . . iudicia tradidissent, you kept reminding me of my promise. proconsuli itaque tibi et ordinario consuli designato promissa reddimus. . . Lolliane doctissime. On his career as solicitor he states IV praef. (p. 83): patrocinia tractantes tenuerunt nos causarum conflictationes et caninae (ut ita dicam) contentionis iurgiosa certamina. ex quo studio nihil mihi aliud per singulos dies nisi periculorum cumulus et grave onus invidiae conferebatur. . . deserui itaque hoc studium. . . liberali animo, contemptis forensibus lucris, . . fidele patrocinium defensionis exhibui. in otio itaque constitutus . . hos ad te, Lolliane, . . libellos scripsi, ut a terrena quodam modo conversatione sepositus, . . ad purganda animi vitia, quae ex pravorum hominum conversatione contraxeram, caelestibus ac divinis me disputationibus applicarem.

2. Firmicus endeavours to give astrology a moral tendency and a sacerdotal character. Cf. II 33 (p. 43 sq.): nunc tu, quicunque hos libros legere conaris, . . ad imaginem te divinitatis similitudinemque forma, ut sis semper praeconio veritatis ornatus. oportet enim eum qui quotidie de diis ac cum diis loquitur animum suum ita formare atque instruere ut ad imitationem divinitatis semper accedat. quare disce et exequere omnia ornamenta virtutis. . . esto pudicus et inter sobrios, parvo victu parvisque opibus contentus. dato operam ut instituto . . tuo institutum bonorum . . vincas sacerdotum. . . dabis sane responsa publice, . . ne quid a te tale forte quaeratur quod non liceat nec interrogare nec dicere. cave ne quando de statu reip. vel de vita rom. imperatoris aliquid interroganti respondeas. . . sed et sceleratus atque omni animadversione dignus est si quis interrogatus de fato dixerit imperatoris. . . sed nec aliquis mathematicus verum aliquid de fato imperatoris definire potuit; solus enim imperator stellarum non subiacet casibus. . . etiam ipse in eorum deorum numero constitutus est quem ad facienda et conservanda omnia divinitas statuit principalis. It is, he says, necessary to convince of this any one that put such questions, ut persuasionibus tuis monitus istum furorem temeritatis correcto mentis errore deponat. sed nec deferre te volo si quis aliquid male quaesierit, ne . . morti eius causa extitisse videaris, quod alienum est a proposito sacerdotis. . . tibi in omni conversatione placeat quieta moderatio. fuge seditiones, . . amicitiae fidem fortibus copulationibus stringe. . . numquam conscientiam tuam falsis testimoniis polluas. . . nolo te vitia hominum in tractatu geniturarum manifestius explicare, . . ne quod homini malus stellarum decrevit cursus non dicere, sed exprobrare videaris. secerne te a spectaculorum semper illecebris; . . (p. 45) antistites enim deorum separatos et alienos esse decet a pravis illecebris voluptatum. Not until a reader had mastered this ethical view, he was to go on et posteriores libros, quos de apotelesmatis scripsimus, secura

mentis animositate perdisce. Similarly he prays Mavortius (VII praef. p. 193 sq.) ne haec veneranda communia profanis vel imperitis auribus intimentur, sed *iis* tantum quos animus incorruptus ad rectum vivendi ordinem .. instituit etc. Cf. VIII 33: haec filiis tuis tantum trade, quos a prima aetate ad omne virtutis officium instituisti etc. J. Burckhardt, Constantine p. 244—246.

3. The author himself calls his work Matheseos libri in his praef. to II and III. In his peroratio VIII 33: accipe itaque, Mavorti decus nostrum, . . septem hos libros, ad septem stellarum ordinem numerumque compositos. nam primus liber solum patrocinium defensionis accepit (the defence of Astrology against its enemies), in ceteris vero libris Romanis hominibus novi operis tradidimus disciplinam. The second book contains the general principles (institutionis liber, VIII 5). IV 19 (p. 114): quia iam expedita prima operis nostri parte ad secundam principalem accedimus, quae etiam in quatuor membra, veluti prima, divisa est, . . singulorum partes summatim enumerabimus. The sixth book contains the genitura of Paris, Demosthenes, and Hermodorus, Homer, Thersites and others; VII the geniturae adoptivorum, paedicorum, cinaedorum, causidicorum, damnatorum and others. The eighth book treats of the sphaera barbarica. B. I gives instances from Roman History. VIII praef. (p. 212): quod his *libris* superesse credo, hoc explicare curabo; nam aliud mihi tempus ad explicandam myriogenesin reservavi. The sources quoted are as superstitious as the whole contents. Cf. II praef.: nos omnia quae de ista arte Aegyptii Babyloniique dixerunt docili sermonis institutione transtulimus. III praef.: illi divini viri . . Petosiris Necepsoque . . nobis tradiderunt. IV praef. (p. 84): omnia quae Aesculapio Mercurius Enichnusque tradiderunt, quae Petosiris explicavit et Necepso, quae Abraham, Orpheus et Critodemus ediderunt ceterique omnes huius artis antiscii perlecta pariter atque collecta . . in his perscripsimus libris. IV 10 (p. 98): quae divinus ille Abraam et prudentissimus Achilles . . nobis tradidere. IV 16 (p. 107): Necepso, Aegypti iustissimus imperator, optimus quoque astronomus. (p. 109): magnus ille Petosiris hanc partem leviter attigit. VIII 5: neque enim . . Petosiris et Necepso, quorum alter imperii gubernacula tenuit, . . id quod nos edituri sumus invenire potuerunt. We notice specially III 15 (p. 81): si fuerit haec domus Mercurius, dabit astronomiam; si Venus, cantilenas et laetitiam; . . si Iuppiter, divinum cultum scientiamque in lege; si Saturnus, scientiam alchimiae. This would be the earliest mention of alchymy, unless the passage be a later interpolation, which might be inferred from the Christian colouring of the phrase in lege. From this magic literature was also derived the application of astrological symbols of the human body (cf. n. 4), as we have it subsequently in the sect of the Priscillianists; see Bernays, on the chronicles of Sulpicius Severus p. 14 with n. 24.

4. That by the decreta planetarum the liberty of will and conscionability of man are destroyed, Firm. does not seem to have conceived clearly, whence his moral exhortations (see n. 2) are without

foundation, though he enforces them very often. The perception of the firm preordination of our fate should, as he thinks, allay both pain and joy (VIII praef.). But even the theological consequences of his doctrine are not fully realised. I 3 (p. 7) Firm. denies that his doctrine is dangerous to religion (homines a cultu deorum religionumque revocari): nos enim timeri deos, nos coli facimus, nos numen eorum maiestatemque monstramus, cum omnes actus nostros divinis eorum dicimus agitationibus gubernari. But these dii are hazy and indefinite figures, which sometimes coincide with the sidera, and are sometimes designated as standing by their side, sometimes as unity, sometimes as plurality. Cf. III praef. (p. 45): ad imaginem mundi formam hominis . . deus ille fabricator hominis, natura monstrante, perfecit. . . ita ut in parvo corpore omnium elementorum vim atque substantiam natura cogente conferret, and made man quasi minorem quendam mundum. V praef. (p. 115): tu quicumque es deus, qui per singulos dies caeli cursum . . continuas, . . solus omnium gubernator ac princeps, . . cui tota potestas numinum servit, . . tu omnium pater pariter ac mater, tu tibi pater ac filius, uno vinculo necessitatis obligatus, . . da veniam quod tuorum cursus siderum eorumque efficacias explicare conamur. . . vosque perennium siderum cursus, tuque ☽ etiam humanorum corporum mater, ac tu . . ☉ optime maxime, . . ad cuius arbitrium fatorum ordo disponitur, da veniam quod gracilis sermo ad numinis tui secreta pervenit etc. Cf. I 4 (p. 14): Sol optime maxime, . . mens mundi atque temperies, . . et tu Iuppiter (the planet), Tarpeiae rupis habitator etc. The tone of the work is dull like its atmosphere, sometimes technical and poor, sometimes solemn and mystical, with numerous repetitions not only of technical formulas but also of some phrases and expressions. Whenever Firm. hits upon a rhetorical figure, he wearies you out with it. He therefore asks (praef. I p. 2): ne in istis libris pondus et perfectae gratiam orationis requiras. . . in nobis tenue est ingenium et sermo subtilis et, quod vere confitendum est, mathesis permodica. Cf. I 1 (p. 4): postulantes ut . . veritatis fides, non orationis splendor ac substantia requiratur. The diction is remarkable for some expressions which appear first in this century, e. g. animositas, partilis, ac before vowels, and other peculiarities.

5. There are two mss. of Firmicus in the Munich Library (according to Halm), one saec. XI which contains only b. I and II 1—31, and one saec. XVI which is complete with the exception of a few lines at the end. Ed. princeps (de nativitatibus) Venet. 1497 fol. In the astronomici vett. (Venet. Ald. 1499 fol.), and especially per Nic. Pruckner um astrologum, Basil. 1533 and 1551 fol., in the latter edition p. 1—244, after which follow Ptolemy's *Ἀποτελέσματα*, Arabic and Chaldaean works in Latin versions, and Manilius. There are no modern editions. Some gaps are filled up by Lessing (Works edited by Lachmann, IX p. 409—430). — Fabricius Bibl. lat. III p. 114 sqq. ed. Ernesti.

6. The Christian work has been preserved in a Palatine ms. (nr. 165) saec. X in the Vatican Library, whence it was first edited by

Matthias Flacius Illyricus (Strasburg 1562), more carefully by Conr. Bursian (Lips. 1856) and by C. Halm, in his Minucius Felix (Vindob. 1867) p. 75—130. The subscription is Iulii Firmici Materni v. c. de errore profanarum religione explicit. The four outward leaves (1, 2. 7, 8) are wanting of the first quaternio.

7. The Emperors are addressed by sacratissimi imperatores (6, 1. 8, 4. 16, 4. 20, 7. 24, 9. 28, 6. 29, 1) or sacrosancti imp. (13, 1) or principes (17, 1), also domini imperatores (25, 1). The following passages are characteristic of the work. 16, 4: amputanda sunt haec (pagan sacrifices), sacr. imp., penitus atque delenda et severrissimis edictorum vestrorum legibus corrigenda. . . ad hoc vobis deus summus commisit imperium. 20, 7: vos nunc, Constanti et Constans, sacr. imp., . . erigite vexillum fidei. . . hostium prostravistis exercitum, . . idololatriae excidium et profanarum aedium ruinam . . Christus . . vestris manibus reservavit. 28, 6: tollite, tollite securi, sacr. imp., ornamenta templorum: deos istos aut monetae ignis aut metallorum coquat flamma, donaria universa ad utilitatem vestram dominiumque transferte. post excidia templorum in maius dei estis virtute provecti. vicistis hostes, . . et insperatam imperatoris (i. e. Constans, a. 343) faciem Britannus expavit. 29, 1: vobis, sacr. imp., . . hoc dei summi lege praecipitur ut severitas vestra idololatriae facinus omnifariam persequatur. 29, 3: deus . . numquam vobis laborantibus denegavit auxilium: strati sunt adversantium cunei, . . missi sunt superbi sub iugum populi et persica vota conlapsa sunt. This must relate to Sapor's giving up the siege of Nisibis a. 346 (*παρεκάθισεν ἡμέρας ἑβδομήκοντα ὀκτὼ καὶ πάλιν αἰσχυνθεὶς ἀνεχώρησεν*, Theophanes) and could not be said after the misfortunes that happened to Constantius a. 348 in his war against Sapor. Constans was, moreover, killed a. 350. Hence the work seems to have been composed 346 or 347. The author exhibits (c. 7) an accurate acquaintance with the environs of Henna in Sicily and was possibly a native of this island (like the heathen writer), or he may have resided there.

8. The arguments are in general the same as in the other Christian apologetic writers, except that the author enters also into the religious notions and usages of the East (Egyptians, Phrygians, Assyrians, Persians). He also quotes the Bible, especially the Old Testament, more extensively than his predecessors. He quotes from an old Latin version which seems to have been made in Africa in the second century and which agrees with the citations in Cyprian and Primasius (saec. VI), Bursian p. IX—XI. Firm., however, also exhibits knowledge of Greek, e. g. 13, 4: Porphyrius (s. n. 9) . . in libris quos appellat *περὶ τῆς ἐκ λογίων φιλοσοφίας*. The quinque Minervae (16, 1) he seems to have borrowed from Cicero de deorum nat. The diction is pathetic and abounds in exclamations and oratorical questions. c. 8 he introduces Sol speaking (ethopoeiaco sermone 8, 4). The language is plebeian in using suus instead of eius, in the consecutio temporum and in the use of quod after nescientes, persuadetur; see Halm p. 135—137.

9. In point of diction the Christian work frequently agrees with the heathen (Bursian p. VII), but this may be explained on the supposition that both received their education at the same school (Bursian p. IX). In all other points their views are diametrically different. The heathen is a peaceable, mild and resigned nature, while the Christian is aggressive and fanatical; the heathen disapproves of robbing temples (III 8. p. 70. 13 p. 77), the Christian even advises it. Of the neoplatonic philosopher Porphyrius the heathen says (VII praef. p. 193): apud Pythagoreos noster Porphyrius religiosa epulantem animum nostrum silentio consecravit (ib.); the Christian calls him (13, 4) hostis dei, veritatis inimicus, sceleratarum artium magister. Contradictions of this kind which cannot possibly be assumed in the same individual, though in succession, would even have coexisted, to judge from the chronological relation of the two works. On the other hand, the equality of the two names renders it probable that the authors were brothers or cousins. Bursian p. IX.

10. The principal editions of the Christian work may be seen above n. 6. It has also frequently been published together with Minucius Felix or Cyprian or Arnobius; separately also Hamburg 1603 by Jo. a Wower. Edidit Fr. Münter, Copenhagen 1826. XXX and 122 pp. Fr. Oehler, Lips. 1847. Besides also in Gallandi bibl. patr. V p. 23 sqq., in Migne's curs. patrol. XII (Paris 1845) p. 971—1050 (a reprint of Münter's edition).

Jo. Mi. Hertz, de Iul. Firm. Mat. eiusque inprimis de err. prof. rel. libello, Kopenhagen 1817. J. Burckhardt, Constantine p. 222. 263 (note). 406.

402. Athens remained the high school of philosophy, which was studied there in the theosophic and theurgic manner of the Neoplatonists intended to counterbalance the Christian religion. This tendency gained also ground at Rome; though there existed also sober Aristotelian schematism and an eclectic philosophy in the style of Varro and Cicero.

1. On the Neoplatonism of this time see Burckhardt, Constantine p. 248 sq. 254 sqq. It was represented under Constantine by Porphyrius, Iamblichus and his pupil Sopater, who was first favoured, and subsequently (after 330) executed by Constantine (Burckhardt l. l. p. 404 sq.); Nicagoras of Athens (Corp. inscr. gr. 4470). In Julian's time Maximus Proaeresius and others. Mamertin. grat. act. Iuliano 23, 4: tu philosophiam, paulo ante suspectam ac nedum spoliatam honoribus sed accusatam ac ream, non modo iudicio liberasti sed amictam purpura . . in regali solio collocasti. Victor epit. 43, 5: iuverat philosophos et Graecorum sapientissimos.

2. Hieronym. chron. a. 2347 = 333 A. D.: Metrodorus philosophus agnoscitur. He was *Περσογενής* (Cedren.). Ammian. XXV 4, 23 (Constantius . . Metrodori mendaciis avidius adquiescit). Socr. hist. eccl. I 19.

3. In Roman Literature Neoplatonism is represented by Firmicus (above 401, 1—5). He speaks of Porphyrius noster (see 401, 9) and I 3 (p. 9) praises Plotinus (quas ille philosophiae non attigit partes etc.) Other writers on astrology are mentioned by Sidon. Ap. c. 22 praef.: Iulianum Vertacum, Fullonium Saturninum, in libris matheseos peritissimos conditores; cf. ib. ep. VIII 11. Augustin. contra acad. III 18, 41: os Platonis . . emicuit maxime in Plotino, qui platonicus philosophus ita eius similis iudicatus est . . ut in hoc ille revixisse putandus sit. 19, 42: itaque nunc philosophos non fere videmus nisi aut cynicos aut peripateticos aut platonicos.

4. Donat. on Ter. Eun. IV 5, 4 (hoc multum academicos iuvat etc.). August. Epist. I 1: academicos ego ne inter iocandum quidem umquam lacessere auderem. Contra acad. II 23: inter quos (die academici) et me . . nihil distat nisi quod illis probabile visum est non posse inveniri veritatem, mihi autem inveniri posse probabile est. nam ignoratio veri est . . utrisque communis.

5. August. confess. VIII 3 (see 403, 2) cf. VII 9 (13): quosdam Platonicorum libros ex graeca lingua in latinam versos. He means those of the rhetorician Marius Victorinus (below 403, 2). Cassiod. expos. in Psalm. II p. 28: si quis . . de modis syllogismorum . . plenissime nosse desiderat Aristotelem in Graecis, Victorinum autem Marium lectitet in Latinis.

403. The grammarian and rhetorician C. Marius Victorinus, about the middle of this century, possessed much culture and was exceedingly active. He wrote philosophical and rhetorical works, and four books on metres which have come down to us. In his later years Victorinus was converted to Christianity and then wrote commentaries on St. Paul's letters, and defended the orthodox doctrine against the Arians and Manichaeans. Some poems on biblical subjects are also assigned to Victorinns. It is very doubtful whether this name should be understood of Marius Victorinus concerning the authorship of the poems and a number of grammatical, metrical and rhetorical works.

1. Hieronym. vir. illustr. 101: Victorinus natione Afer Romae sub Constantio principe rhetoricam docuit et in extrema senectute Christi se tradens fidei (see Augustin. confess. VIII 2) scripsit adversus Arium libros more dialectico valde obscuros, qui nisi ab eruditis non intelleguntur, et commentarios in apostolum. Praef. comm. in epist. ad Galat.: non quia ignorem C. Marium Victorinum, qui Romae me puero rhetoricam docuit, edidisse commentarios in apostolum, sed quod occupatus ille eruditione saecularium litterarum omnino sanctas ignoraverit. Chron. ad a. 2370 (Freh. ad a. 2371) = 354 A. D.: Victorinus rhetor et Donatus grammaticus, praeceptor meus, Romae insignes ha-

bentur. e quibus Victorinus etiam statuam in foro Traiani meruit (cf. n. 2). Cassiod. de inst. div.: Victorinus ex rhetore episcopus. He is different from Victorinus Petavionensis episcopus whose commentaries on parts of the Old Testament are enumerated by Hieronym. vir. ill. 74 and who ad extremum martyrio coronatus est (ib.). The bishop was somewhat older than the grammarian.

2. Augustin. confess. VIII 2 (3): legisse me quosdam libros Platonicorum quod Victorinus quondam rhetor urbis Romae, quem christianum defunctum esse audieram, in latinam linguam transtulisset. . . ille doctissimus senex et omnium liberalium doctrinarum peritissimus quique philosophorum tam multa legerat et diiudicaverat, doctor tot nobilium senatorum, qui etiam ob insigne praeclari magisterii . . statuam in rom. foro meruerat et acceperat. Isidor. Orig. II 25, 1: nunc Isagogas Porphyrii (an introduction to the categories of Aristotle) expediamus. ib. 9: Isagogas autem ex graeco in latinum transtulit Victorinus orator, commentumque eius quinque libris Boetius edidit, who styles Vict. orator sui temporis ferme doctissimus. Victorini (commentarii) in dialogos (Ciceronis) are mentioned by Hieronym. apol. c. Rufin. I 16. Cassiod. de dialect. p. 539 b (= Isid. Or. II 28, 25): librum Marii Victorini qui inscribitur de syllogismis hypotheticis. Hence Isid. Or. II 29 (de divisione definitionum ex Marii Victorini libro abbreviata). F. Osann, Contributions II p. 373—377.

3. The Ars grammatica de orthographia et de metrica ratione which bears the name of Marius Victorinus deals in four books almost exclusively with metre. Only the first book contains first some grammatical observations from the same sources as Charisius, Diomed and Dositheus, then extensive statements on orthography, a careless extract rom some good old authority, perhaps Verrius Flaccus (W. Schady, de Mari Vict. I 4 de orthogr. P. I, Bonn 1869. 49 pp.). The second half, p. 37—50, treats again of letters and syllables, but chiefly in regard to metre. All the rest deals with metre. The first part (except book I also II and III 2. 3) is a complete manual of metre according to the system of Hephaestion, the second (III 1. 4 sqq. to the end) a theory of metres according to Varro's and Caesius Bassius' theory of the metra derivata. The first half is parallel to the works of Atilius and Diomed (Westphal, allg. gr. Metr. p. 147 sq.), the second half agrees with Terentianus (Westphal p. 127—129). The author seems to have chiefly used Juba and Terentianus, perhaps through the medium of Aphthonius. Westphal p. 43 sq. 135 sq. 143. The subscription of b. I is: Marii Victorini de metris didascalicis liber I expl. fel. Citations of b. II (Victorinus dicit) ap. Rufin. de metr. terent. p. 380 sq. 9. The fourth book bears in all mss. the subscription: Aelii Festi Aphthonii v. p. de metris (omnibus) explicit lib. IV feliciter. It would therefore seem that Aphthonius is the author copied and followed by Victorinus (from the second half of b. I); see H. Keil, gramm. quaest. I p. VII—X, and against him Th. Bergk Philol. XVI p. 639—647. This metrical manual was first edited (from Palat. 1753, saec. IX—X) by J. Camera-

rius (Tübingen 1537. 4), then also in the collection of Putsche p. 2450 sqq., in Gaisford's Scriptores rei metr. lat. p. 1—241, in H. Keil's gramm. lat. VI 1. There then follows (likewise by Mar. Vict.) an index metrorum Horatii, definitions of ode, melos etc. (from a treatise de partibus carminum), which bear in the Paris. the subscription: explicit ars grammatica Victorini Mari de orthogr. et de metrorum ratione. — H. Keil, quaestionum gramm. P. I: de Marii Victorini arte grammatica, Halle 1871 (Index lect. of summer 1871) XII pp. 4.

4. There exist in many mss. and generally together two trivial treatises De ratione metrorum and De finalibus syllabis. The earliest ms. Bobiensis (now Vindob. 16) saec. VIII (commentum Maximini Victorini de rat. metr.), Frising. 81 (at Munich) saec. X (commentarium Maximiani Vict. de re m.) and Paris. 7491 saec. X (commentum Maximi Vict. de re m.). The first may possibly be derived from a work of Maximus Vict., though in a fragmentary and abridged text. Cf. Osann, Contributions II p. 362—364. De final. syllab. is without mention of the author's name contained in Paris. 7530 saec. VIII, Sangall. 876 saec. IX, Bern. 207 and Palat. 1753 saec. IX—X. In the Bern. 338 saec. IX only the end (de caesuris) bears the name of Victorinus; in Vindob., Fris., Paris. 7491 and elsewhere the author is called Metrorius (or Metr. Maximus, Metr. Maximinus), a name which may have arisen from the title de final. metrorum (Max. having been added owing to Vict.). This work agrees in many parts verbally with Servius' work de finalibus ad Aquilinum (Osann l. l. II p. 377—380. H. Keil, gramm. lat. IV p. XLIII—XLV), and is a school-book derived from an unknown source, with very few traces of earlier scholarship. Edited by Eichenfeld and Endlicher, Anal. Vindob. p. 453 sqq. (Maximus Vict.), also in A. Mai's auct. class. III p. 504 sqq. (Metrosius Maximinus), Keil gram. lat. VI 1., see his quaest. gramm. (Halle 1871. 4.) p. I—VIII and p. X.

5. The same subjects as the works mentioned in n. 4 and likewise for school-use, though without direct coincidence with them, are treated in the works (found in but few mss.) De arte grammatica and De hexametro (s. heroico) versu in questions and answers. The oldest ms. is Vatic. 1587 (saec. X) ars Victurini; of the gramm. alone Sangall. 377 saec. X (ars Victorini grammatici); the beginning in Vindob. 16 saec. VIII (liber Palemonis de arte); De hexam. alone in Paris. 7559 saec. X (ars Palamonis de metr. inst.). Just as both are joined and partly ascribed to one and the same author (Palaemo), they resemble each other in many details (e. g. in their preference for quippe and quoties), and from both much has been inserted in the ars grammatica of Audax (below 474, 5). Victorinus probably means Mar. Vict., whom we cannot, however, credit with the extant confused and lacunose shape of the gramm. Perhaps gramm. may be taken from him, but with considerable abbreviations and alterations. Printed (as erotemata) in Eichenfeld and Endlicher, Anal. Vindob. p. 199 sqq. and Keil VI 1. Cf. Osann Contrib. II p. 355—358. H. Keil, quaest. gramm. II (Halle 1871. 4.) p. V—X. The work De hexametro v. professes to be a fragment of a large me-

trical work (see the end of it) and was composed in the middle of the fourth century (cf. p. 1957 P.: nostra quoque memoria Lactantius). It differs in several details from the doctrine of Marius Victorinus. If it be by the same author as gramm., and by Mar. Vict., we should assume that M. Vict. when first treating grammar dealt also with metre in the usual superficial manner, but subsequently, Aphthonii librum nactus, de elementis artis grammaticae pauca repetivit iisque doctiores quosdam commentarios (especially de orthographia) addidit, de metris autem multo uberius quam antea factum erat exposuit (H. Keil, quaest. gram. II p. XII). Cf. Osann II p. 358—362. Both works (gramm. and de hex.) in Putsche p. 1937—1974, Lindemann p. 271—304, Keil gramm. VI 1. Cf. Lersch, Ztschr. f. A. W. 1840 p. 109, cf. Class. Mus. IX 1845. p. 284—290. Gräfenhan, Hist. of class. Philol. IV p. 91—93. F. Osann, Contribut. II p. 364 sqq. H. Wentzel, Symb. critt. (Breslau 1858) p. 55—63. H. Keil, quaest. gramm. II: de Maximi Victorini libris de arte grammatica qui feruntur, Halle 1871 (winter) XII pp. 4.

6. The lengthy commentary on Cicero's rhetoric and which contains little of any value (above 169, 1) belongs to some Victorinus, as all the mss. agree in this name, but not to our rhetorician Marius Victorinus. In the cod. Vatic. (the first leaf being wanting in the Darmstad. saec. VII) the author is called Q. Laurentius Fabius Victorinus Marius, in the Frising. (saec. X) briefly Victorinus, and not until saec. XI (in the Bamberg.) Marius Fabius Victorinus. This commentary is printed in the collections of the Rhetores latini, last of all in Orelli's edition of Cicero, vol. V 1 p. 1—180, and in Halm's Rhetores lat. min. p. 153—304. Cf. Halm p. VIII sq. Gräfenhan, Hist. of class. Philology IV p. 304. C. L. Kayser, Mar. Victor. and Cic. de inv., Philol. VI p. 706—718.

7. On the Christian works of Vict. see n. 1. The exegetical works on the Bible do not seem to be extant, except the work De verbis scripturae: factum est vespere et mane dies unus. But we possess by him De trinitate contra Arium libri IV and De ὁμοουσίῳ recipiendo. His name is also given to the works De generatione verbi divini opusculum (= Confutatorium Candidi Ariani) and Ad Iustinum Manichaeum contra duo principia Manichaeorum et de vera carne Christi. In the Bibl. patr. max. (Lugd. 1677) Tom. IV, in Gallandi Bibl. patr. Tom. VIII and Migne's Patrol. VIII these works are printed together.

8. The Christian poems by some Victorinus are a) De fratribus VII Maccabaeis interfectis ab Antiocho Epiphane, about 400 hexameters; b) three hymns de trinitate; c) hymnus de pascha domini s. de ligno vitae = cruce, 70 hexameters; d) De Jesu Christo deo et domino, 137 hexameters. Cf. G. Fabricius, poetae christ. and A. Rivinus, sanctae reliquiae Victorinorum, Gotha 1652.

9. Sub Constantino et eius filiis Hieronymus de viris ill. places the following Christian writers (most in Greek): Eustathius (85), Marcellus (86), Athanasius (87), Antoninus monachus (88); sub Constantio

principe he places Basilius (89), Theodorus (90), Eusebius of Emesa (91), Triphyllius (92), Donatus the heretic (93), Asterius (94), Lucifer (below 411, 4), Eusebius Sardus (96), Fortunatianus (97), Acacius (98), Serapion (99) and Hilarius (below 410, 1—3).

404. The grammarian and rhetorician Aelius Donatus taught at Rome about the middle of the century. By him we possess 1) a Grammar (Ars), drawn from the same sources as Charisius and Diomed, 2) a valuable commentary on Terence, which is not however extant in its original shape. Donatus had likewise written commentaries on Virgil (Georgica and Aeneid), which are frequently quoted by Servius.

1. Hieronym. chron. ad 354 A. D. see 403, 1. Comm. in Eccles. c. 1 (T. III p. 390 Vall.): praeceptor meus Donatus. Apol. adv. Rufin. I 16 (T. II p. 472): (puer legeris) in Terentii comoedias praeceptoris mei Donati (commentarios), aeque in Vergilium et aliorum in alios. The commentary on Terence bears in the mss. the title: Aelii Donati v. c. oratoris urbis Romae. All further statements concerning his life are mediaeval inventions; especially the scurrilous vita Donati by Flaccus Rebius in H. Hagen's Anecdota Helvet. p. CCLX sq.

2. The Ars Donati grammatici urbis Romae is extant in a twofold text, a brief one (Ars minor) which treats only of the eight parts of speech (Keil IV p. 355—366) and a longer one in three books (Putsche p. 1735—1779, Keil IV p. 367—402.) On the mss. containing it see Keil IV p. XXXI—XL. The agreement with Charisius and especially with Diomed may be explained from their using the same sources. In general Diomed contains more information (Keil p. XL sq.). Later readers preferred Donatus and he was both commented on and epitomized. Thus we have Servii commentarius in artem Donati (Keil IV p. 405—448), by the pretended Servius or Sergius two books explanationum in artem Donati (Keil IV p. 486—565); Pompeius' commentum artis Donati (Keil V p. 95—312), the bishop Julianus' commentarius in Donatum (Excerpta from it in Keil V p. 317—328). The commenta Einsiedlensia in Donati artem minorem, maiorem, barbarismum (Hagen's Anecd. Helv. p. 202—274, with p. CVII—CXVI). Gräfenhan, Hist. of class. Philol. IV p. 107—109.

3. Ps. Serg. explan. by Keil IV p. 486: hic Donatus v(ir) c(larissimus) d(octissimus?) Vergilianum carmen et Terentii comoedias mirifice commentavit. The extant commentary on Terence (above 98, 3) is an uncritical compilation from two or three commentaries, one of which was by Donatus, the other by Euanthius (above 400, 8). The rhetorical and philosophical notes are no doubt by Donatus. Usener, Rhein. Mus. XXIII p. 493—495. Ed. princeps Rome 1472; then in most of the old editions of Terence down to Zeune. L. Schopen, de Terentio et Donato eius interprete, Bonn 1821, and Specimen emend. in Ael. Do-

nati comm. Ter., Bonn 1826. 4. A. Richter, de Donati comm. Ter., Bonn 1854. W. Hahn, on the origin of the Scholia of Don. on Terence, Halberstadt 1870. 10 pp. 4. (Progr. of the Realsch.). Of the treatise De tragoedia et comoedia the second half (beginning: Comoedia est fabula diversa etc.) is probably from Donatus' introduction (see above 12, 2), and the same is certain of the excellent vita Terentii (above 97, 1), which Donatus took from Suetonius merely adding a few words at the end. Gräfenhan, Hist. of class. Philol. IV p. 313—315. The principal ms. is a Parisinus saec. XI, all the other mss. (saec. XV) are derived from the same source, probably the codex found at Mayence by J. Aurispa a. 1433; H. Keil, Io. Aurispae epistula (Halle 1870. 4.) p. VIII sq.

4. Donatus' commentary on Virgil mentioned by Servius and Priscian (XV 2. p. 61 Htz.: Donatus in commento Aeneidos: cf. XVIII 126. p. 266) is not extant. From the quotations it would appear that in it D. functus est et emendando et distinguendo et explicando et quaestionibus solvendis omnibus fere interpretis officiis, tamen ut quae restant vituperatione multo saepius quam laude digna videantur, Ribbeck Prolegg. in Verg. p. 178, his detailed reasons being given p. 178—185. On Ti. Claudius Donatus, whose Interpretationes on the Aeneid are extant see below 422, 5 sqq. M. D. A. v. d. Hoeven, Ep. ad Suringarium de Donati comm. in Verg. Aen., Leovard 1846.

5. In a Berne ms. the following are mentioned as pupils of Donatus and natives of Sicily: Honoratus (meaning especially the centimeter, below 423, 4), Sergius (probably the author of the liber de syllaba, de pedibus etc.), Maximus (Victorinus) and Metrorius (above 403, 4). H. Hagen, Anecd. Helv. p. CXLIX sq.

405. It was probably in this time that Palladius wrote his 14 books on husbandry, in which he merely collected the views of his predecessors and his own experience without any claim to erudition. The principal part is (b. II—XIII) the enumeration of rural business, arranged according to months. Book XIV, which treats of the cultivation of trees, is dedicated to a certain Pasiphilus and consists of 85 elegiac distichs.

1. The title: Palladii Rutilii Tauri Aemiliani, viri ill., de re rustica liber I etc. There is no doubt that Palladius belongs to the fourth century, but we do not know to what part of it. The person of Pasiphilus does not decide anything, as we cannot fix on any one of the different persons of that name, whether it be the praef. urbi of a. 355 (Gruter p. 1080, 1. Borghesi, Memor. of the Turin Acad. XXXVIII. 1835 = Oeuvres III p. 463 sqq.) or the philosopher who saved the life of Eutropius a. 371 (Ammian. XXIX 1, 36) or the one mentioned in the Cod. Theod. II 1, 8 (a. 395). It is therefore improbable that the Pal-

ladius praised by Rutil. Nam. It. 207 sqq., son of Exuperantius, a facundus iuvenis of Gaul, who was also related to Nam., is the writer in question. As he shares the confused monotheism of the fourth century (I 1: si divina faverint; XIV 21: ipse poli rector etc.), but at the same time names Apollo, Bacchus, the Nymphs and other deities of the old creed, we are inclined to consider him as a contemporary of the astrologer Firmicus Maternus, and the praef. urbi a. 355 as the person addressed by him. The name of Palladius is frequently borne by high officials in saec. IV and V; see Hänel, ind. leg. p. 123. Borghesi's Taurus is calculated to mislead. The designation of the chapters by tituli was probably not introduced, but rather adopted by the cod. Theod.

2. Book I contains a survey of quae pertinent ad generale praeceptum (I 43, 4). Style is no matter: neque enim formator agricolae debet artibus et eloquentia rhetores aemulari, quod a plerisque factum est (I 1, 1). The sources are rarely mentioned, most frequently Columella, then Gargilius Martialis, Mago, once also Apuleius. Pallad. III 30 = Geopon. V 38 (Sotion). P. generally appeals to Graeci. For his own experience cf. IV 10, 16: quod ego in Sardinia (et in) territorio Neapolitano in fundis meis comperi. ib. 24: ego . . in Italia . . plantas grandes ficorum . . disposui. There is a good deal of superstition. The sentences are generally brief. B. XIV (ad Pasiphilum, virum doctissimum) is an imitation of Colum. X, though not successful. The choice of elegiac metre is in itself unsuitable. The diction betrays the great pains bestowed upon it; it is monotonous and heavy, full of unnecessary pathos. The prosody is correct.

3. Cassiod. div. lectt. 28: Aemilianus explanatos duodecim (he is probably thinking of the rural almanac) libros de hortis vel pecoribus aliisque rebus planissima lucidatione disseruit. In the Middle Ages Pall. was much used on account of the practical arrangement and also the poverty of the work.

4. Text in the Scriptores rei rust., see above 44, 2. A separate edition Paris 1537. 4. The fourtenth book (de insitionibus) also in Wernsdorf, poetae latt. min. VI p. 135—159 cf. p. 15—21.

5. On Palladius see especially E. H. F. Meyer, Hist. of Botany, II (1855) p. 328—333.

406. The fourth century produced also the various books of travel, itineraria, which have come down to us. To the commencement of it we should probably assign the two so-called Itineraria Antonini, being lists of routes in the Roman Empire, both by land and by sea. In the year 333 we possess the route of a pilgrimage from Burdigala to Jerusalem (Itinerarium Burdigalense or Hierosolymitanum). For the expedition of Constantius against Persia (a. 340—345) and

dedicated to that Emperor was the Itinerarium Alexandri, a sketch of the Persian expedition of Alexander the Great. Of the two extant lists of the Regions of the city of Rome the one is of the middle of this century, the other of the second half of it.

1. Vetera Romanorum itineraria (Antonini, Hierosol. and Hieroclis Synecdemus) cum notis varr. ed. P. Wesseling, Amsterdam 1735. 4. Fortia d'Urban, Recueil des itinéraires anciens, avec dix cartes, Paris 1845.

2. Itinerarium provinciarum Antonini Aug. (p. 1—234 Parthey) and Imp. Antonini Aug. itinerarium maritimum (p. 235—259 P.). According to Parthey (Itinerarium Antonini et Hierosol. ex libris mss. edd. G. Parthey et M. Pinder; accedunt duo tabulae, Berlin 1848) p. VI the groundwork is of the age of Caracalla, but with continual additions. The extant recension of the better class of mss. Diocletiani aetate neque vetustior est neque recentior (ib.), as it contains the name of Diocletianopolis, and as the statements of the distances are not calculated from Constantinople, but generally from Rome (p. VII). The Itinerar. Antonini edited by T. Tobler, St. Gall 1863.

3. L. Renier, Itin. romains de la Gaule, Paris 1850. M. Pinder, on the It. Burd. and a ms. of it at Verona hitherto not used (Monthly Trans. of the Berlin Academy 1860 p. 316). A. de Barthélémy, It. de Bordeaux à Jérusalem d'après un ms. de Vérone, Revue archéol. 1864. II p. 98—112. A. Bertrand, les voies rom. en Gaule, Paris 1863. Aurès, concordance des voies apollinaires (A. 5) et de l'itinéraire de Bordeaux à Jérusalem .. et comparaison .. avec l'itin. d'Antonin et avec la table Théodosienne, Nismes 1868.

4. Itinerarium Alexandri ad Constantium Aug. ed. nunc primum .. Ang. Mai, Mediol. 1817. 4. (Frankf. o. M. 1818. 8.); also in his Classici auct. T. VII, and by C. Müller in F. Dübner's edition of Arrianus (Paris 1846), after Pseudo-Callisthenes, p. 155—167. Ed. D. Volkmann, Naumburg 1871. VIII and 32 pp. 4. Cf. Letronne, Journ. des Savants 1818, p. 401 sqq. F. Haase, Miscell. philol. II (Breslau 1858. 4.) p. 20 sqq. It begins: dextrum admodum sciens et omini tibi et magisterio futurorum, domine Constanti, bonis melior imperator, si orso feliciter iam accinctoque persicam expeditionem itinerarium principum eodem opere gloriosorum, Alexandri scilicet Magni Traianique, componerem, libens sane et laboris cum amore succubui. The end (after c. 120), being the part concerning Trajan, is lost. The work is chiefly derived from Arrianus (C. Kluge, de itinerario Alexandri M., Berlin 1861, p. 4—16) and Pseudo-Callisthenes (ib. p. 20—31) in the translation of Iulius Valerius (above 388, 11). On the diction (archaisms etc.) see Kluge p. 46—51. 54 sq. (Graecisms). Critical contributions by Kluge p. 56—64.

5. In the baths of Vicarello (Aquae Apollinares) three vases were found with routes of journeys. A. Jacob, les trois itin. des Aquae Ap. Paris 1859. Cf. Revue archéol. 1862, p. 254 sqq. 1870 II p. 124—129.

6. W. A. Becker, Manual of Roman antiquities p. 709 sqq. L. Preller, the Regions of the City of Rome, with an introd. and commentary. Jena 1846. Th. Mommsen, Trans. of the Leipzig Society of Lit. 1850. 4. p. 601—605. H. Jordan, Topography of the City of Rome in ancient times, II Berlin 1871. 680 pp. (Documents p. 537—670). See below 407, 3 (XI). The texts are also collected in C. L. Urlichs' codex urbis Romae topographicus, Würzburg 1871. 256 pp.

7. The lists of the Regions are probably derived from a document of the time of Constantine which contained a survey of the fourteen regions (quarters) into which Augustus had divided Rome. The earlier recension (written between a. 334 and 337) is found in the mss. of the Notitia dignitatum and is therefore generally called Notitia (regionum); the later one (composed subsequently to a. 357, probably earlier than 403) bears the title Curiosum urbis Romae regionum XIV cum breviariis (supplements) suis. Cf. H. Jordan l. l. II p. 1—276. It is printed ibid. p. 537—582. By additions to the Curiosum from the basis capitolina (above 348, 6) and authors, Italian scholars of the 15th century composed a kind of topographical manual which was represented as the work of a newly discovered author (P. Victor). The name of Sex. Rufus was probably given to the Curiosum as it was found in mss. behind his Breviarium (below 409, 7 sq.). H. Jordan, l. l. II p. 299—312.

8. Notes by an anonymous monk of the monastery of Einsiedeln (Anonymus Einsiedlensis) on his sojourn at Rome (saec. IX), edited by G. Hänel in Jahn's Archiv V p. 115 sqq., Urlichs (n. 6) p. 59—78, and H. Jordan l. l. II p. 646—663, cf. p. 329—356.

9. A production of the middle of saec. XII is the so-called Mirabilia Romae, by various authors and extant in two recensions. Edited by G. Parthey (e codd. vaticanis emendata), Berlin 1869, by Urlichs (n. 6) p. 91 sqq. and H. Jordan l. l. II p. 605—643, cf. p. 357—536 (especially p. 386 sq.)

2. The second half of the century.

a. The time before Theodosius I.

407. In the beginning of the second half of the fourth century we possess an important historical source in the extensive historical Handbook for the City of Rome a. 354, to which a Vienna ms. adds Chronicles and a List of Regions of a. 334 and continuations until a. 539.

1. Th. Mommsen, on the Chronographer of a. 354, in the Trans. of the Saxon Soc. of Lit. II (phil.-hist. Class I) of a. 1850, p. 549—668.

2. In the Brussels ms. and the first half of the Vindobonensis (see n. 4), the Handbook consists of the following parts:

I. A calendar, written between 340—350 by the caligrapher Furius Philocalus, revised between 350 and 361 (Mommsen, p. 565–571); see above 64, 9.

III. Fasti consulares (the so-called Anonymus Norisianus, from the edition by Norisius, Florent. 1689), the most complete and trustworthy of all ms. lists of consuls, from the beginning until A. D. 354. Mommsen p. 572. Edited p. 611—623.

IV. An Easter-table carried down to a. 358, with later and worthless additions until a. 410 sq. Mommsen p. 572—580. Edited p. 624–626.

V. A List of the Roman prefects, a. 258—354. Ibid. p. 580. Edited p. 627–636.

VI. Depositio episcoporum et martyrum, a list of the burial and memorial days of the Roman bishops and of the martyrs from a. 255 (235) until 335, composed 336, supplemented 352–369; a precursor of the Christian calendar. The 'Martyrologium' is the earliest extant and forms the basis of the one ascribed to St. Jerome. Ibid. p. 580 sq. Edited p. 631—633.

VII. Lists of the Roman bishops until Liberius (a. 352—369) according to the years of the Consuls, begun about 230 and completed under Liberius; the first half (until a. 210) without independent value, the second (231—352) of an official character. Ibid. p. 582–585. Edited p. 634—637.

3. In the Vienna ms. these parts, composed a. 354 at Rome, are augmented by:

IX. A chronicle of the world, in agreement with the Bible, being a later redaction of the text extant in the liber generationis (until a. 234), two versions of the same Greek original, probably by Hippolytus of Portus (above 377, 3). Mommsen p. 585—598. Edited p. 637—643.

X. A chronicle of the City, entitled Origo gentis Romanorum, a general survey of Roman History until Licinius, the earliest parts being treated in the manner of Euhemerus and the Curiosities of the City being mentioned throughout. Ibid. p. 598—601. Edited p. 644—648.

XI. A catalogue of the Regions in the recension of the Notitia regionum; see above 406, 6 sq.

Additions of a later time, but not connected with the rest, contain Annals in a twofold text, a brief and meagre one (II), carried down to 539, and a longer one (VIII) from Caesar until 403, and again 455—496; Mommsen p. 585. 610. Edited p. 656—668.

4. The mss. are divided into two classes, the lost cod. Peirescianus saec. VIII or IX and the cod. Bruxellensis saec. XVI which is a copy of it; on the other hand Bernensis saec. VIII or IX (only a few leaves), from the original a copy of which is the Vindobonensis, the most complete of all. Mommsen p. 550—561.

5. Edited by Mommsen l. l. p. 611—668. The earlier editions of some parts are enumerated ibid. p. 561—564.

6. Perhaps still in the fourth century was written the Passio sanctorum IV coronatorum, in which Pope Melchiades (a. 311—314) is mentioned as dead. It was last printed (by W. Wattenbach) in M. Büdinger's Investigations on Roman Imperial Hist. III p. 323—338; cf. on it O. Hunziker ibid. p. 3—11, O. Benndorf ibid. p. 339—356, and M. Büdinger, ibid. p. 357—379.

408. The historical literature of this time consists in the short abridgments of Aurelius Victor, Eutropius and Sextus Rufus. Sex. Aurelius Victor is probably the author of the brief history of the Emperors (Caesares) down to the end of Constantius. To this was added (probably in the fifth century) a sketch of Roman history during the regal and republican periods in the form of biographies (de viris illustribus), by an anonymous author, but in the time of Victor. To render this complete, the compiler seems to have added the earliest history of Rome (origo gentis romanae), which is likewise extant, but destitute of historical value. The Imperial History was abridged and carried down to the death of Theodosius I. This Epitome has also come down to us.

1. Hieronym. Epist. 10, 3 (p. 24 Vall.): ne putes modica esse quae deprecor: . . scilicet commentarios Fortunatiani et, propter notitiam persecutorum, Aurelii Victoris historiam. This shows that he means the Imperial History which was, therefore, the work of Victor. Ammian. XXI 10, 6 (a. 361): ubi (in Naissus) Victorem, apud Sirmium visum scriptorem historicum exindeque venire praeceptum, Pannoniae secundae consularem praefecit (Iulianus) et honoravit aenea statua, virum sobrietatis gratia aemulandum, multo post urbi praefectum. Lyd. de mag. III 7: σιτῶναι, οὓς Οὐΐκτωρ ὁ ἱστορικὸς ἐν τῇ ἱστορίᾳ τῶν ἐμφυλίων Φρουμεντα(ρίους οἶδε (= Caes. 39, 44). Victor Caes. 20, 5: mihi . . qui rure ortus tenuique et indocto patre in haec tempora vitam praestiti, studiis tantum honestiorem. The work is derived from good sources, and becomes more extensive in approaching the author's own time; it closes a. 360. Constantius is called noster princeps 42, 5; cf. 34, 7 and 41, 9. nostra aetate 28, 2; nostra memoria 39, 6. 40, 14. The author is a heathen (cf. e. g. 40, 15. 41, 20) and thinks highly of miracles. The observations which he intersperses concerning the value

of litterae and morals (espec. 20, 2 sqq. and 13. 28, 7 sqq. 39, 5 and 7. 40, 13 sq. 41, 21. 42, 2 sqq.), do not show a large mental horizon. In the title the author is called Sex. Aurelius Victor, but in the origo g. r. Victor Afer. An Aurelius Victor, XVvir sacr. fac., leg. Augg. propr. prov. Pannoniae inf. Orelli 3715 (of Ameria).

2. The small treatise de viris illustribus urbis Romae in 86 chapters extends from Procas, king of Alba, down to Cleopatra and treats also of foreigners who appear in Roman History, e. g. Pyrrhus and Hannibal. The author employs Cornelius Nepos, Hyginus (Wölfflin on Ampelius p. 25 sqq.), Suetonius and Florus; but Livy does not seem to have been employed in his original work. Cf. C. Aldenhoven, Hermes V p. 150—154. The work contains some valuable information, its precise diction also differing advantageously from the garrulous diction of Vict. in the Caes. Separate editions by Brohm, for school-use, Berlin 1832, and E. Keil, with notes, Breslau 1850.

3. The Epitome is entitled: De vita et moribus imperatorum romanorum excerpta ex libris Sex. Aurelii Victoris, a Caesare Aug. usque ad Theodosium imp. On comparing it with the Caes. we see that the author occasionally makes additions to his original from other sources or from recollection. Ch. 43—48 belong to him entirely. They are impartial in point of matter, but poor in regard to diction.

4. The origo gentis romanae is an insipid little book which gets in 23 chapters from Saturnus to Romulus, this information being first derived from the Aeneid, and then dressed up with some tinsel-like erudition, e. g. such quotatious as: ut docet Alexander Ephesius libro I belli Marsici (9); ut scribunt Volcatius et Acilius Piso (10); ut scribit M. Octavius libro I at vero Domitius libro I docet (12); ut scribit Lutatius libro III (13); ut docet Iulius Caesar lib. I itemque A. Postumius in eo volumine quod de adventu Aeneae conscripsit atque edidit (15); ut scribunt C. Caesar et Sex. Gellius in origine g. rom. (16); ut scriptum est in annali pontificum IV, lib. Cincii et Caesaris II, Tuberonis I (17); ut scriptum est annalium libro IV et epitomarum Pisonis II; Aufidius sane in Epitomis et Domitius libro I tradunt (18); ut scribit Valerius Antias lib. I (19); at vero Fabius Pictor lib. I et Vennonius (20); Licinius Macer lib. I docet . . contra Egnatius lib. I tradit (23). Such scarce and stupendous erudition entitles this work to a place by the side of Fulgentius, and we should be inclined to assign it to the fifteenth century (Niebuhr, Orelli, W. A. Becker, Hulleman, Rother, W. Harless), if not interior reasons and the existence of older mss. obliged us to ascribe it to some schoolmaster of the fifth or sixth century (Jac. Mähly, H. Jordan), i. e. to the time of Fulgentius (459, 17). Comp. also 1, 6: quare (Vergil. Aen. I 243) addiderit tutus suo loco plenissime adnotavimus in commentatione (prius) quam hoc scribere coepimus, cognita ex libro qui inscriptus est De origine patavina. Mähly, de auctore libelli qui inscrib. de or. g. r., Jahn's Archiv XVIII p. 132—153 cf. XIX p. 315—319. C. L. Roth ibid. XIX p. 314 sq. Reiffen-

berg, Bull. de l'acad. de Bruxelles XI. Nr. 5. X p. 468 sqq. H. Rotter, de auctore libelli de or. g. r., Cottbus 1858. 4. H. Jordan, Rhein. Mus. XVIII p. 589 sq., Caton. reliq. p. XXIX sq. and Hermes III p. 389–425.

5. The principal editions of these four works are by A. Schott (Antverp. 1579), S. Pitiscus (cum notis, Utrecht 1696), J. Arntzen (Amstelod. 1733. 4.), J. F. Gruner (Coburg 1757), Fr. Schröter (Lips. 1829—31, 2 vols.). Also in histor. rom. scriptores minores, Bipont. 1789, and elsewhere.

409. Under Valens, Eutropius wrote his brief account of the entire Roman History (breviarium ab urbe condita) in ten books, from the ordinary sources, with good judgment and impartiality, and in a simple style. The brevity and practical arrangement of the work soon recommended it to a large class of readers; it was both translated into Greek and continued in the historia miscella. About the same time as Eutropius, Rufus Festus wrote a similar work, though much poorer in the information it contains, and which has likewise come down to us. Of perhaps the same time is also Julius Obsequens' List of miracles in the years 505—742 V. C., after an abridgment of Livy.

1. Suid. s. v. (I p. 656 Bnh.): *Εὐτρόπιος, Ἰταλός, σοφιστής. τὴν ῥωμαϊκὴν ἱστορίαν ἐπιτομιχῶς τῇ Ἰταλῶν φωνῇ ἔγραψε, καὶ ἄλλα.* Eutrop. X 16, 1: Iulianus . . Parthis intulit bellum, cui expeditioni ego quoque interfui. Dedication to Valenti maximo perpetuo Aug.: res rom. ex voluntate mansuetudinis tuae ab urbe condita ad nostram memoriam, quae in negotiis vel bellicis vel civilibus eminebant, per ordinem temporum brevi narratione collegi strictim, additis etiam his quae in principum vita egregia extiterunt. The work terminates with the death of Jovianus (a. 364): quia ad inclitos principes venerandosque (the reigning) perventum est interim operi modum dabimus. nam reliqua stilo maiore dicenda sunt. quae nunc non tam praetermittimus quam ad maiorem scribendi diligentiam reservamus. According to chronological reasons the author might be the person mentioned by Ammian. XXIX, I 36 (p. 371): Eutropius Asiam proconsulari tunc obtinens potestate (cf. Gregor. Naz. Epist. 138) ut factionis conscius arcessitus in crimen abscessit innocuus, Pasiphilo eximente philosopho. Liban. de vita I p. 106 R. Epist. IV 191. Greg. Naz. Ep. 137. In the Cod. Theod. (and Inst.) this Eutropius is repeatedly mentioned as praef. pract. a. 380, 381, 384—387; see the passages in Hänel, index legum p. 109. He is probably the same (cui pollet Minerva III 47) to whom Symmachus addressed his Ep. III 46–53.

2. Suid. v. Capito: *μετάφρασιν τῆς ἐπιτομῆς Εὐτροπίου ῥωμαϊστὶ ἐπιτεμόντος Λίβιον τὸν Ῥωμαῖον.* This may not generally be said of

the earlier time, as Eutropius has several statements deviating from Livy; see U. Köhler, qua rat. Liv. ann. (1860) p. 38 sqq. Especially an enlarged edition of Dio has been used; A. Köcher, de Ioann. Ant. (1871) p. 23 sq. In the Imperial history, Suetonius, the Chronicles of a. 354 (Mommsen, the Chronographer p. 601) and the scriptores h. a. are employed. Besides the facts Eutropius generally gives a brief characteristic, of the impartiality of which the judgments on Constantine and Julian (X 6 sqq. 16) may be quoted as instances.

3. Other works of Eutropius are indicated by Suidas' expression καὶ ἄλλα. There are no traces extant of them, except perhaps the quotation in Priscian I 8 (p. 8, 19 H.): id etiam Eutropius confirmat. dicens (on x).

4. The breviarium was used by St. Jerome, Orosius and othe In the historia miscella it is at the beginning; see above 39, 5 [Add.]. John of Antiochia seems to have used Eutropius in an enlarged Greek version. A. Köcher de Io. Ant. 1871, p. 17—24.

5. The work was translated into Greek by the Lycian Capito (Suid. s. v. II p. 66 Bnh.) perhaps under Anastasius. We possess (as far as X 12) the translation of Paeanius, perhaps of the end of saec. V. It is rather a paraphrasis and not free from errors. It was first edited by F. Sylburg, hist. graec. script. min. (Frankf. 1590) III p. 62 sqq. then in the editions of Eutropius by Cellarius, Hearne, Havercamp, Verheyk; separately by C. F. Schmid (Lauenburg 1736), J. F. S. Kaltwasser (Gotha 1780). Weber, de lat. script. quae Graeci transtulerunt II p. 16—21. E. Schulze, de Paeanio Eutropii interprete, Philologus XXIX p. 285—299.

6. Among the mss. of the brev. the Gothanus saec. IX is of chief importance. Editio princeps Rome 1471. 4. Other editions especially by A. Schonhov (Basil. 1546. 1552), Ch. Cellarius (Zeitz 1678 and elsewhere), Th. Hearne (Oxon. 1703), S. Havercamp (Lugd. B. 1729), H. Verheyk (Lugd. B. 1762. 1793), C. H. Tzschucke (Lips. 1796; abridged Lips. 1804). School-editions by F. W. Grosse (Halle 1813), G. Seebode (Hannover 1817. 1837), F. Hermann (Lübeck 1818), C. Ramshorn (Leipzig 1837). Texts (Bibl. Teubner.) by Baumgarten-Crusius and R. Dietsch (Lips. 1849. 1853). The best critical ed. recogn. Guil. Hartel, Berlin (Weidmann), 1872.

7. Dedication: D. n. Valenti imp. pio perp. semper Aug. Sex. Rufus v. c. Brevem fieri clementia tua praecepit. parebo libens praeceptis, quippe cui desit facultas latius eloquendi. . . res gestas signabo, non eloquar. accipe ergo quae breviter dicta brevius computentur. c. 2: ab urbe cond. in ortum perennitatis vestrae . . anni numerantur MCXVII. Termination (c. 29): quam magno deinceps ore tua, o princeps invicte, facta incluta sunt personanda! quibus me, licet imparem dicendi nisu, et aevo gravior praeparabo, . . gloriosissime principum Valens Auguste. Title: Breviarium rerum gestarum populi rom., or

Sex. Rufi v. c. rerum gestarum pop. rom. epitome: Rufi Festi v. c. rer. gest. pop. rom. liber etc.

8. There are numerous mss. of Rufus Festus in existence. Editions (after the princeps, probably Naples 1470. 4.) by Chr. Cellarius (Zeitz 1673. Hal. 1698), in the editions of Eutropius by Havercamp and Verheyk; also by C. H. Tzschucke (in us. schol., Lips. 1793), C. Münnich (recogn., Hannover 1815), R. Mecenate (ad mss. emend., Rom 1829).

9. Of Iulii Obsequentis ab a. u. c. DV prodigiorum liber we do not possess a ms., but only the editio princeps by Aldus. Venet. 1508 (with Pliny the younger). Among the later editions we mention chiefly those by J. Scheffer (Amstelod. 1679), Fr. Oudendorp (Lugd. Bat. 1720; cf. Acta phil. Monac. II p. 291 sqq.), J. Kapp (Hof 1772) and espec. rec. et emend. O. Jahn (Lips. 1853, with the periochae of Livy, vol. I, p. 495 cf. p. XIII sqq.). This little work is entirely derived from Livy, and not even direct from him, but from an abridgment in which the names of the consuls were prefixed in the ablative, probably the same as was used by Cassiodorus (Mommsen, Cassiodor. p. 552). This narrow compass of the erudition of the author and on the other hand his pagan and superstitious interest in miracles suffice to fix the time of composition.

410. Eloquence was practised by many in this time, especially in Gaul by Gennadius, Minervius, Alcimus, Delphidius, Arborius and soon afterwards by Ausonius; while the Sophists Himerius, Libanius, and others declaimed in Greek. The only extant Latin speech of this period is Claudius Mamertinus' gratiarum actio for the consulate conferred upon by Julian, a speech delivered at Constantinople on 1 January 362. It gives, in its way, a faithful portrait of Julian's individuality and character as prince.

1. Hieron. chron. a. 2369 = 353: Gennadius forensis orator Romae insignis habetur.

2. Hieron. chron. a. 2369 = 353: Minervius Burdigalensis rhetor Romae florentissime docet. This Ti. Victor Minervius taught first at Constantinople, then at Rome, and lastly at Burdigala, his native town; see Auson. prof. Burd. I. His sons Alethius Minervius (ib. 6. Symmach. Epist. IV 18. 35—49, especially 35: crevisti . . paternae in me familiaritatis successionem) and Protadius (Symm. Ep. IV 17—34; cf. ib. 36 with 18) were likewise rhetoricians and attained good positions. Cf. Claudian LXXIV (epigr. 24). The son of the first was likewise called Protadius (Symm. Ep. IV 47). A third brother was Florentinus (ib. IV 50—57), who was quaestor under Honorius and had the duty condendarum sanctionum (ib. IV 50). His son was again Minervius (ib. 55) and his brother was perhaps Nemesius (ib. 56).

3. Hieron. chron. a. 2371 = 355: Alchimus et Delfidius rhetores in Aquitanica florentissime docent. On Delphidius cf. above 396, 8. Latinus Alcimus Alethius was according to Auson. prof. Burd. 2, 21 sqq. tutor to (the Emperor) Julian and to Sallust; cf. Sidon. Apoll. Epist. V 10 (abundantia Delphidii, Agroecii disciplina, fortitudo Alcimi). VIII 11 (si a te instructio rhetorica poscatur, hi Paulinum, illi Alcimum non requirunt). Lines ascribed in the mss. to Alcimus, Alcinous or Avitus, have been attributed to this Alc. (whom Ausonius l. l. styles palmae forensis et Camenarum decus) by Meyer, anthol. lat 254—260. In a Berlin ms. saec. IX the following are designated as Libri Alchimi: In adulescentem qui in publico patre cadente risit etc. and a Controversia fullonis vel (= et) calvi; see M. Haupt, Hermes III p. 222 sq.

4. Sulpic. Sev. chron. II 46, 2 sq.: huius (i. e. Marcus, who brought Gnosticism from Egypt to Spain) auditores fuere Agape quaedam . . et rhetor Helpidius (Elp.). ab his Priscillianus est institutus, familia nobilis, . . facundus, multa lectione eruditus, disserendi ac disputandi promptissimus. 47, 2: damnati (a. 380) . . Helpidius et Priscillianus laici (on the Synod of Caesaraugusta.) Cf. 51, 3. Another head of that Sect (the Priscillianists) was Latronianus, see below 415, 8.

5. Aemilius Magnus Arborius, uncle by the mother's side and master to Ausonius (Auson. parent. 3), a rhetorician at Tolosa, in Spain and at Constantinople, whither he had been called, after having made at Tolosa the acquaintance of Constantini fratres (his half-brothers Dalmatius, Hannibalianus and Julius Constantius) exilii specie sepositos, and where he also died (Auson. prof. Burd. 16). He may therefore be the comes Arborius in the Cod. Theod. I 32, 4 (a. 379) and the praef. urb. Arb. ib. VI 35, 9. XIV 3, 16 (a. 380). Cf. Sidon. Ap. Epist. V 10 (rigor Magni). A somewhat garrulous, but correct erotic poem (though componendŏ occurs in it), 46 distichs in nympham nimis cultam, ap. Meyer anth. lat. 262, Riese anth. lat. 897, is attributed to him by Rivinus and Lotichius without any definite reasons.

6. On Symmachus the Elder see below 418, 1.

7. Claudius Mamertinus (grat. act. 17, 5) appointed by Julian in one and the same year (21, 5. 22, 2), 361, praef. aerarii (1. 4. 22, 2; Comes largitionum, Ammian. XXI 8, 1), praef. praet. per Illyricum et Italiam (1, 5 cf. Symmach. ep. X 60. Ammian. XXI 12, 25. XXVI 5, 5) and Consul (cf. Ammian. XXI 10, 8. 12, 25. XXII 3, 1) returned thanks to the Emperor in the extant speech (nr. X in Jäger's Panegyrici). Servility being of less value under this prince (21, 1. 26, 3) than sincerity (libertas, see 32, 3), the orator merely praises rhetorically his real good qualities, his strictness with bad officials (4, 3 sqq.), his parsimony towards himself and liberality towards others (10), his simplicity (11), steady activity (13 sq.), love of truth (26), thirst of glory (31), and these qualities he contrasts with the bad reigns of the preceding princes (11. 19 sq. 25). He does not, however, appear to have deserved Julian's confidence, just like most others: cf. Ammian. XXVII 7, 1 (a. 368): vix

dies intercessere pauci cum Mamertinum praefectum praet. ab urbe regressum . . Avitianus ex vicario peculatus detulerat reum. cui ideo Vulcatius successit Rufinus etc. At the time of this speech Mam. is already in an advanced age (17, 2. 18. 5). Pecularities of diction: participare consilium 1, 1. pati ut 2, 4. dent recordari 19, 3. nedum (23, 4) and universi (9, 4) not rightly used; arcana vacuare (18, 1). et vere (20, 2. 26, 3). Poetical constructions like lata camporum (10, 1 cf. 12, 1. 3). Archaisms like voltu satagente (28, 3), adulare, autumo, sublimare etc. The speech is found in the editions of the panegyrici (above 387, 1—3), and in Migne's patrol. XVIII p. 409—430.

8. Julian himself was well-versed both in speaking and composing; but his writings are all in Greek. Eutrop. X 16: liberalibus disciplinis apprime eruditus, graecis doctior atque adeo ut latina eruditio nequaquam cum graeca scientia conveniret; facundia ingenti et prompta. Julian was bent upon noble aims, but phantastical and always went beyond his aim, and erred in the choice of his means. See W. Teuffel in Pauly's Encycl. IV (1845) p. 401—413. 416 sq. note, and Studies and Char. p. 168—190. D. F. Strauss, The romanticist on the throne of the Caesars, Mannheim 1847. F. Chr. Baur, the Christian church in the fourth to the sixth Centuries (1863) p. 17—43. J. F. A. Mücke, Flavius Claudius Julianus, according to the sources. I. Julian's military actions. Gotha 1866. II. J.'s life and writings, Gotha 1869.

9. The merits of Valentinian I for the restoration of public eloquence are praised by Symmach. in Valent. II 22 sq.: sonet apud te libertas forensis eloqui, quam dudum exulem tribunalibus reddidisti. ruri emeritus torpebat orator; . . nusquam maius silentium quam in sacrariis litterarum. . . solvisti vincla linguarum. (23.) . . par fuit ut eloquentiae usum redderes. . . ingenia liberasti etc.

10. Himerius about 315—385. A complete edition of his speeches by G. and J. Ch. Wernsdorf (Götting. 1790), Fr. Dübner (accurate excusso cod. optimo et unico XXII declamationum, Paris, Didot, 1849; with Philostratus, Callistratus and Eunapius).

11. Libanius about 315—393. Libanii sophistae orationes et declamationes rec. et illustr. J. J. Reiske, Altenburg 1791—1797, 4 vols. Libanii epistolae graece et lat. cum not. J. Ch. Wolf, Amstelod. 1738 fol. E. Monnier, histoire de Lib. I Paris 1866. G. R. Sievers, the Life of Lib., Berlin 1868. 324 pp.

411. A fertile writer on theology in the Gallican style was Hilarius, bishop of Poitiers. He also took part in the Arian controversy, addressed works to Constantine and wrote a number of commentaries on Works of the Old and the New Testament. We possess also dogmatic writings by the Sardinian bishop Lucifer, and by the bishops Phoebadius and Potamius.

1. Hieron. viri ill. 100: Hilarius, urbis Pictavorum Aquitaniae episcopus, factione Saturnini Arelatensis episcopi de synodo Biterrensi (a. 356) in Phrygiam relegatus, XII adversus Arianos confecit libros et alium librum De synodis quem ad Galliarum episcopos scripsit, et in Psalmos (I et II. LI—LXII. CXVIII—CL.) commentarios, in quo opere imitatus Origenem nonnulla etiam de suo addidit. est eius et ad Constantium libellus, quem viventi Constantinopoli porrexerat (a. 360), et alius in Constantium quem post mortem eius (a. 361) scripsit, et liber adversus Valentem et Ursacium, historiam Ariminensis et Seleuciensis (a. 359) synodi continens; et ad praefectum Sallustium sive contra Dioscorum; et liber hymnorum et Mysteriorum alius; et commentarii in Matthaeum et tractatus in Iob quos de graeco Origenis ad sensum transtulit; et alius elegans libellus contra Auxentium, et nonnullae ad diversos Epistolae (also to Constantius, a. 355). aiunt quidam scripsisse eum et in Cantica canticorum, sed a nobis hoc opus ignoratur. mortuus est Pictavis, Valentiniano et Valente regnantibus (a. 367). In other passages H. is frequently referred to by St. Jerome, e. g. Epist. 70, 5 (ad Magn. or., Opp. ed. Vall. I p. 430): Hilarius, meorum confessor temporum et episcopus, XII Quintiliani libros et stilo imitatus est et numero (in his work de trinitate, contra Arianos), brevique libello quem scripsit contra Dioscorum medicum quid in litteris posset ostendit. 58, 10 (ad Paulin., Opp. l. l. p. 326): Hilarius gallicano cothurno attollitur et cum Graeciae floribus adornetur longis interdum periodis involvitur et a lectione simpliciorum fratrum procul est. Also chron. a. 2372 = 356 (exile). 2375 = 359 (return). 2376 = 360: Gallia per Hilarium Arminiensis (rather Ariminensis, cf. ad a. 2375, u) perfidiae dolos damnat. 2384 = 368 (death). A vita Hilarii by Fortunatus in the editions of the works of Hil.; a poem on him, Venant. misc. II 19.

2. Editions: Paris. 1510 fol. Per Des. Erasmum, Basil. 1523. 1526. 1535 fol. Ex ed. Jo. Gillotii, Paris 1572. 1605 fol. Edition of the Benedictines (by P. Goutant) Paris 1693 fol. (and Veron. 1730. 2 vols. fol.). Ed. Fr. Oberthür, Würzburg 1785 sqq. 3 vols. 8. In Migne's Patrolog. T. IX and X (Paris 1844.) To this add. J. B. Pitra, spicileg. Solesm. (Paris 1851) p. 49—159 containing commentaries on Pauline letters probably written by H. (cf. Pitra p. XXVI—XXXIV), from a cod. Corbeiensis saec. IX, p. 159—165 on Genesis, and p. 166—170 from a St. Gall ms. of the Gospels saec. VIII, 114 hexameters on the birth of Christ in very loose prosody (v. 15. 17. 18. 38. 80. 88), especially short syllables being frequently lengthened (26. 29. 31. 34. 50. 82. 109. 113), but also the authorship of this H. not being quite certain.

3. R. Ceillier, hist. gén. V p. 1—150. J. H. Reinkens, Hilarius of Poitiers, a Monograph, Schaffhausen 1864. XXXVII and 359 pp. Cf. J. Wagenmann, Götting. gel. Anz. 1865, p. 1641—1658.

4. Hieron. vir. ill. 95: Lucifer, Caralitanus episcopus, cum Pancratio et Hilario rom. ecclesiae clericis ad Constantium imp. a Liberio episcopo pro fide legatus missus, cum nollet sub nomine Athanasii Ni-

caenam damnare fidem, in Palaestinam relegatus .. contra Constantium imp. scripsit librum eique legendum misit ac non multo post, sub Iuliano principe, reversus Caralis Valentiniano regnante obiit (a. 371). Cf. Hier. chron. ad a. 2371. 2378 = 357. 364 A. D. In the libri duo Ad Constantium Aug. pro s. Athanasio he calls the Emperor a serpent, bellua, immanissima fera, latro, sacrilegus, carnifex, homicida, idololatra, templum daemonum, religionis eversor, haereticus, apostata, a precursor of Antichrist and Antichrist himself. Being questioned by Florentius mag. off., L. confessed to the authorship and was ready to suffer the death of a martyr (moriendum esse pro filio dei). This was prevented by the Emperor's death. Just as orthodox and fanatical are his earlier works De non conveniendo cum haereticis liber ad Constantium Aug. and De non parcendo in deum delinquentibus. Ed. princeps of Luciferi opuscula (by Jo. Tilius) Paris 1568. In the Bibl. patr. max. (Lugd. 1677) IV p. 181 sqq., Gallandi bibl. patr. VI p. 155 sqq. Also Venet. 1778 fol. cur. J. D. et J. Coletis, reprinted in Migne's Patrolog. XIII (1845) p. 692–1038.

5. Hieron. vir. ill. 108: Phoebadius, Agenni Galliarum episcopus, edidit contra Arianos librum (about a. 358; ed. Th. Beza, Genev. 1570; ed. P. Pithoeus, Paris 1586. 4.; rec. C. Barth, Frankf. 1623; in Gallandi bibl. patr. V p. 250 sqq., the bibl. patr. max. III p. 300 sqq., in Migne's Patrolog. XX). dicuntur et alia eius esse opuscula, quae necdum legi. vivit usque hodie (a. 392) decrepita senectute.

6. By Potamius, bishop of Lisbon, we possess an Epistola ad Athanasium episc. Alexandr. de consubstantialitate filii dei, written about 355, first edited 1657, and other works; see Gallandi bibl. patr. V, Migne's Patrol. VIII.

7. Zenonis sermones, rec. et illustr. P. et Hier. Ballerini, Veron. 1739 fol. Gallandi bibl. patr. V p. 109 sqq., Migne's Patrol. XI.

8. Gennad. vir. ill. 4: Vitellius Afer Donatianorum schisma defendens scripsit de eo quod odio sint mundo servi dei. . . scripsit et adversum gentes etc. . . et ad regulam ecclesiasticam pertinentia multa disseruit. claruit sub Constante filio Constantini principis.

412. The two grammarians Charisius and Diomed wrote about the same time and independently of each other, but as they employed the same sources, their works are often in verbal agreement. Flavius Sosipater Charisius is important on account of verbally copying the authors employed by him, especially Julius Romanus, Cominianus and Palaemon, sometimes mentioning them by name, and sometimes neglecting to do so, but still preserving in this manner a considerable amount of earlier grammatical information. We should, however, add that considerable parts of the five books of his

grammar have been lost. Of the three books of the Ars grammatica of Diomed the third is of especial value, as it has preserved many valuable notices, probably from Suetonius' work de poetis. To the same time we may probably assign the Ars vaticana, which bears the name of Probus.

1. Preface: Fl. Sosipater Charisius v. p. magister [urbis Romae] filio karissimo s. d. Amore latini sermonis obligare te cupiens f. k. artem grammaticam (which would thus appear to be the title) sollertia doctissimorum virorum politam et a me digestam in libris V dono tibi misi. . . erit iam tuae diligentiae frequenti recitatione studia mea ex variis Artibus inrigata memoriae . . mandare, ut quod originalis patriae natura denegavit virtute animi adfectasse videaris. That the author was a native of Campania does not appear from p. 215, 23 K.: hodieque nostri per Campaniam sic loquuntur, nor is it probable after the above 'orig. patriae' (cf. n. 2 fin.).

2. The age of Charisius and Diomed is fixed on one hand by the sources they employed (see n. 3), the latest of which seem to be Cominianus and Marcius Salutaris (above 400, 1—4), on the other hand by the writers who quote them, Priscian, Rufinus (de metris com.), and Servius (ad Aen. IX 329 and perhaps also Buc. III 21). The frequent agreement of Char. and D. with Donatus and Marius Victorinus (above 403 sq.), though they are never mentioned, may be explained from their employing the same sources, and probably proves that those two grammarians lived about the same time as the others. Keil, Gramm. lat. I p. LV sq. Christ, Philologus XVIII p. 130 sq. Usener's conjecture, Rhein. Mus. XXIII p. 492 sq., is likewise very probable, viz. that in Hieron. chron. 2375 = 359 (see above 400, 8): Euanthius . . Constantinopoli diem obit. in cuius locum ex Africa Charistus (Bongars.; but Freh. and others Chrestus) adducitur, we should read: Charisius.

3. The principal sources of Charisius are Palaemo (above 277, 3), Julius Romanus (above 375, 1) and Cominianus (above 400, 1—3), to whom Scaurus (above 347, 1) and others should probably be added (Christ, Philologus XVIII p. 127). Keil, Gramm. latt. I p. XLV sqq. A. Schottmüller, de Plin. libr. gramm. (1858) p. 7—26. Charisius usually copies his sources *verbatim*, and whenever they differ, he rarely ventures on an independent decision. The work is therefore altogether a compilation and made with little care and judgment in details; see Christ l. l. p. 120. M. Hertz, Rh. Mus. XX p. 320. The arrangement is likewise very imperfect. Charisius did not know how to combine with the modern arrangement according to the eight parts of speech (which was e. g. adopted by Cominianus) the earlier monographs on detailed parts of grammar, whence it comes that he gives in b. I general statements on declension, comparison, analogy, b. II a theory of the eight partes orationis collected from the various Artes, b. III an extensive

discussion of the formation of perfects, inchoatives, frequentatives etc., b. IV a variety of grammatical (barbarisms etc.), and rhetorical (tropi and figures) observations; b. IV idiomata, synonyms etc. The beginning of b. I, the last part of b. IV, and most of b. V are, however. lost. The contents are stated after the prooemium.

4. The cod. Neapolitanus saec. VII or VIII is almost the only source of the text of Char. Editions by J. Pierius Cyminius (Naples 1532. fol.), G. Fabricius (Basil. 1551; with many Interpolations), in the Grammatici latini of Putsche and Lindemann (Vol. IV Lips. 1840) and especially of H. Keil (T. I Lips. 1857). The section de versu saturnio (in Keil p. 288 sq.) was separately edited by F. W. Schneidewin, Götting. 1841. 4. On Char. see also F. Osann, Contributions II p. 319—340. L. Spengel, Munich gel. Anz. 1840, p. 502 sqq.

5. Besides Charisius we possess also Excerpts from his work, composed under the Franks, and which occasionally serve to fill up gaps in the extant parts. Thus we have especially the excerpta Bobiensia saec. VII—VIII, now at Vienna, first published by Eichenfeld and Endlicher, Anal. gramm. (Vienna 1837) p. 75—124, the last time by Keil, gramm. lat. I p. 533—565, cf. ibid. p. XVII sq. They are, not, however taken exclusively from Charisius, but from his sources, especially from Palaemon and Cominianus; see Christ, Philol. XVIII p. 136—139. See also above 400, 1 sq. There are also excerpta Parisina ib. p. XVIII sq. On the excerpts in mss. at Berne, Leyden and St. Amand see ibid. p. XIX—XXII.

6. The grammarian Flavianus is perhaps (H. Keil, Hermes I p. 333. H. Hagen, Anecd. Helv. p. CLXIII sqq.) identical with Charisius, as all passages in which he is quoted recur verbally or almost verbally in Charisius. Riese (Heidelb. Jahrb. 1871, p. 585 sq.) considers the praenomen Flavius (Flav.) commonly given to Charisius due to this coincidence.

7. The work of Diomed is entitled Ars grammatica by Rufinus p. 2715 and in the subscriptions, and is dedicated to a certain Athanasius. The preface contains the following statement: artem merae latinitatis puraeque eloquentiae magistram . . summo studio . . trino digestam libello . . censui esse mittendam etc. . . prima pars universi sermonis membra continet; altera non solum observationes quae arti grammaticae accidere solent sed etiam structuram pedestris orationis . . demonstrat; tertia pedum qualitatem, poematum genera metrorumque tractatus . . docet. The first book thus corresponds to b. I—III of Charisius, but is more uniform and according to a settled design. The third book serves as a kind of supplement for the mutilation of Charisius.

8. Diomed frequently agrees verbally with Charisius (cf. Osann, Contrib. II p. 331—335), though they do not mention each other. This would be less surprising, if D. had copied Charisius, as D. is altogether

very sparing in mentioning his sources. But precisely in those passages which surprise us by their agreement with Charisius we find also statements which do not occur in Charisius (e. g. Char. III 8 p. 262 sqq. when compared with Diom. p. 389, 10 — 395, 10), so that D. would appear to have used the same sources to a greater extent. Besides the sources which D. has in common with Charisius (especially Flavius Caper), D. appears also to have availed himself of Suetonius (O. Jahn, Rh. Mus. IX p. 629 sq. Reifferscheid Suet. p. 370—373, and against him Steup, de Prob. p. 190), also of Terentianus and perhaps also of Greek technical writers (Christ, Philol. XVIII p. 129 sq. Keil, gramm. lat. I p. XLIX—LV.) D. employs his authorities in a less servile and more judicious manner, but is still so far from the proper employment that Reifferscheid (Suet. p. 372) calls him miserrimus grammaticus, and speaks of his stupor et supina neglegentia, insignis in excerpendo neglegentia (p. 373) and insignis incogitantia (p. 375). On the other hand, Westphal (allg. Metr. p. 48) says 'D. is of all writers on metre the most ignorant, but nevertheless also the most interesting' on account of the sources he copied, see ibid. p. 48 sq. 76—86. 125 sq. 135 sq.

9. The age of D. is fixed by that of his contemporary and rival Charisius (n. 2). If he wrote about the middle of saec. IV, he was far enough removed from Sacerdos (above 390) not to know anything of him (Christ, Philol. XVIII p. 130 sq.).

10. Keil gramm. I p. XXIX: Diomedis quamvis multi hodie extent libri manu scripti, tamen tanta est eorum omnium similitudo ut quasi pro uno codice habendi sint. All are derived from an archetypus saec. VIII, the earliest two offsprings of which are two Paris mss. 7494 (A) and 7493 (B) and one Monacensis (M), all three saec. IX; see ib. p. XXIX—XXXII. From the same source were likewise derived some Excerpts from the work of D., the oldest of which is Paris. 7530 saec. VIII (ib. p. XXXIV).

11. Editions (Keil I p. XLIV sq.) Ven. 1476 (ap. Nic. Ienson.), by J. Rivius (Ven. 1511), J. Th. Bellovacus (Paris. 1516), H. Buschius Pasiphilus (Colon. 1516. 1523), J. Caesarius (Hagenau 1526. Colon. 1533. 1536. Lips. 1541), in the gramm. lat. of Putsche, the scriptores rei metr. of Gaisford (only b. III) and especially the gramm. latt. of H. Keil I (Lips. 1857) p. 298—529. Cf. W. Christ, Philologus XVIII p. 127—136.

12. On the Ars vaticana see above 295, 86. Its time may be fixed by the mention made in it (p. 119, 26 K.) of the (thermae) Diocletianae. It is later than Donatus and seems to be the work of a Christian author (cf. p. 129, 12 sqq.). Perhaps his real name was Probus (though not Valerius Pr.); but he is not the patron of Lactantius (above 393, 2) who bore the same name. Cf. Steup, de Prob. p. 167 sqq. 173. 175. Oratio molestissima, praecepta persaepe ineptissima, Keil gramm. IV

p. XXVIII sq. An extract from it (also from the section de orthographia), but with many foreign additions (Steup p. 170—175), the Appendix; see above 295, 8 b.

13. Carminius wrote de elocutionibus (Serv. Aen. V 233) and seems also to have commented on Virgil (cf. Serv. Aen. VI 638. 862. VIII 406). Carmini curiosissimi et docti verba, qui in libro de Italia secundo ait, Macrob. S. V 19, 13 sq.

14. Statilius Tullianus de vocabulis rerum libro I ait etc. Macrob. III 8, 6, cf. Serv. Aen. XI 543.

413. This time possessed a poet of much talent in Rufius Festus Avienus, Proconsul of Africa (a. 366 sq.) and Achaia (a. 372). In his attempt to leave the usual worn-out tracks of poetical composition, he was by the unpoetical bent of his age driven to attempt prosaic subjects, and thus became an imitator, nay translator. His works are chiefly didactic poems, in epic metre a translation of Aratus' *Φαινόμενα*, and a Descriptio orbis terrae after Dionysius' *Περιήγησις*; in iambic trimeters a description of the shores of the Mediterranean, the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea (ora maritima), in several books, but of which only the greater part of the first book is extant; also a version of early Roman History after Livy, and an abridgment of the Aeneid; which two works have, however, been lost. Besides these works he wrote smaller poems, and epigrams in hexameters. Avienus' poems manifest throughout noble aims and purity of form in imitation of the best models, chiefly Virgil, but also rhetorical loquacity and a depression of his poetical power by the overweight of his erudite materials.

1. An inscription from Rome ap. Fabretti X 507 = Meyer anthol. lat. 278 (R. Festus v. c. de se ad deam Nortiam): Festus, Musoni suboles prolesque Avieni, unde tui latices traxerunt, Caesia, nomen, Nortia, te veneror, lare cretus Volsiniensi, Romam habitans, gemino proconsulis auctus honore, carmina multa serens, vitam insons, integer aevom, coniugio laetus Placidae numeroque frequenti natorum exultans etc. The poet was, therefore, a descendant of Musonius Rufus (above 294, 3), a native of Volsinii in Etruria like him and therefore attached to Nortia who was worshipped there, and to the aqua Caesia (cf. Meyer's anth. lat. 899), the father of a numerous family, one of whose members Placidus seems to have been who added two distichs to the above inscription: sancto patri filius Placidus. Ibis in optatas sedes, nam Iuppiter aethram (cf. Avien. phaen. 2) pandit, Feste, tibi, candidus ut

venias. iamque venis, tendit dextras chorus inde deorum et toto tibi iam plauditur ecce polo. His being twice proconsul is in agreement with Cod. Iust. III 16, 1 (a. 366) and Cod. Theod. IX 19, 3 (a. 367) where Festus is mentioned as Proconsul Africae, and C. I. gr. 372 where the Athenians testify their gratitude a. 372 to their Proconsul Ῥούφιος Φῆστος. He may also be identical with Festus consularis Syriae in Cod. Iust. XII 58, 3 (a. 365). A prolonged sojourn of the poet in Africa may be inferred from orb. terr. 329—333 or. mar. 273 sq., in Greece orb. terr. 603 sq.

2. Hieronym. comm. on epist. ad Titus c. 1 (Opp. VII 1, p. 706 Vall.): Arati, quem Cicero in latinum sermonem transtulit et Germanicus Caesar (above 270, 6) et nuper Avienus et multi quos enumerare perlongum est. But Lactantius knows the Aratea only in the version of Cicero (inst. V 5. p. 238 Fr.) and Caesar (I 11. p. 30) Germanicus (I 21. p. 54 sq. V 5). The title is in the Gudianus saec. X: Rufi Festi Avieni v. c. Arati Phaenomena (in the Vindobon. saec. X: Rufi Festi Arati). The Φαινόμενα number 1325, the Prognostica or Διοσημεῖα 552 hexameters. Av. endeavours to surpass his predecessors by a faithful rendering of the Greek original, poetical diction and the insertion of various information from the works of philosophers and astronomers, even from mystical sources. Av. follows Germanicus more closely than Cicero. In the ed. princeps (Ven. 1488) p. 5—56. Editions in the majority of the collections of the Aratea. J. C. Schaubach (above 270, 9), novae edit. Avieni specimen (Meiningen 1817 sqq. 4.) and On Cicero's Aratea in Jahn's Archiv XII (1846) p. 197—210.

3. Orbis terrae or Descriptio o. t. in 1394 hexameters according to the Περιήγησις of Dionysius, who is not mentioned. The original work is sometimes shortened, sometimes enlarged upon by erudite additions; it is surpassed in liveliness of diction. Both at beginning and end the Muses and Apollo are invoked in the usual manner. In the ed. princ. p. 56—95. Other editions: Venet. 1502. Vienn. 1508. 4. 1515. 4. Bonon. 1513. 4. Antverp. 1632. 4. Cum notis N. Heinsii all. cur. H. Friesemann, Amstelod. 1786. In Wernsdorf's poetae latt. min. V p. 725—888, with introd. (p. 719 sqq.) and animadv. (p. 889—1153). In Dionysius Perieg. ed. G. Bernhardy (Lips. 1828) I p. 427—460; in Geographi graeci min. ill. C. Müllerus (Par. 1861) II p. 176—189. Exegetical works: (I. Wassii) Animadversiones in Av. descr., in Miscellan. observ. I 2 p. 273—277 (Oudendorp). 3. p. 373—390. V 1 p. 64—80. 2. p. 165. Symbolae litterar. II 3 (Brem. 1745). p. 569—584.

4. Orae maritimae liber primus (ed. princ.). We possess only a fragment of 703 senarii, which contains the description of the coast of the Atlantic as far as Massilia, and even this part is in a fragmentary state with gaps. The work is dedicated to a certain Probus who is liberum loco . . amore sanguinisque vinculo (14 sq.) and eager for information (16 sqq.), probably Anicius Probus Cos. 406. A reference to the orbis in v. 71 sqq.: reliqua scripta sunt nobis in illo plenius

volumine quod de orbis oris partibusque fecimus. On his sources the author states v. 37 sqq. in a somewhat boastful manner: ad eius (i. e. Sallust) inclitam descriptionem . . multa rerum iunximus ex plurimorum sumpta commentariis, viz. Hecataeus, Hellanicus, Phileus, Scylax, Pausimachus, Damastes (cf. 372), Bacorus, Euctemon (cf. 350), Cleon, Herodotus and Thucydides. To these he adds in other passages Dionysius (331), Juba (280) and others. That he used Eratosthenes without naming him has been proved by W. Christ, Avien. and the earliest information p. 154—165. The materials derived from the different sources have not been worked up to an independent composition. The diction is fluent. Besides such archaisms as ducier the poet uses such words as intimare, intimatio. Greek proper names are often treated in an arbitrary manner with regard to prosody, instead of the familiar new names obsolete names are preferred, and barbarous names replaced by more harmonious ones. The mss. of the poem are lost. The earliest text in the ed. princ. p. 95—113. Also in Wernsdorf's poetae lat. min. V p. 1165—1295; cf. p. 1157—1164. F. A. Ukert, on A. Ora maritima, in his Geogr. of the Greeks and Romans II 1. (Weimar 1821) p. 473—484. Description que Festus Avienus a faite de la côte de la Gaule Narbonnoise dans le poëme intitulé Ora maritima, par (Jean) Astruc, in the Mémoires pour l'hist. nat. de Languedoc, Paris 1737. 4. W. Christ, Avienus and the earliest information on Iberia and the Western coast of Europe, München 1866. 4. (Trans. of the Bav. Ac. XI. 1868. p. 113—187), especially p. 150—177. F. de Saulcy, étude topographique sur l'O. mar. de R. F. Av., Revue archéol. 1867. I p. 54—62. 81—98. K. Müllenhoff, German Antiquities I (Berlin 1870) p. 73 - 210, with A. v. Gutschmid, Lit. Centralbl. 1871, p. 523—526, and W. Christ in Fleckeisen's Jahrb. 103 p. 710—715. C. Müller, Philol. XXXII p. 106—121.

5. Rufus Festus Avienus v. c. Flaviano Myrmecio v. c. an inscription in 31 hexameters, a jocular poem containing a request to send pome-granates, printed already in the ed. princeps, then in the Anth. latt. of Burmann and Meyer (nr. 279), in Werndorf's poetae latt. V p. 1296—1301 and Riese's Anth. lat. 876. It is perhaps addressed to Flavianus who was procos. Africae a. 358—361 (Cod. Theod. VIII 5, 10. XI 36, 14) or the one who was a. 377 vicarius Africae (ib. XVI 6, 2), 382 sq. praef. praet. Illyrici et Italiae (ib. VII 18, 8. IX 29, 2. 40, 13). But nr. 280 of Meyer = 26 (I p. 82 sq.) Rse is attributed to Av. only in part of the mss., and his claim to 277 M. (de cantu Sirenum) is even more doubtful. Other compositions are unjustly ascribed to Av.

6. Servius Aen. X 272: Stoici dicunt has stellas (cometas) esse ultra XXXII quarum nomina et effectus Avienus, qui iambis scripsit Virgilii fabulas, [com]memorat. . . sane Avienus cometarum has differentias dicit etc. On Georg. I 488: diri cometae] criniti [et] pessimi, quia sunt et boni, . . quam rem plenissime Avienus exsequitur. On Aen. X 388: haec fabula in latinis nusquam invenitur auctoribus. Avienus tamen, qui totum Virgilium et Livium iambis scripsit, hanc com-

memorat dicens graecam esse. The latter would appear to be a work in the manner of Alfius Avitus (above 379, 1).

7. Complete editions of Av.: editio princeps (Venet. 1488. 4.) and by Ramirez de Prado (Madrid 1634. 4.).

8. On Avienus cf. Wernsdorf, poetae latt. min. V p. 621—716. A. Holder in Pauly's Enc. I 2. p. 2149—2153.

414. The life of the rhetorician D. Magnus Ausonius of Burdigala embraces nearly the whole of the fourth century (c. 310—390). Being appointed tutor to prince Gratianus, he was honoured with political offices, and a. 379 even with the Consulate, after his pupil's accession to the throne. Under Theodosius I he lived in his native town occupied with literary labours, and in this time he wrote most of his works, a great number of which has come down to us. The only specimen of his prose-style is his Gratiarum actio to Gratianus for the Consulate; but we have very many of his poetical compositions. They have indeed little value, viewed as poetry; but in point of contents and diction they are of much interest. His varied knowledge, faithful memory, and great versatility in form do not easily forsake Ausonius in any task he may impose upon himself, though the subject should be dry, or even when he merely intends to imitate some form of metre. His poems contain a faithful image of the persons and affairs of his age and country, especially with regard to the author's relations and colleagues (professores Burdigalenses). His description of a journey down the Rhine and up the Moselle from Bingen to Treves (Mosella) in the epic style is in some parts interesting for its diction and design.

1. Auson. in the praef. epigramm. to Syagrius: Ausonius genitor nobis; ego nomine eodem qui sim, qua secta, stirpe, lare et patria, adscripsi. . . Vasates patria est patri; gens Aedua matri de patre, Tarbellis sed genetrix ab Aquis. (7.) ipse ego Burdigalae genitus. . . . genitor studuit medicinae. . . (15.) nos ad grammaticen studium convertimus et mox rhetorices etiam quod satis attigimus. nec fora non celebrata mihi, sed cura docendi cultior, et nomen grammatici merui. . . (23.) exactisque dehinc per trina decennia fastis asserui doctor municipalem operam. aurea et Augusti (Valentinian I) palatia iussus adire augustam subolem grammaticus docui, mox etiam rhetor. . . (35.) cuius (i. e. Gratianus) ego Comes et Quaestor (sacri palatii) et, culmen honorum, praefectus Gallis et Libyae et Latio (praef. praet. Africae, Illyrici, Italiae a. 376; praef. Galliarum a. 378), et prior indep-

tus fasces latiamque curulem Consul (a. 379), collega (Q. Clodius Hermogenianus Olybrius) posteriore, fui. The vain rhetorician mentions his Consulate in numerous places, but most extensively in his Gratiarum actio. When he accompanied his Imperial pupil on an expedition in Germany, he, being then a widower, had received as his share of the booty a young Swabian girl, Sulpitilla Bissula; see Idyll. 7 and A. Bacmeister, Alemannic Wanderings I (Stuttg. 1867) p. 76—92 (an Alemannic Idyl of the fourth Century). On his relation to Symmachus see the latter, Ep. I 13—43, especially 32 (Auson. to Symm.): expertus es fidem meae mentis atque dictorum cum in comitatu degimus ambo aevo dispari, ubi tu veteris militiae praemia tiro meruisti, ego tirocinium iam veteranus exercui. After the death of Gratianus (a. 383) Auson. retired to his native town, where he lived in much comfort. R. Dezeimeris, note sur l'emplacement de la villula d'Ausone, Bordeaux 1869. 14 pp. 8. The year of his death is not known, but it was no doubt in the last ten years of the century. E. Böcking's pref. to his edition of the Mosella, the last time in the Annals of the Rhenish Antiquarians VII (Bonn 1845) p. 60—68. W. Teuffel in Pauly's Encycl. I 2 p. 2186 sq.

2. His prose-works: Gratiarum actio addressed to Gratianus, delivered at Treves, an anthology of rhetorical figures and flatteries towards the Emperor, though the speaker does not forget himself. In the ed. Bipontina p. 284—302. Cf. Hermes IV p. 150 sq. In prose he also wrote the Periochae in Homeri Iliadem et Odysseam, with a metrical translation of the first lines of each book; ed. Bip. p. 303—328. We have lost the apologi Aesopi, and the fasti dedicated to his son Hesperius, carried down to a. 382 (his own name being quartus ab imo) and terminating with epigrams still extant.

3. His metrical compositions are as follows:

a. Epigrammata, 146 pieces, with three prefaces, to Theodosius, Syagrius and Latinus, of various contents and mostly in elegiac metre, but some also in heroic, iambic, and other metres. There are also Greek epigrams among them (29. 31. 88) and some mixed of the two languages (28. 32. 40). They are of varied contents, some being translations (especially from the Greek Anthology), others original, some on art (e. g. Myron's Cow, Timomachus' Medea), anecdotes and on personal affairs (e. g. against the rhetorician Rufus 45—52), of various periods (e. g. 18 sq. during the life of his wife who died very early); some merely variations of the same idea (22 sq. 29 sq. 40 sq. 42 sq. 82 sq. 84 sq. 86 sqq. 91 sq. 123 sq. 129 sq. 132 sq.), much also being quite insignificant. To this we add the four epigrams on his Fasti.

b. Ephemeris, on the division of the day, in various metres. We possess, however, only the commencement and end of this.

c. Parentalia, 30 poems of different extent and mostly in elegiac metre, on deceased relations, some of them exhibiting much affection,

composed after his Consulate (4, 31) and when he had been a widower for 36 years already (9, 8).

d. Commemoratio professorum Burdigalensium, so far as Ausonius knew them personally and had been in intercourse with them (8, 7 sq. 12, 7), a kind of continuation and pendant of his Parentalia (cf. 11, 7. 16, 1. 25, 9 and praef.), treating only of the dead, some also men of no note (8, 7 sq. 10, 5 sqq. 48 sqq. 12), all natives of Burdigala down to 19, from 20 also such as merely resided there; a work which had grown up gradually (see 14, 1 sqq.) and is in varying metres (eleg., iamb., troch., tetr., anapaests, sapph.).

e. Huic libello Epitaphia subnexi, *sc.* titulos sepulcrales heroum qui bello troico interfuerunt (Aus.), found apud philologum quendam and translated into Latin by Auson. Only the smaller part of them agree with the Peplos of Ps.-Aristotle.

f. Aliquot aliorum epitaphia, on Niobe, Dido, Diogenes Sinop., but also original ones, e. g. on Anicia, on an equus admirabilis (iussu Augusti) etc.

g. De XII Caesaribus per Suetonium Tranquillum scriptis, addressed to his son Hesperius (versus memoriales), at first monostichic, always 12 hexameters on their succession, time of reign, and death; then so that each Emperor fills two distichs, and the series is carried down to Helagabal, though the writer also intended to bring it down to his own time.

h. Ordo nobilium urbium, containing 17 towns in 14 pieces (Rome to Burdigala), in hexameters, and composed subsequently to the downfall of Maximus (a. 388); see 7, 5 sqq. Also in Wernsdorf, poetae latt. min. V p. 1312—1349.

i. Ludus VII sapientum with the heading Ausonius cos. Latino Drepanio Pacato procos. and a dedication in elegiac metre; the rest in senarii; after a prologue and a Ludius the seven wise men appear successively and say their say, Solon being the most loquacious; at the end a request for applause. In the mss. we have then a variation of these seven sentences in 7 lines each in different metres (printed also in Wölfflin's Publil. Syr. p. 149—152), which, however, are not composed by Ausonius, who is not even the author of the nine hexameters appended and which were translated from the Greek: in these each sentence is expressed in a monostich, after an introduction of two lines.

k. Idyllia, i. e. twenty small poems, most of them in epic or elegiac metre, some with introductions in prose, some merely scholastic trifles, e. g. on the number three (XI), de aetatibus animalium, *Ἡσιόδειον* (XIII), the versus memoriales on the twelve labours of Hercules (XIX) and the nine Muses and their duties (XX); XV—XVII being professedly Pythagorean and translations. We may draw special attention to I, an epicedium on his father; XIV a pretty poem on Roses (excepting the conclusion), cf. above 225, 5 n. 5; XII Technopaegnion,

verbal and metrical trifling with monosyllabic words, arranged according to matters (de membris, de diis, cibis, alphabet etc.); XIII cento nuptialis composed exclusively of lines and parts of lines from Virgil, composed in compliance with a request of the Emperor Valentinian I and addressed both to him and to Gratianus; the concluding section which contains the consummation of marriage and is as explicit as possible, is excused by the author in a special preface, in which he begs not to draw inferences from it as to his own mode of life and thought. The most famous piece of this collection is nr. X, Mosella, 483 hexameters, composed at Treves about the close of a. 370 (Böcking p. 69. 97 sq.). This poem which is highly interesting on account of its subject is not without some pretty passages in an aesthetic point of view, e. g. 50—77 (feeling for the beauty of nature), 230—237, 259 sqq. It is arranged in the usual epic manner, with invocations of gods and numerous excursuses, e. g. on the fish of the Moselle (77—151), the catching of fish (240 sqq.), architects and magnificent buildings (298 sqq. by way of treating of the villas on the banks, 283 sqq. 318 sqq.), also some theological excursuses (170 sqq. 208 sqq.). An accurate work on the famous men and towns of the valley of the Moselle is put off by the author until he shall have retired to his native town, 382 sqq. 448 sqq. Symmach. ep. I 14: volitat tuus Mosella per manus sinusque multorum, divinis a te versibus consecratus. The poem is printed e. g. in Wernsdorf's poet. latt. min. I p. 192—230. Separate editions by L. Tross (Hamm 1821 and 1824) and E. Böcking (Lat. and German, Berlin 1828. 4. recogn., s. l. et a. = Bonn 1842; the poems on the Moselle by Ausonius and Venantius, Lat. and Germ., with critical and exeg. notes, Annals of the Rhenish Antiquarians, VII Bonn 1845). A critical contribution on the Mosella by C. C. C. Völker, in the Symb. phil. Bonn. (1864) p. 447—454.

l. Eclogarium, a number of astronomical and astrological versifications in epic and elegiac metre, on the names of the stars, days, months, Roman festivals, Greek Agones etc.

m. Epistolarum liber, 25 pieces, in different metres (XVII altogether in prose, some only partly, e. g. XI, XIX, XXI sq.), XIII two Greek hexameters, XII in a jocular mixture of Greek and Latin words and forms (R. Köhler, Ausonius and Macaronic poetry, Rhein. Mus. XII p. 434—436). The collection is arranged according to the persons addressed and consists of real letters (some occasional poems), most of them in a jocular tone and composed subsequently to his consulate (6, 1. 15, 30. 20, 5) and during the author's last stay at Burdigala (cf. 9, 11. 12, 31. 19 extr. 20, 7); but I is addressed to his father, on the birth of a grandson, II (fragmentary) and III to his son Hesperius, IV and XVI (a. 376—378) in the time when A. was tutor to the prince and was in the field (4, 81. 16, 75). IV—VII are addressed to Theon, VIII—XIV to Axius Paulus, XIX—XXV to Pontius Paulinus. To the last three letters which are very lively but reached their address only after the lapse of full three years, we also possess the an-

swers, Paulin. carmin. 10 and 11 in Migne's edition, and in the Bipont edition of Ausonius, p. 342—354.

4. Ausonius became a convert to Christianity, perhaps on receiving a Court appointment, perhaps also in his early years, as he had very devout aunts. He repeatedly professes in his poems his respect for the Christian religion; in the Ephemeris he has a lengthy prayer to Christ, at the beginning of the Id. an Easter prayer, and he repeatedly uses Christian turns of expression. This Christian white-wash is, however, not very deep. The poet knows his Terence, Virgil and Horace much better than the Bible; whenever he speaks in the tone of a Christian, he does so to please others, e. g. in his speech before the pious Gratianus (p. 284. 300. 301), in his letter to the orthodox Paulinus (Ep. 25, 113 sq.) — but his pagan mode of thought asserts itself almost unconsciously in by far a greater number of passages. E. g. Prof. Burd. 26, 12 sqq.: dum remeat illud, iudicis dono dei, commune cum dis saeculum, or when he compares (Id. I 24 sqq.) the division of the throne between three rulers (Valentinian I and his sons Gratianus and Valentinian II a. 375—383) with the Trinity (cf. also Ephem. 2, 15 sqq. Id. 11, 88), or in calling the Emperor deus in several passages, (praef. epigr. ad Theodos. 15: non tutum renuisse deo; cf. grat. act. p. 285. 288. 300 extr. Bip.), or talking of Nemesis (Ep. 24, 51 sqq.) and the invidia fati (Prof. Burd. 13, 10). He is not even quite convinced of the immortality of man as individual, see Par. 15, 9 sq. 22, 15. Prof. Burd. 1, 39 sqq., 22, 22. 23, 13. 26, 7. But nothing is easier to understand in a time of transition than this vacillation. Cf. Böcking, Annals of the Rhenish Antiqu. VII p. 66—68.

5. Symmach. ep. I 21 praises A. for morum gravitas et disciplinarum vetustas; cf. ib. 30: es ingenio placabili inter reliqua virtutum. Idyll. II 43 A. describes himself as tranquillus, clemens, oculis, voce, ore serenus. What he says ib. IV praef. of one of his works, that it was fucatius concinnata quam verius et plus coloris quam suci habens (and venustula magis quam forticula), may be said of all. But that his character was good at the bottom, may be inferred from the piety with which he speaks of his relations especially of his father (though here also he appears vain) and from the attachment of his pupils. His memory was inexhaustible and furnished him with facts, notices and reminiscences in abundance, frequently even where they were quite out of place and supplanted actual thought. He often mentions in how short a time he wrote off a poem. The consequence was that his productions often lack polish. He imitates the various metrical forms with much versatility, but without any fine perception of the details and of the actual character of each. His dactylic lines are generally correct with regard to caesura, and in his Sapphics he observes the strict rules of Horace, but in his iambic lines he admits spondees also in the even feet and is often arbitrary with regard to the shortening of long and the lengthening of short syllabes. Th. Rähse, de re metr. Ausonii, Berlin 1868. 39 pp. See in general P. Bayle, dictionnaire s. v.

C. G. Heyne, censura ingenii et morum Ausonii, in his Opusc. acad. VI p. 22—34. J. C. Demogeot, études historiques et littéraires sur Ausone, Bordeaux 1838. P. G. Deydou, un poète bordelais: Ausone, Bordeaux 1868. 22 pp. G. Kaufmann, in F. Raumer's Hist. Taschenbuch 1869, p. 8—28, 90—92.

6. The earliest mss. are the Vossianus 111 saec. IX (comp. Riese, Anth. lat. II p. XVI—XIX) and the St. Gall ms. 899 with the date 867, which seems, however, rather to be the date of the ms. from which it was copied. A confused list of the mss. is given by Rähse p. 4 sq. In the mss. of Ausonius are also preserved three Sapphic stanzas (de vetustate) by a scholastic author Sulpicius Luperius (Servasius Iunior), and an elegiac complaint on the neglect of studies arising from the pursuit of money. The first poem illustrates the vanity of things in five instances. There are no traces of the Christian religion or phrases in this poem as well as in the Elegy (42 lines); a pagan tone is rather in v. 21: illud (aurum) templorum damno excidioque requirit. The scene is outside Italy, perhaps in Gaul, cf. 29 sq. (romani sermonis egent etc.). There is a terrific description of the appearance of a schoolmaster, v. 31 sqq. Diction and metre are alike prosaic and painful, e. g. v. 27 sq. The usual archaisms mage and fundier are of course not forgotten. These poems are printed e. g. in Wernsdorf's poet. lat. min. III p. 235—241. 408 sq. cf. ib. p. 142—144, and Riese's Anth. lat. 648 sq. (II p. 101—103).

7. In the manner of Aus. is the Tetrastichon authenticum de singulis mensibus, in the cod. Voss. 86, printed in Riese's Anth. lat. 395 (p. 259—261).

8. On the Editions of Ausonius see Böcking, Annals of the Rhenish Antiqu. VII p. 3—11. We mention the edition princeps (Venice 1472. fol.), the Ascensiana (Paris. 1511. 4), Aldina (1517. 8), the ed. by Pulmann (Antwerp 1568. 16.), Jos. Scaliger (with his lectiones Ausonianae Lugd. 1575. Heidelberg 1588 and elsewhere), El. Vinetus (Bordeaux 1580. 1590. 4.), J. Tollius (Amsterdam 1669. 12.), J. B. Souchay (Paris 1730. 4.), ed. Bipontina (1785), W. E. Weber's Corp. poet. lat. p. 1206—1267 (without the gratiarum actio).

415. The requirements of the Christian worship occasioned the composition of Christian hymns. Among the earliest which we possess are those of Damasus (a. 305—384), in which there is a certain tendency to use rhyme. Besides his lyrical poems, we have also epic poems by him, as well as epitaphs; of his prose-writings we possess only letters. Dogmatic works are extant of Pacianus, Optatus, and Philastrius. As Christian writers of this time Aquilius Severus, Latronianus, and others are mentioned.

1. Hieron. de vir. ill. 103: Damasus, romanae urbis episcopus (after a. 366, cf. Amm. XXVII 3, 12 sq.), elegans in versibus componendis ingenium habuit multaque et brevia metro edidit et prope octogenarius sub Theodosio principe (a. 384) mortuus est. Cf. chron. ad a. 2382 = 366. Suid. v. Δάμασος. Hieron. epist. 22, 22: legas . . de virginitate libellos . . papae Damasi . . versu prosaque composita (volumina). 48, 18. Ammian. XXVII 3, 12 sq. and other passages.

2. Verses by Damasus are extant partly in mss., partly in epitaphs (at Rome). The latter have been chiefly collected by de Rossi, Inscriptt. christ. I 329 (p. 146) II. Dam. cultor atque amator, Furius Dionysius Philocalus (above 64, 9), copied with much caligraphic neatness; de Rossi I p. LVI. Most of the verses of Dam. are hexameters, some in elegiac metre; c. 8 consists of iambic dimeters, c. 30 of catalectic dactylic tetrameters. The latter two are rhymed, c. 8 in a free manner (observe v. 3 sq. the rhyme praedicat . . gloria; 11 sq. praeparat . . gaudia), c. 30 is more regular. In his lines in epic metre an arbitrary treatment of metre appears chiefly at the beginning of the line (e. g. sordibus depositis, impium maledicum, prophetam Christi) and at the end (prĕces, frătremque, ĭrenen). 3, 1: haec verbā cecinit; 4, 1: trinā coniunctio mundi; 6, 1 the hexameter: spes, vita, salus, ratio, sapientia, lumen; he has also the synaloephe of a long vowel and hiatus. His subjects are apostles, martyrs, popes, departed Christians (e. g. the mother and sister of D.); c. 2 is an Easter congratulation addressed to the Emperor. In 37 poems D. mentions his own name no less than 27 times. c. 6 belongs to a certain Silvius; see Anth. lat. 689 a. R.

3. Damasi papae opera quae extant . . cum notis Martii Milesii Sarrazanii ed. F. Ubaldin, Rom. 1638. 4. Paris 1672. Damasi carmina sacra . . illustr. ab A. Rivino, Lips. 1652. Aucta et illustr. ab A. M. Merenda, Rom. 1754. fol. In Gallandi bibl. patr. VI. Maittaire, opera veterum poett. latt. (2 vols. London 1713 fol.), Migne's Patrolog. XIII p. 347—375 (Epistolae). 375—417; opera apocrypha p. 423—441.

On Damasus see e. g. the prolegomena of Merenda (ap. Migne XIII p. 109—347 cf. p. 417—423). R. Ceillier, hist. génér. VI p. 454—477. Hölscher, de Damasi et Hilarii qui feruntur hymnis sacris, Münster 1858. 4. A. Couret, de Damasi . . carminibus, Grenoble 1870. 79 pp.

4. Hieron. vir. ill. 106: Pacianus, in Pyrenaei iugis Barcilonae episcopus castitate et eloquentia et tam vita quam sermone clarus, scripsit varia opuscula, de quibus est Cervus (?) et Contra Novatianos. sub Theodosio principe (a. 291) iam ultima senectute mortuus est. He was father to Flavius Dexter. The work Contra Nov., a sermon exhorting to do penance, and other works, are extant; see Paciani opera studio Jo. Tilii, Paris 1538, in the Bibl. patr. max. IV p. 305, in Gallandi bibl. patr. VII p. 257 sqq., and in Migne's Patrolog. XIII. On P. cf. R. Ceillier VI p. 713—739.

5. Hieron. vir. ill. 110: Optatus Afer, episcopus Milevitanus, ex parte catholica, scripsit, Valentiniano et Valente principibus adversum Donatianae partis calumniam libros VI (Var.: VII). Editions: 1549 fol. Ed. Fr. Balduinus, Paris 1563, and elsewhere. Opera et studio L. Ellies du Pin, Paris. 1700 fol. and elsewhere. In Gallandi bibl. patr. V p. 461 sqq. Cur. F. Oberthür, Würzburg 1790. In Migne's Patrolog. XI.

6. Augustin. de haeres. praef.: Philastrius quidam Brixiensis episcopus, quem cum sancto Ambrosio Mediolani etiam ipse vidi, scripsit hinc librum nec illas haereses praetermittens quae in populo iudaeo fuerunt ante adventum domini easque XXVIII commemoravit et post dom. adv. CXXVIII scripsit hinc etiam graece episcopus Cyprius Epiphanius, availing himself of Philastrius. Philastri de haeresibus liber in Migne's Patrol. XII and especially in Fr. Oehler's Corpus haeresiologicum I (Berlin 1856) p. 1—185. Cf. R. Ceillier, hist. gén. VI p. 739—751. Philastrius was succeeded by Gaudentius, in the time of Ambrosius.

7. Hieron. vir. ill. 111: Aquilius Severus in Hispania, de genere illius Severi ad quem Lactantii duo epistolarum (in)scribuntur libri (above 393, 2), composuit volumen quasi ὁδοιπορικὸν totius suae vitae statum continens tam prosa quam versibus, quod vocavit Κατασκοφὴν sive Πτῖραν, et sub Valentiniano principe obiit.

8. Hieron. vir. ill. 122: Latronianus, provinciae Hispaniae, valde eruditus et in metrico opere veteribus comparandus, caesus est Treveris cum Priscilliano (a. 385; cf. Sulpic. Sev. chron. II 51, 3). . . extant eius ingenii opera diversis metris edita. See above 410, 4.

9. Hieron. vir. ill. 123: Tiberianus Baeticus scripsit pro suspicione qua cum Priscilliano accusabatur haereseos apologeticum tumenti compositoque sermone.

416. In about this time two Latin versions of Dictys and of Josephus were executed. The Latin version of the fabulous history of the Trojan war by the pretended Cretan Dictys bears the name of a certain Septimius and is in an artificial diction, borrowed from all sides, abounding in archaisms, poetical phrases, and late formations. Among the earlier models Sallust is chiefly imitated. The translation of Josephus' History of the Jewish war, which was long, though erroneously, considered the work of Hegesippus, is of the time of Ambrosius, if not indeed by him. The original work has been much abridged in some parts, and rhetorically enlarged upon in others; the Christian point of view of the translator is strongly discernible. To this time we may also assign the earliest Latin translation of the Bible (Itala), and the translation of Pelagonius is not much later.

1. Suidas s. v. *Δίκτυς* (I p. 1369 sq. Bnh.) *Δίκτυς ἱστορικός. ἔγραψεν Ἐφημερίδα. ἔστι δὲ τὰ μεθ' Ὅμηρον καταλογάδην ἐν βιβλίοις θ', Ἰταλικὰ τρωϊκοῦ διακόσμου. οὗτος ἔγραψε τὰ περὶ ἁρπαγῆς Ἑλένης καὶ περὶ Μενελάου καὶ πάσης Ἰλιακῆς ὑποθέσεως.* Eudocia (p. 128) mentions also the translator (*Σεπτημῖνός τις ῥωμαῖος σοφὸς . . εἰς τὴν ῥωμαϊκὴν φωνὴν μετήνεγκεν*). Malala inserted an abridgment of the work to his Chronology, and it was likewise used by other Byzantine writers as a historical source. Suidas relates of the work l. l.: *ὅτι ἐπὶ Κλαυδίου τῆς Κρήτης ὑπὸ σεισμοῦ κατενεχθείσης καὶ πολλῶν τάφων ἀνεωχθέντων εὑρέθη ἐν ἑνὶ τούτων τὸ σύνταγμα τῆς ἱστορίας Δίκτυος, τὸν τρωϊκὸν περιέχον πόλεμον, ὅπερ λαβὼν Κλαύδιος ἐξέδωκε γράφεσθαι.* This agrees with the 'prologus' of the Latin version, 2. 4 sqq. Meister: Dictys . . fuit socius Idomenei . . et Merionis, . . a quibus ordinatus est ut annales belli troiani conscriberet. igitur de toto bello X (Dederich and Meister: IX) volumina in tilias digessit phoeniccis litteris. quae . . praecepit moriens ut secum sepelirentur. . . verum . . tertio decimo anno Neronis imperii (a. 66 = 819 V. C.) in Gnoso civitate terrae motus facti etc. pastores . . ad suum dominum Eupraxidem . . pertulerunt. qui . . litteras Rutilio Rufo, illius insulae (Creta) tunc consulari, obtulit. ille . . ad Neronem oblata sibi transmisit. . . Nero . . iussit in graecum sermonem ista transferri. . . quorum seriem qui sequitur textus ostendit. The writer states repeatedly (I 13. V 17. VI 10) that he himself was an eyewitness of all the events. This work belongs to the fictitious literature which grew up in the first century of the Christian era (cf. E. Zeller, Lectures p. 297 sqq. Hercher, on Ptol. Chennus, in Fleckeisen's Jahrb. Suppl. 1855, p. 276 sqq. E. Rohde, on Lucian's *Λούκιος* p. 21). The Greek original might therefore belong to that time. But even in the fifteenth century Lascaris could not find it, and H. Dunger (the Legend of the Trojan war 1869, p. 18 sq.) is therefore inclined to believe that it never existed, just as in the case of Dares. Cf. above 396, 9 and below 459, 17.

2. To the preface of his (pretended?) Greek original the translator has added another, in which most statements of the first are reiterated so that his preface seems to have been intended to fill the place of the other. It was, however, more exposed to danger owing to its position and is, therefore, omitted in many mss. The principal statements are contained in the following extract: L. (Var.: Q.) Septimius Q. Aradio s. d. Ephemerida belli troiani Dictys Cretensis . . conscripsit litteris punicis etc. nobis cum in manus forte libelli venissent avidos verae historiae cupido incessit ea uti erant latine disserere, non magis confisi ingenio quam ut otiosi animi desidiam discuteremus. itaque priorum quinque voluminum . . eundem numerum servavimus; residua quattuor de reditu Graecorum in unum redegimus atque ad te misimus. tu, Rufine mi, ut par est, fave coeptis.. The person addressed is, therefore, called Q. Aradius Rufinus. A certain Aradius Rufinus was praef. urbis a. 304, and then twice again a. 312 (Chronographer of 354, p. 628 Mo.) and is possibly identical with the Cons. Rufinus of a. 316; another

(perhaps his son or grandson) is mentioned by Ammian. XXIII 1, 4: Rufinum Aradium comitem orientis in locum avunculi sui Iuliani recens defuncti provexit (Julian, a. 363). Cf. Cod. Theod. X 19, 2. We should probably refer to the first the epigram by the father of Symmachus (Symm. Ep. I 2) in which Ar. Ruf. is e. g. styled unus amor cunctis et praesidium trepidorum. One of these two seems to be the person addressed by Septimius, for whom we should rather look among the rhetoricians of the period than among high functionaries, as Perizonius does.

3. With regard to the age of Septimius, the person whom he addresses (see n. 2) allows us merely to choose between the beginning of the fourth century and the second half of it. This suits also his diction which indeed, as Dederich shows p. XXXVIII—LVI, and in his Gloss. Sept. p. 241 sqq. (see also Perizonius ib. p. LXXXVI sq.) resembles in some details the style of Apuleius (p. XLXIII—LIV), but also the pretended Hegesippus, Ammianus, Sulpicius Severus, Orosius and others. We decide in favour of the time of Theodosius I. The speeches (espec. II 21 sqq. V 2) are evident imitations of the style of Sallust. Besides Sallust, the writer avails himself also of Cornelius Nepos, Livy und others.

4. The Latin translation by Septimius was much used in the Middle Ages (especially to supplement Dares; see H. Dunger. the Legend of the Trojan war p. 26. 32. 37—39. 59 sq., also 69 sq.) and therefore frequently copied. The earliest and best ms. is the Sangallensis 205 saec. IX. In the editions the work is commonly joined with Dares. Colon. 1470 or 1475. Mediol. 1477 fol. Ed. Cratander, Basil. 1529. Later ed. by Jos. Mercerius (Paris 1618. Amstel. 1631), Anna Tan. Fabri filia (Paris 1680. Amstel. 1702. 4.), U. Obrecht (cura S. Artopoei, Argentor. 1691), L. Smids (Amstelod. 1702. 4.), and especially A. Dederich (Bonn 1832; a cheaper ed. Bonn 1837; CXVIII and 544 sqq.), where also (p. LVII—CXVII) Iac. Perizonii dissertatio de D. Cr. etc. Cf. G. F. Hildebrand in Jahn's Jhbb. XXIII p. 278 sqq. Recogn. Ferd. Meister, Leipzig 1872.

6. The Heading is in the Cassel ms. Iosephi liber I etc. Hence arose Ioseppus, Iosippus, Aegesippus, Egesippus, Hegesippus. The Greek original is partly abridged (B. V = Joseph. V—VII), partly enlarged upon from other (chiefly Roman) sources and with rhetorical additions, also coloured over so as to give it a Christian appearance (e. g. II 12. III 2. IV 5). Constantinople is the Imperial residence, III 5; and composition about the end of saec. IV may be inferred from V 15, 24 sqq. This is the time of Ambrosius, to whom the work is ascribed in the Milan and other mss. This would also agree with the rhetorical education of the author and his acquaintance with Sallust, also with some details of diction. It cannot be proved that St. Jerome's translation of the Bible was used, but it may be shown that Isidore employed the translation of Josephus. J. Caesar in Weber's edition p. 390—399.

7. On the mss. of this translation of Josephus, among which the Milan (saec. VII) and Cassel (saec. VIII—IX) mss. are the best, see Caesar p. 399—403.

8. Editio princeps Paris 1510. Then 1511. 1524. Colon. 1525. 1530. 1544. Ed. Cornelius Gualtherus Gaudavensis, Colon. 1559. 1575. In the Bibl. patr. maxima (1677) V p. 1123—1209; in Gallandi bibl. patr. (Ven. 1788) VII p. 653—771, and Migne's Patrol. curs. XV (1845). p. 1962—2206. A critical edition by C. F. Weber: Hegesippus qui dicitur s. Eges. de bello iudaico, ope cod. Cassell. recognitus; opus morte Weberi interruptum absolvit C. I. Caesar, Marburg 1864, 404 pp. 4. (originally in 8 programs of the University of Marburg, 1857—1864).

9. Other translations made in this time. Symmach. ep. III 11 (Naucellio): opusculi tui quo prisca cuiusque reip. ex libro graeco in latinum transtulisti.

10. A Latin translation of the apocryphal book of Esra from the Greek is quoted by Tertullian and others; see A. Hilgenfeld, Messias Iudaeorum (Lips. 1869) p. XXII sqq.

11. Of great importance for our knowledge of vulgar Latin is a literal translation of the Bible from the Greek of the LXX made before St. Jerome (Itala), which for Leviticus and Numeri was edited e codice perantiquo Ashburnhamiense London 1868. Bibliorum sacr. latinae versiones antiquae, sen vetus italica etc. opera et studio P. Habatier, Paris 1751. 3 vols. fol. Latinae vet. test. versionis antehieronymianae fragmenta e cod. Fuldensi aucta ed. E. Ranke, Marburg 1856; and Papalimpsestorum Wirceburgensium (of saec. V) antiquissimae vet. test. versionis latinae (probably by two authors) fragmenta; e cod. rescr. eruit E. R. Vienna 1871. Fr. Kaulen, History of the Vulgate, Mayence 1868; A Manual on the Vulgate, being a Systematic collection of the peculiarities of its Latin, Mayence 1870. 280 pp. H. Rönsch, Itala and Vulgata, the idioms of the early Itala and the Catholic Vulgata, Marburg 1869.

12. For St. Jerome's and Rufinus' translations of the Bible see below 427 sq.

13. We may probably assign to the commencement of the fifth century the translation of Pelagonius' work on veterinary art, which we owe to palimpsests from Bobbio. He quotes Columella and had probably written in the time of Constantine. In the Hippiatrici, Paris 1530 fol., Basil. 1537. 4. Pelagonii veterinaria ex Riccardiano codice excripta ab Ios. Sarchiano nunc primum edita cura C. Cionii, Florent. 1826. On this see also Wiener Jahrb. XXVI (1824), Anzeigebl. p. 25 sqq. 32 sqq. XLIV (1828) p. 141 sqq. Anzeigebl. p. 46 sqq. H. Molini, sopra la veterinaria di P., Padua 1828. F. Osann, quaedam de Pelagonio Hippiatricorum scriptore, Giessen 1843. 4.

b) The time of Theodosius I. A. 379 sqq.

417. Of the Emperors who ruled in the last twenty years of the fourth century only Gratianus (a. 359—383) may be said to have taken interest in literature. Theodosius I. (a. 346—395), chiefly a warrior, like Trajan, spent his vigour partly in his wars against the enemies who threatened the Empire on the East and North frontiers, and against usurpers (Maximus and Eugenius), partly in his endeavours to promote the orthodox Nicaean creed at the expense of polytheism and of the Arian doctrine. Polytheism became gradually extinct. Some circles, e. g. at Rome the families of Symmachus and Nicomachus, maintained their interest in the old literature and remained faithful to the old faith. But their endeavours were isolated and fruitless; Symmachus and Ammianus were in fact the last representatives of polytheism in literature. The number and importance of the Christian writers were of course daily increasing. Above all we discern the towering figure of Ambrosius. Hieronymus was indeed unequalled in varied knowledge and literary exertion. The beginning of the literary activity of St. Augustine belongs likewise to this time. Prudentius wrote poems on Christian subjects in various metres, and not long after him Sulpicius Severus and Orosius treated history from the Christian point of view. Dogmatic influences asserted their power even in the department of history and in the interpretation of biblical events and characters by allegorical or symbolical views. The medical part of literature consists in translations of Greek works (Theodorus Priscianus) or the superstitious enlarging of earlier Latin works (Marcellus Empiricus, Sex. Placitus). This period possessed, besides Vegetius, only rhetoricians like Pacatus and grammarians like Servius and Ti. Donatus.

1. Victor Epit. 47, 4: fuit Gratianus (see above 395, a) litteris haud mediocriter institutus (cf. 417, 1): carmen facere, ornate loqui, explicare controversias rhetorum more. Auson. epigr. 1, 5 (bellandi fandique potens Augustus) and grat. act. p. 297. Symmach. panegyr. Grat. 7. Ep. X 21: Musis in palatio loca, lautia tu dedisti. Cf. Cod. Theod. XIII 13, 11. Sozom. VII 1: *νόμον ἔθετο μετ' ἀδείας ἑκάστους θρησκεύειν ὡς βούλονται, καὶ ἐκκλησιάζειν, πλὴν Μανιχαίων καὶ τῶν τὰ Φωτεινοῦ καὶ Εὐνομίου φρονούντων.* Symmach. ep. X 61: nil ille decerpsit sacrarum virginum privilegiis, decrevit nobilibus sacerdotia, ro-

manis caerimoniis non negavit impensas, . . cumque alias religiones ipse sequeretur has servavit imperio.

2. Victor epit. 48, 9 on Theodosius (above 395, 2): simplicia ingenia aeque diligere, erudita mirari, sed innoxia. Theodos. ad Ausonium (Auson. opp. p. 335 Bip.): amor meus qui in te est et admiratio ingenii atque eruditionis tuae .. fecit, parens iucundissime, ut .. familiarem sermonem autographum ad te transmitterem, postulans pro iure . . privatae inter nos caritatis ne fraudari me scriptorum tuorum lectione patiaris, quae olim mihi cognita et iam per tempus oblita rursum desidero. Auson. epigr. praef. 9 sq.: scribere me Augustus iubet et mea carmina poscit paene rogans. Libanius and Themistius as well as Symmachus were never troubled by their Emperor, notwithstanding his orthodox zeal, nay were even esteemed and promoted by him. Symmach. ep. V 35: romanae iuventutis magistris subsidia sollemnis alimoniae detracta sunt. Pet. Erasm. Müller, comm. hist. de genio, moribus et luxu aevi Theodosiani, 2 partes, Copenhagen 1797. H. Richter, on the West-Roman Empire (1865) p. 407 sqq. A. de Broglie, l'église et l'empire romain au IVe siècle; III: Valentinien et Theodose, Paris 1866. 2 vols. 464 and 533 pp. G. R. Sievers, Studies on the History of the Roman Emperors (1870) p. 281—334.

418. A prominent position among the adherents of the old faith was occupied in three generations by the family of Symmachus, the most famous of whom is the middle one, Q. Aurelius Symmachus (c. 350—420), Consul 391. Of a very honourable character, but without energy and possessed of all the prejudices of a Roman patrician, he himself had not much faith in the continuation of his cause. His fluency and elegance both in oral expression and literary composition was acknowledged even by his adversaries. We possess specimens of his youthful eloquence in three panegyric speeches (mostly extant) on Valentinian I and his son, young Gratianus; they are in the manner of the other Panegyrics, but decidedly inferior to the better among them in point of matter. In his mature years we possess large fragments of six speeches in the Senate. His letters are very important; they were collected by his son and edited in ten books, in imitation of the collection of Pliny the younger. Their smooth style and want of meaning impress us with an idea of the feebleness of the writer and his circle. The official correspondence in the tenth book is the most interesting part of the work, especially the petition for the restoration of the altar of Victory in the Hall of the Senate, which provoked Ambrosius and Prudentius to write replies.

1. The father of the orator. Orelli 1186: Lucio Aur. Avianio Symmacho v. c. praefecto urbi (a. 364 according to cod. Theod. e. g. I 6, 2; cf. Symm. Ep. II 44. Ammian. XXVII 3, 3: inter praecipua nominandus exempla doctrinarum et modestiae), consuli (about 376? cf. n. 4), pro praefectis praetorio in urbe Roma finitimisque provinciis, praefecto annonae urbis Romae, pontifici maiori, Quindecemviro s. f., multis legationibus pro ampl. ord. desideriis apud divos principes functo (e. g. with Constantius, Ammian. XXI 12, 24), qui primus in senatu sententiam rogari solitus auctoritate, prudentia atq. eloquentia . . magnitudinem loci eius inpleverit, auro inlustrem statuam etc. (a. 377). A. 381 or 382 he was still alive; see Symmach. ep. I 101. Cf. I 44: egit ille senatui gratias ea facundiae gravitate qua notus est. A letter from him to his son ep. I 2, in which he says: quia nihil est quod agam et, si nihil agam, subit me maiorum meorum misera recordatio, inveni quod illis libellis quos nuper dictaveram possimus adicere. He means five (mediocre) epigrams in six hexameters each, on important men of his time, in imitation of Varro's Hebdomades (vol. I p. 244). Similar compositions are found Anth. lat. 831—849. 851—855 R. A letter of his son to him Ep. I 1. 3—12.

2. Orelli 1187 (of Rome): Q. Aur. Symmacho v. c., Quaest. (Epp. IX 119), Praet. (Epp. VIII 14), Pontifici maiori (cf. Epp. I 47. 49. 51. IX 108. 128 sq.), correctori Lucaniae et Brittiorum (a. 365, see Cod. Theod. VIII 5, 25), comiti ordinis tertii, procons. Africae (a. 373, Cod. Theod. XII 1, 73; cf. Renier Inscr. de l'Alg., 2740. Symm. ep. VIII 5, 20. X 1), praef. urb. (a. 384 and 418 sq.), cos. ordinario (a. 391, cf. Epp. II 62—64. 81. V 15. IX 130), oratori disertissimo. His wife was Rusticiana (ep. X 54, cf. Sidon. Ap. ep. II 10), the daughter of Orfitus (ep. IX 131. X 54), probably the praef. urbi a. 355—359, and by her he had a daughter and one (only, see ep. IV 5. V 68. VI 7. 41.) son Q. Fab. Memmius Symmachus (Orelli 1187 f.), who obtained during his father's life-time the Quaestorship (e. g. quaestorium parvuli nostri munus, ep. V 22) and Praetorship (praet. urb.), received a rhetorical education (ep. VI 34 cf. 61. VII 9. VIII 69. IV 20), and was married to the granddaughter of the elder Nicomachus Flavianus (Orelli-Henzen 5593, a. 431; cf. ib. 1188), while Symmachus' daughter was married to the uncle of his daughter-in-law, the younger Nicomachus Flavianus (below 421, 1 sq.). The daughter's children: dulcissimi nepotes, Ep. VI 40; nepticula mea Galla ib. VI 32. Probably descendants of the son were the Q. Aurelii Symmachi, who were Consuls a. 446, 485, 522 (Q. Aur. Anicius Symm.). The orator resided at Rome on the mons Caelius (Epp. VII 18 cf. 19); but had numerous other estates, e. g. near Formiae, Cora, in the Laurens ager, near Rome (suburbanum) and in Sicily (IX 51) and Africa (VII 66). Two brothers died before him (I 46. 101. III 6. 19).

3. The tirocinium of the orator Symm. in Germany together with Ausonius; see above 414, 1. Cf. Epist. I 14. in Valent. II 6, 8. A Gallic professor of eloquence; see above 387, 10. As Symm● was a

promising boy about a. 360 (Liban. epist. 923), he appears to be born at the latest about 350. He cannot have died before 420, as he took a part as praef. urbi in the confusion that ensued after the death of pope Zosimus († 26 Dec. 418) in the contest between Eulalius and Bonifacius I (Ep. X 71—83). With regard to his health Symm. has almost as many complaints as Fronto, especially as to podagra and chiragra.

4. Speeches by Symmachus (but none of them complete) have been preserved in a Milan palimpsest saec. VI edited by A. Mai (Mediol. 1815 = Frankf. 1816 and in Niebuhr's ed. of Fronto, Berol. 1816), subsequently augmented from a cod. Vatic. and Bobiens. in Mai's iuris civ. anteiust. reliqq. (Rome 1823), in the Scriptor. vett. nova coll. T. I 4 and in Mai's ed. of Cic. de rep. (Rome 1846). H. C. A. Eichstädt, de Symm. oratt. partic. ab A. Maio in lucem protr., Jena 1816. 4. H. Meyer, oratt. rom. fragm.[2] p. 627—636. These pieces belong to the following nine speeches: Two speeches in praise of Valentinian I, delivered in Gaul, the one at the earliest a. 368 (on account of c. 9 lustrum imperialium annorum), the other on the Emperor's third Consulate, a. 370, both in a bombastic youthful style and in some places offending good taste (e. g. I 1 caesam glaciem potare; I 3 Gratianus is called seminarium principatus et vena regalis; II 12: navigia ripam momorderunt). 3. A speech in praise of young Augustus Gratianus, i. e. delivered at the earliest about the close of 367, before Gratianus at Treves. 4—5 Speeches in the Senate, merely short sentences (at best four chapters), viz. 4. on introducing a Consul, about the usual method of electing a Consul (appointment by the Emperor in agreement with the recommendation — postulation — of the Senate); 5. to return thanks for his father's appointment as Consul, after the death of Valentinian I, a. 376 or 377; 6. to recommend young Trygetius for the quaetorship (cf. Ep. I 44. 52). 7. Request (petitio cf. Ep. V 43) to admit the son of Julianus Rusticus (see n. 6), Synesius, into the Senate; 8. to recommend Severus, a recently appointed Senator; 9. to recommend Valerius Fortunatus for the quaestorship (edited by Mai 1823).

5. In Symmachus' letters we find besides mentions of two Speeches in the Senate, quarum una, ad Polybii filium pertinens, ex recenti negotio nata est, altera dudum, cum res in curia agitaretur, a me parata, nunc opere largiore aucta processit; huic argumentum est repudiata censura (the omission of the renewed adoption of it), quam tunc totius senatus fugavit auctoritas (Ep. IV 45). Cf. Ep. IV 29. V 9 (una ad urbanos fasces resultantem candidatum tenuit, alteri argumentum dedit iam pridem decreto senatus improbata censura). I 105 (libellus quo nuper in senatu sustuli civium secunda suffragia). VII 58. To these we may add his speech in praise of the Usurper Maximus (Ep. II 31), which excited the wrath of Theodosius (post amaros casus orationum mearum, Ep. VIII 69 cf. Cassiod. hist. trip. IX 23. Socr. h. e. V 14. Suid. v. *καθοσίωσις*) and caused Symm. to write conciliating epistles and laudes Theodosii (Ep. II 13). Ep. IV 64: nec tantum epistulas

poscis, oratiunculas quoque nostras non editas deferri in manus tuas praecipis. . . misi igitur ex recentioribus numero quinque.

6. The Letters are arranged according to the receivers, frequently in violation of chronological order. B. I contains the letters to his father (1—12), Ausonius (13—43), Agorio Praetextato (44—55. 74), (Anicio) Probo (56—61), Celsino Titiano fratri (62—73), Hesperio (75—88), Antonio (below 419, 2), Syagrio (94—107. II 14 sq. 49). The second book contains almost exclusively letters to Flavianus frater (below 421, 1). B. III: Iuliano Rustico (1—9), Naucellio (10—16), Gregorio (below 419, 3), Mariniano (23—29), Ambrosio (30—37), Hilario (38—42), Silurio (43—45), Eutropio (46—53), Ricomeri (54—70), Timasio (71—73), Promoto (74—80), Rufino (81—91). B. IV: Stiliconi (1—14), Batoni (15 sq.), Protadio (17—34), Minervio (35—49), Florentino (50—57), Eupraxio (58—65), Eusignio (66—84). B. V: Hierophanti (1—3), Theodoro (4—16), Magnillo (16—33), Hephaestioni (34—37), Neoterio (38—46), Felici (47—54), Sallustio (55—57), Paterno (58—66), Olybrio et Probino (67—71), Licinio (72—77), Helpidio (78—98). B. VI: the letters Nicomachi filiis, to the son-in-law of Symm. and his brother. B. VII: Symmacho filio (1—15), Attalo (16—25), Macedonio (26—29), Attico (30—34), Decio (35—60), Patricio (61—66), Alypio (67—71), fratribus (72—80), Messalae (81—92), Longimano (93—101), Petronio et Patruino (102—104), Patruino (105—128. VIII 18 sq.), Sibidio (129—131). B. VIII contains isolated letters to many persons, and some to unknown addresses, which is even more frequent in the ninth book. In the tenth book we have his official correspondence with Theodosius sen., Gratianus Aug., Valentinianus, Theodosius, Honorius; especially as praef. urbi (22—83). He rarely inserts letters from his correspondents, except one by his father (I 2), by Ausonius (I 32) and the Imperial Decrees X 72 sqq.

7. In spite of the high position of the writer and of most of his correspondents these letters do not add much to our knowledge of the history of the time (cassa rebus oratio, Ep. III 10, cf. II 35). Even gossip is not much represented in this collection, only in b. VI we find some (cf. I 46. II 36. 57), and even business letters would not be numerous if not the purchase of race-horses, gladiators and rare animals (VI 43. IX 132. 125. X 19) roused Sym.'s pen to an almost feverish activity. The letters of introduction are almost numberless (Ep. IV 48: litteras nonnullis humanitate praestamus), the intercessions in favour of persons in whom the writer is somehow interested (I 64: commendari a me episcopum forte mireris. causa istud, non secta, persuasit; cf. VII 51: trado sancto pectori tuo . . Severum, episcopum omnium sectarum attestatione laudabilem), even begging letters (e. g. IV 67. VII 116) and wooing in the name of others (IX 7. 43. 49). There are, besides, congratulations, letters of condolence, deaths, invitations, journeys, the writer's and his friends' health, dearth, etc., and frequent complaints of the scarcity or brevity of his friends' letters, or apologies concerning such charges brought against the writer by others. Repe-

titions are not scarce, e. g. the sentence that a friend who goes away ought to be the first to write, occurs ten times (III 3. IV 23. V 30. 70. 73. VI 60. VIII 56. 60. 63. IX 63). VII 81. 83. 89 the same is addressed over again to the same person; V 54 and 66 the same is written to different persons. In the same way a number of expressions (e. g. stilus, paginae, summates, delenimentum) recur frequently. and the letters often begin with a general sentence. In general, however, it is evident that Symm. endeavours to diversify his expressions, and his letters are a collection of polite and neat phrases. See above 45, 9 [Add.].

8. Ep. V 85 (to Helpidius): quod epistulas meas condis amoris est tui, qui describenda nescit eligere. . . nimis vereor ne ista simplicitas incidat in lectorem alterum, tibi disparem. quare velim tibi habeas quae incogitata proferimus; licet eadem mei quoque librarii servata dicantur. Cf. V 86: si quid horum quae apud te incuriosius loquor cuipiam lectori nauseam moverit, non tam in scribendo neglegentia displicebit. It may therefore be admitted that these letters were originally written with a view to publication. But their rude state may tend to show that they were not published by the author himself. Even mere scraps have been admitted, e. g. VIII 71 sq. two sketches of an invitation to his son's inauguration of his praetorship. This renders it probable that his son edited the collection.

9. The chief ms. of the letters is Paris. 8623 saec. X; see O. Clason, de Symm. epp. codice Par., Bonn 1867. This may be hoped to be the fore-runner of a critical edition, for which we should willingly sacrifice several dozens of worthless treatises on Horace. Editions: ex off. J. Schotti, Argent. 1510. 4. Basil. 1549. Cura Fr. Iureti, Paris. 1580. 1604. 4. rec. et auxit J. Lectius, Genev. 1587. 1598 and elsewhere. E rec. C. Scioppii, Mogunt. 1608. 4. Ex rec. J. Ph. Parei (with Lexicon Symm.), Neustadt a. d. H. 1617. Frankf. 1642. 1651. Lastly in Migne's Patrol. XVIII (Paris 1848) p. 145—406.

Critical contributions by C. F. W. Müller (Jahn's Jahrbb. 73, p. 324—334) and C. Schenkl (the Excerpts from S. letters in the Spec. hist. of Vincent. Bell., Ztschr. f. d. östreich. Gymn. 1860, p. 412—416).

10. Verses of Symm. Epist. I 1 (hexameters and distichs). 8 (Anacreontea). Vergilius noster (vates) Ep. I 1. 9. paneg. Grat. 9. Flaccus tuus (of the father) ep. I 4.

11. Macrob. V 1, 7: (genus dicendi) pingue et floridum, in quo Plinius Sec. quondam et nunc nullo veterum minor noster Symmachus luxuriatur. Prudent. c. Symm. I 632 sqq.: o linguam miro verborum fonte fluentem, romani decus eloquii etc. II praef. 55 sqq.: tanti . . viri, quo nunc nemo disertior etc. Ap. Sidon. Ep. I 1: Q. Symmachi rotunditatem. The Speeches are generally written in brief and harmonious sentences and are well decorated with rhetorical ornaments. The letters likewise bear an oratorical colouring, especially in endeavouring

to avoid technical expressions (e. g. acta Senatus) as ignoble. Though Symmachus' diction aims at classicality, he intentionally admits modern expressions. Cf. such formations of words as genialitas, optimitas, placiditas, autumnitas, incentor, edecimo, exambio; and phrases like fors fuat an (ut), quin immo, incoram; constructions like fungi officium, honoris tui delector, sollicitor tarditatis, bonarum artium spectatus, the frequent use of quod after verb. sent. et declarandi (e. g. VIII 46. IX 10. 39. X 24. 78), aliquanti servi etc. Cf. Ep. III 11: trahit nos usus temporis in argutias plausibilis sermonis. quare aequius admitte linguam saeculi nostri et deesse huic epistulae atticam sanitatem boni consule. . . te non paeniteat scriptorum meorum ferre novitatem. III 44: ἀρχαϊσμὸν scribendi non invitus adfecto. . . praestat Tullium sequi.

12. As man Symm. reminds us of Cicero; he was of blameless moral purity, benevolent and always ready to help, a good father, easily reconciled (Ep. VII 100. 128), pliable so as to become anxious and sensitive. This pliability assumed also the appearance of egotism; though rich, he soon called out about oppression (impressio), when the need of the time threatened to disturb his usual comfort; with regard to himself and his friends the questions of right were not to be strained. His anxiety never allowed him to speak of anything joyful without a *praefiscine:* praefata dei (numinum, fortunae, divinitatis) venia or praefato (praemisso) divinitatis honore (favore). Cf. also Ep. I 49. VI 40. Besides this superstition he had all the overbearing and arrogance of a Roman and of an aristocrat. Ep. II 46: in bonam partem traho quod Saxonum numerus morte contractus intra summam decretam populi voluptatibus stetit, ne nostrae editioni . . abscederet. nam quando prohibuisset privata custodia desperatae gentis impias manus, cum XXIX fractas sine laqueo fauces primus ludi gladiatorii dies viderit? Ep. I 3: Bais . . otiabar. eo postquam rumor allatus est terrae filios convenire, oppido cavimus ne sobriam solitudinem nostram sodalitas plebeia fuscaret. I 52: pars melior humani generis senatus (cf. p. Sever. I: apud nobilissimos humani generis). Yet he was fully aware of the miserable character of that assembly; cf. VI 22. VIII 19. X 12. On the other hand his pride does not allow him to crouch to the powerful men of the Imperial Court (Ep. IX 88. X 61) and even towards the Emperor he shows a noble candour (Ep. X 34. 41. 43. 61). He cannot, however, be credited with political sagacity.

13. Of his time Symm. speaks differently according to his humour and the position of the person addressed. He sometimes praises (bonorum) temporum iustitia, clementia, aequitas, felicitas, serenissima tempora, saeculi humanitas and that it was virtuti amicum, sometimes he complains of the prevailing arbitrariness and injustice. On the whole his heart belongs to the glorious past and thus also to the belief of the ancestors, with which Rome was great. For his own person he does not make much use of polytheism; he rarely mentions individual gods (love teste, Ep. IX 92), but either dii in general or caelestes, nu-

mina, divina, or deus, fortuna, mens divina etc.; with Christians he even condescends to the declaration: in eligendo episcopo dei omnipotentis expectandum esse iudicium (Ep. X 71). He is aware of the want of zeal in his own host (I 51) and is himself so little free from scepticism (si innocentiam divina respiciunt, VIII 18 cf. ib. 6: nihil curare caelestes, a qua opinione dissentio. IX 61: quid interest qua quisque prudentia verum inquirat? uno itinere non potest perveniri ad tam grande secretum) that his attempt to proceed against the Vestal virgin Primigenia (IX 128 sq.) appears both inconsistent and out of keeping with the time. But the old belief is in his eyes a standard, round which it is necessary to rally openly: nunc aris deesse Romanos genus est ambiendi (I 51). He despairs of obtaining for his belief its former universal sway, and merely prays for toleration and freedom from persecution in his celebrated relatio to Valentinian II and his colleague concerning the altar of Victory (Ep. X 61), which is excellent in point of style and touching as an appeal in need (e. g.: repetimus religionum statum qui reip. diu profuit. . . praestate, oro vos, ut ea quae pueri suscepimus senes posteris relinquamus), and which it would be difficult to refute, but for the statement that the endangered position of the Empire was due to the neglect of religion, i. e. to the adoption of Christianity. The successful replies of Ambrosius in his Epist. 17, 18 (Migne, Patrol. XVI p. 961—982). Villemain, Mélanges II p. 36 sqq. H. Richter, the West-Roman Empire p. 550 sqq. 587 sqq. 599 sq. In the contest between Eulalius and Bonifacius, Symmachus conducted himself as impartially as possible (ab impugnatione et favore ambarum partium, ut decebat, credidit temperandum X 76), and even the partisans of the one side admit that his falsidica relatio arose merely from his being disciplinae et religionis inscius (Ep. X 74).

14. J. Gothofredus, vita Symmachi, before Pareus' lex Symm. C. G. Heyne, censura ingenii et morum Symm., Opusc. ac. VI p. 6–18. Susiana (von Suse) ad Symm. ed. J. Gurlitt, Hamburg 1816—1818. 4. E. Morin, étude sur la vie et les écrits de S., Paris 1847. J. Burckhardt, Constantine p. 491—497.

419. Symmachus himself mentions among the orators of his time (Anicius) Iulianus, Antonius, Gregorius, and Severus. We possess only the panegyric on Theodosius I delivered a. 389 in the Senate at Rome by the rhetorician Latinus Drepanius Pacatus, a younger friend and countryman of Ausonius. It is remarkable for the rich information it contains and its lively diction, which also attests the author's familiarity with classical literature.

1. Symm. Ep. I 43 to Ausonius: scis in illo forensi pulvere quam rara cognatio sit facundiae et boni pectoris. . . haec in meo familiari

ac necessario (Julianus) ea societate viguerunt ut etc. numquam in mercedem ornamenta linguae corrupit etc. He was probably son to the Cons. 322, praef. urb. 339, Anicius Iulianus. See also above 418, 4 and 6.

2. Symm. Epp. I 89 (Antonio): non incognito quidem nobis eloquii splendore nituisti, sed . . maiestate scripti aptata gloriam, quam magisterio arte quaesisti, recens auxit oratio. nam . . simile quiddam planeque conveniens auribus patrum . . sonuisti etc. Antonius appears to have been a Senator. Addressed to him are ib. I 90—93.

3. Symm. ep. III 18 (Gregorio): cum mihi de scriniis tuis profecta delegaretur oratio. Addressed to him ib. 17—22.

4. Symmach. p. Sever. 3 (p. 56 M. 1815): quis credat summatem facundiae, diu inter fori ornamenta numeratum, praesidalem dudum (only recently) recepisse provinciam? This is perhaps Severus, optimus senator to whom Ep. VIII 6 is addressed; cf. ib. VI 5 (sanctus amicus noster S.). 33. 49. VII 51. 116 (illustris memoriae vir S.).

5. Macrob. I 5, 13: Postumianum, qui forum defensionum dignatione nobilitat. Cf. ib. 2, 1. 3. 6. Perhaps identical with one of those previously mentioned. An anonymous person who pari nitore atque gravitate writes speeches and historical works is mentioned by Symmach. ep. IX 110.

6. Eusebio, oratorum eloquentissimo Macrob. Sat. I 24, 14. An Eusebius is mentioned among the scriptores de numeris in Halm's rhet. lat. min. p. 581, 18. cf. p. 598, 20.

7. Augustin. confess. IV 14, 21: Hierium romanae urbis oratorem . . efferebant laudibus, stupentes quod ex homine Syro, docto prius graecae facundiae, postea in latina etiam dictor mirabilis extitisset.

8. Ausonius dedicates (Aus. cos.) Latino Drepanio Pacato proconsuli his ludus VII sapp. and the technopaegnion (Pacato procos.), in the grammaticomastix of which he styles him bonus, doctus, facilis vir. The third dedication of the epigrams relates to Latino Pacato Drepanio filio (hoc nullus mihi carior eorum, quem pluris faciunt novem sorores quam cunctos alios, Marone dempto). He does not seem to have been a native of Burdigala, as Ausonius does not mention him among the profess. Burdig.; cf. Sidon. epist. VIII 11: quid agunt Nitiobroges (Capital Aginnum), quid Vesunnici tui? . . tu . . nunc Drepanium illis, modo istis restituis Anthedium (below 459, 4). Pacat. 2, 1: cum ab ultimo Galliarum recessu, qua littus oceani cadentem excipit solem et deficientibus terris sociale miscetur elementum, ad contuendum te properassem. Cf. ib. 23, 1. 24, 4 sqq. 47, 5. Symm. Ep. IX 72 might perhaps relate to him.

9. Pacatus, like most of his contemporaries of classical education, professes a neutral monotheism. Cf. 4, 2: supremus rerum fabricator; 21, 1: numen summum, as different from the numen e. g. of the Em-

peror (21, 2. cf. 18, 4), who is the visible god (deum quem videmus 3, 5). He speaks much of fata (8, 1. 11, 4. 15, 3) and fortuna (8. 2. 9, 1. 23, 4. 42, 2). From his bird's eye view he thinks the sole guilt of the Priscillianists murdered by Maximus to have consisted in their nimia religio and diligentius culta divinitas (29, 2). Theodosius' orthodoxy and persecutions of the heathens are never mentioned. His illustrations from Roman History are purposely derived from the time of the Republic (c. 5. 7. 8. 9. 18. 19. 20. 23. 33. 46), and from mythology (17, 1. 39, 4. 44, 5); from the Imperial period only 11, 6. 12, 1.

10. The chief contents of the speech of Pacatus are, after a laudatory characteristic of Theodosius as man and Emperor, an energetic description of the state of affairs under the usurper Maximus and of the victorious expedition of Theodosius against him. The speech is therefore an important historical document, especially as it evidently adheres to truth and as the exaggerations resulting from the style of a panegyric may be easily deducted. The author shows himself well-versed both in the literature of the classic period and of his own age; he frequently alludes to Cicero, Virgil, Horace and Ovid, and chiefly employs Mamertinus among his predecessors. His knowledge of Roman history is principally derived from Valerius Maximus and Florus. He occasionally reminds us of Tacitus in the general tone of some of his maxims (e. g. 38, 1: spem, quae postrema homines deserit). The Respublica is introduced speaking in the usual manner 11, 4 sqq., and there is a contest between Constantia, Patientia, Prudentia, Fortitudo and Fortuna c. 40. He uses rhetorical figures very often and manages them very happily. His diction is proportionately simple, but abounds in cadences and poetical expressions; in many peculiarities also it preserves the general character of the period. Thus we find parcam replicare (3, 4. 6, 3), aevi maturus (8, 3 cf. 31, 1), memoriam convenire (18, 2 cf. 41, 1), oblita fide (12, 2 cf. 24, 2), ire in litteras (33, 1); the official retro = olim (c. 1. 13. 14. 22. 31), iugis, impervius; a certain preference of the perfect infin., and the employment of a gerundival construction to denote possibility (e. g. 39, 5. 45, 3) etc.

11. The speech is printed in the editions of the panegyrici veteres, see above 387, 1—3. In the edition by Schwarz-Jäger it is nr. XI.

12. Symm. in his epp. mentions as causidici Lampadius (V 16), Epictetus (V 41. IX 31), Celsus (X 43). Cf. ib. II 42. V 75. IX 32 (causidicinae candidati). A Jurist Marinianus ib. III 23; Prosdocius VI 74 cf. ib. V 74. A law-suit of the time is described ib. X 39. 48. Rufinus, the minister of Arcadius known to us from Claudian, was likewise originally a causidicus (Philostorg. XI 3).

420. Other rhetoricians of the time of Symmachus were Palladius, Syagrius, and Eugenius, whom Arbogast raised to the Imperial throne. As a writer we know Messius Arusia-

.nus through his Exempla elocutionum which he dedicated to Olybrius and Probinus (Cons. 395), and we likewise possess Chirius Fortunatianus' text-book of rhetoric, a work which we should not assign to a later time, on account of its preference of classical illustrations.

1. Symmach. Ep. I 15 (Ausonio): Palladii rhetoris nostri declamatio . . complacita summatibus litterarum. . . movit novus Athenaei hospes latiare concilium divisionis arte etc. ib. 94 (Syagrio): Palladium spectatum bonis omnibus facundiae atque eruditionis. . . mereri facundiam Palladii ut doleamus quod urbi negatus est, mereri amabilitatem eius ut quod accitus est gaudeamus. Cf. Ap. Sidon. ep. V 10. He is probably that Palladius by whom the scholastic verses on Orpheus (in the metre of Hor. O. I 14) were composed, ap. Wernsdorf, poetae latt. min. III p. 396 sq. cf. p. 342—345.

2. Flavius Syagrius Cons. 381, Afranius S. Cons. 382. Cf. Consul amplissime, Symmach. ep. I 101 (Syagrio). ib. 95: es linguae melior. 96: de facundiae penu. Ausonius dedicates his epigrams Syagrio (v. 40: patronum nostris te paro carminibus). For Symmachus' letters to him see above 418, 6. He is probably magister officiorum a. 379 Syagrius mentioned in Cod. Theod. VII 12, 2, perhaps also the praef. praet. Syagr. a. 380—382 in the Cod. Theod.

3. The Frank Arbogast put a. 392 *Εὐγένιόν τινα μάγιστρον* (Philost. X 2) in the place of Valentinian II whom he had assassinated. Cf. Socrat. h. e. V 25: *γραμματικός τις ὀνόματι Εὐγ.* Zosim. IV 54, 1: *ἦν τις ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις ἀναστρεφόμενος Εὐγ. ὄνομα, παιδείᾳ προήκων ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ὥστε καὶ ῥητορικὸν ἐπανελέσθαι βίον καὶ προεστάναι διδασκαλείου.* Hist. misc. XIII 11: grammaticus quidam nomine Eug., litterarum doctor, . . imp. Valentiniani antigraphus et propter eloquentiam a multis honoratus. A. 394 he was beaten and killed by Theodosius.

4. In the apographum Gudii the heading is: Arusiani Messi v. c., or., comitis primi ordinis Exempla elocutionum ex Vergilio, Sallustio, Terentio, Cicerone. In the Berlin cod. Santen. saec. IX: Incipit messi oratoris de elocutionibus. Olybrio et probino messius. In agreement with this, Symmachus is mentioned p. 217. 244 L. It is an alphabetical collection of substantives, adjectives, prepositions and especially verbs admitting of different constructions, with one quotation for each construction from one or several of the four writers. Hence Cassiod. de inst. div. 15: regulas elocutionum latinarum, i. e. quadrigam Messii. The work was probably intended for rhetorical schools. It is printed in Mai's edition of Fronto, and in Lindemann corp. gramm. I p. 209—266 cf. p. 201—207. Suringar, hist. cr. schol. latt. II p. 202—206. Osann, Contributions II p.349—351. M. de Am. van der Hoeven, Spec. litt. . . cum appendice de Ar. M. ex. el., Amsterdam 1845. Gräfenhan, Hist. of class. Philol. IV p. 194—196.

5. C. Chirii Fortunatiani artis rhetoricae libri III in C. Halm's rhetores latini minores p. 79—134. The form of questions and answers is carried out very unskilfully. Thus the last question is: Quae *καθόλου* in actione observanda sunt? the answer being: ne pronuntiatio artem reddere videatur etc. Quintilian is the chief source; most of the illustrations are taken from Cicero. C. Halm, Reports of the Sessions of the Munich Academy II (1862) p. 13 sqq.

421. The family of the Nicomachi Flaviani, who were closely related to Symmachus, manifested much zeal for early history, the one by himself writing Annals and other works, the other by devoting much care to the text of Livy. The work of Ammianus Marcellinus (c. 330—400) of Antiochia was composed in this time and within the pale of polytheism. After a long and meritorious military career he wrote at Rome, about a. 390, a continuation of Tacitus in 31 books. It contained the years 96—378, from Nerva to the death of Valens; but the first thirteen books, in which the relation was in a cursory manner brought down to a. 353, have been lost; the extant portion is especially valuable as an account of the author's own time, he having frequently been very close to the events and honestly endeavouring to state the truth. Ammianus is a soldierlike nature, intelligent in his judgment, honest and straightforward, superstitious and tolerant, fond of displaying his erudition, but not well-practised in composition. His diction is very difficult to understand, unbearably decked out and too much ornamented, wearisome to read. The Anonymus Valesii, a collection of Excerpts of historical value on the time of Constantine and Theodorich, forms a usual appendix to the editions of Ammianus.

1. Orelli 1188: Virio Nicomacho Flaviano v. c., quaest., praet. pontif. maiori, consulari Siciliae, vicario Africae (a. 388), quaestori intra palatium (= aulae divi Theodosi, c. 381 sq.), praef. praet. (Italiae, Illyr. et Africae) iterum (a. 382 and c. 391 sq.), cos. ord. (a. 394), historico disertissimo, Q. Fab. Memmius Symmachus v. c. prosocero optimo. The son of the orator Symmachus had married the granddaughter of Nicom. I, and the son of Nic. the daughter of Symmachus; see above 418, 2. After Nicom. I had been deprived of his offices by Theodosius on account of having joined Eugenius (see 420, 3), he was rehabilitated a. 431 after his death, and so was his son (n. 2); see Orelli-Henzen 5593, where the decree in question of Theodosius II and Placidus Valentinianus is given. Comp. also the Christian poem in the cod. Paris. 8084 (below 330, 14) v. 25 sqq. with Mommsen, Hermes IV

p. 358—363. Flavium seniorem sic in monumenta virtutum suarum titulosque revocamus ut quidquid in istum caeca insimulatione commissum est procul ab eius principis (Theodosi I) voto fuisse iudicetis cuius in eum effusa benivolentia et usque ad annalium, quos consecrati sibi a quaestore et praefecto suo (being Nicom. I) voluit, (praedicationem?) provecta excitavit livorem inproborum (Henzen l. l.). Macrob. I 5, 13, Flavianum, qui quantum sit mirando viro Venusto patre praestantior non minus ornatu morum gravitateque vitae quam copia profundae eruditionis (e. g. in augural science, Macrob. I 24, 17. Sozom. VII 22. Nicephor. XII 32) adseruit. In Macrobius he is one of the speakers. For his philosophical education see Symmach. ep. II 61: de hoc vestra existimatio sit, qui talium rerum profitemini notionem. Cf. Macrob. I 6, 4: Flavianus et Eustathius (below 422, 6), par insigne amicitiae. It is therefore possible that the work De vestigiis philosophorum used by Johannes Saresber. (policr. II 26. VIII 11 sq.) by a certain Flavianus is by him. Cf. Reifferscheid, Rhein. Mus. XVI p. 23—25. Sidon. Apoll. epp. VIII 3: Apollonii pythagorici vitam non ut Nicomachus senior e Philostrati, sed ut Tascius Victorianus e Nicomachi schedio excripsit, . . misi.

2. His son, Nicomachus Flavianus II. Orelli-Henzen 5593: N. Fl. cons. Camp., procons. Asiae (a. 383), praef. urbi saepius (e. g. a. 399 sq., 402), nunc (a. 431) praef. praet. Italiae, Illyrici et Africae. Liban. or. XXVII. Cod. Theod. (Hänel Corp. leg. p. 111). The subscription of the first decade of Livy (above 251, 10): Nicomachus Flavianus v. c. III praefect. urbis (when he was not yet praef. praet., hence written before 431) emendavi apud Hennam. His father-in-law Symmachus possessed a copy of Livy; see ep. IX 13: munus totius Liviani operis, quod spopondi, etiam nunc diligentia emendationis moratur. That the Nicomachi possessed estates in Sicily, appears from ib. II 30. VI 57. 66.

3. Orelli-Henzen 5593: Appius Nicomachus Dexter, v. c., ex praef. urb. (between 427 and 431), avo optimo (i. e. Nic. 1) statuendam curavi (a. 431). This Nic. III was probably son to a younger brother of Nic. II and a daughter of Appius Claudius Tarronius Dexter (Gruter p. 34, 1). The subscription of Livy (n. 2): Nicomachus Dexter v. c. emendavi ad exemplum parentis mei (see above 45, 9) Clementiani.

4. On the three Nicomachi see G. B. de Rossi, Annali dell' inst. arch. XXI (S. N. VI 1849) p. 285—356, and B. Borghesi ib. p. 357—363.

5. Ammianus Marcellinus was of a good family, see Amm. XIX 8, 6. He had early entered the Roman army, was a. 353 in the East in the suite of the mag. eq. Ursicinus, accompanied him to Italy and Gaul, fought under (the Emperor) Julian against the Alemanni and took part in his Persian expedition. A. 371 he lived at Antiochia (XXIX 1, 24), afterwards at Rome. He had also been in Egypt, see XVII 4, 6. XXII 5, 1. He terminates (XXXI 16, 9): haec ut miles et Graecus a principatu Caesaris Nervae exorsus adusque Valentis interitum pro virium explicavi

mensura, opus veritatem professum numquam (ut arbitror) sciens silentio ausus corrumpere vel mendacio. scribant reliqua potiores, aetate doctrinisque florentes. Liban. ep. 983: *ἐν ἐπιδείξεσι ταῖς μὲν γέγονας, ταῖς δὲ ἔσῃ, τῆς συγγραφῆς εἰς πολλὰ τετμημένης. . . ἀκούω δὲ τὴν Ῥώμην αὐτὴν στεφανοῦν σοι τὸν πόνον. ταυτὶ δὲ οὐ τὸν συγγραφέα κοσμεῖ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑμᾶς* (the Antiochians) *ὧν ἐστιν ὁ συγγραφεύς.* ib. 235: *ὃς ὑπὸ μὲν τοῦ σχήματος εἰς στρατιώτας, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ἔργων εἰς φιλοσόφους ἐγγέγραπται, . . ὁ καλὸς Ἀμμιανός.*

6. Ammianus is a confirmed believer in Polytheism, but in the syncretistic and feeble manner of his time (cf. 419, 9). At the head of the world he places numen caeleste, divinum, superum, aeternum of undefined outlines, and in the main all is governed by fortuna or fatum (XXIII 5, 5: *nullla vis humana vel virtus meruisse umquam potuit ut quod praescripsit fatalis ordo non fiat*). A greater amount of individuality is attributed to the inferior gods. Cf. XVI 5, 5: Mercurio supplicabat, quem mundi velociorem sensum esse, motum mentium suscitantem, theologicae prodidere doctrinae. XIV 11, 25: haec . . aliquoties operatur Adrastia, quam vocabulo duplici etiam Nemesin adpellamus. . . quam theologi veteres fingentes Iustitiae filiam ex abdita quadam aeternitate tradunt omnia despectare terrena. (26.) haec ut regina causarum et arbitra rerum ac disceptatrix urnam sortium temperat etc. (27.) eademque necessitatis insolubili retinaculo mortalitatis vinciens fastus tumentes incassum . . opprimit etc. XXII 3, 12: humanorum spectatrix Adrastia. XXI 1, 8: vaticina verba, quibus numen praeesse dicitur Themidis. XVII 7 12: Neptunum, humentis substantiae potestatem, Ennosigaeon et Sisichthona poetae veteres et theologi nuncupaverunt. He believes in portenta, prodigia, omina (XXV 10, 1. 11. XXI 16, 21), also in auspicia and auguria. But he is also just to Christianity (XXI 16, 18: christianam religionem absolutam et simplicem anili superstitione confundens), and blames Julian whom he almost worships in other respects as inclemens quod docere vetuit magistros rhetoricos et grammaticos christianos ni transissent ad numinum cultum (XXV 4, 20). He loves to glance back into the olden time, which he employs to criticize his own, e. g. XXV 9, 9 sqq. 10, 13. His description of eloquence and the administration of law in his time (c. 370), XXX 4, is very characteristic.

7. The work was composed previously to the destruction of the Serapeum (XXII 16, 12) July 391, and subsequently to the praefectura of Aur. Victor (XXI 10, 6) a. 389, see Cart p. 46 sqq. The title in the Vatic. 1873 is: rerum gestarum libri. Wölfflin supposes an original title A principatu divi (or Caesaris) Nervae (cf. XXXI 16, 9), or a combination of it with the title given by the Vat. ms. B. 1—13 had probably been lost as early as the time of Priscian (Gardthausen in Fleckeisen 103 p. 846, n. 12).

8. Ammian. XV 1, 1: utcumque potuimus veritatem scrutari ea quae videre licuit per aetatem vel perplexe interrogando versatos in

medio scire narravimus ordine casuum exposito diversorum. XVII 16, 23: cum nos cauti, vel, ut verius dixerim, timidi nihil exaggeremus, praeter ea quae fidei testimonia neque dubia neque incerta monstrarunt. XXVI 1, 1: dictis impensiore cura rerum ordinibus adusque memoriae confinia propioris convenerat iam referre a notioribus pedem, ut et pericula declinentur veritati saepe contigua et examinatores contexendi operis deinde non perferamus intempestivos, who insist on the insertion of all details, praeceptis historiae dissonantia, discurrere per negotiorum celsitudines adsuetae, non humilium minutias indagare causarum. But inscitia volgari contempta ad residua narranda pergamus (ib. 2). The account generally follows the chronological order and goes by years, just as in Tacitus. He frequently adds large excursuses, especially on geography (cf. V. Gardthausen p. 1 sq.), partly based on his personal experience (e. g. XXII 16, 12), but mostly on books, especially the chorographia pliniana (Mommsen, Solin. p. XXIV—XXVIII) and an abridgment of Ptolemy. In some instances (see XXIII 6, 6) it happens to Ammianus to overlook the difference between the time of his sources and his own age. There are also other chronological errors. Speeches are frequently interposed. A. and Zosimus frequently agree in their accounts of Julian; see B. Gudhaus, de ratione quae intercedat inter Zosimi et Amm. de bello a Iul. imp. cum Persis gesto relationes, Bonn 1870.

9. Salmasius praef. de hellenist. p. 39 says of Amm.: quis phrases umquam usurpavit duriores, inconcinniores, rusticiores? prorsus loquitur ut homo graecus et militaris, qui voces tantum latinas tenet, quomodo collocandae sint nescit. Ammianus' order of words is simply unaccountable; besides this, he is pathetic and stilty, abounds in metaphors and poetical phrases, and uses the most unnatural constructions. This diction is the result of various circumstances, especially the want of independence peculiar to a foreigner as compared with his heterogeneous reading and information, comprising poets and prose-writers, Sallust (Gardthausen p. 7. 36), Tacitus (E. Wölfflin, Philol. XXIX p. 558—560) and Gellius, and also the bad taste of the whole period.

10. There are about twenty mss. extant, the principal being the Fulda ms. (saec. IX—X) which was brought to Italy before a. 1417 by Poggio (A. Mai, spicilegium rom. X p. 311) and is now Vatic. 1873 (V. Gardthausen, Hermes VI p. 243—247. A. Kiessling p. 481), and the now lost Hersfeldensis, which we know only through S. Gelenius (n. 11); M. Haupt in the Berlin Ind. lect. summer 1868. 4. Mommsen, Hermes VI p. 231 sqq. The best representative of the inferior (and incomplete) class of mss. is the Petrinus (in the Archives of St. Peter's), written a. 1342. The French mss. of Ammianus are all copies of the Fuldensis. The earliest and best of the copies taken in Italy is the ms. in the Magliabecchian library, a legacy of Niccolo Niccoli. Cf. V. Gardthausen in Fleckeisen's Jahrb. 103 p. 829—854.

11. Editions. Book 14—26 were first printed Rome 1474 by A. Sabinus from a copy of the Fulda ms., amended Bologna 1517 by

P. Castellus. A reprint of this (by D. Erasmus) Basil. 1518 (Corpus hist. rom.). A new edition of this, in which the Hersfeld ms. was unequally used (chiefly in b. 27—30) by S. Gelenius, Basil. 1533 (July). Cf. Hermes VI p. 235—242. V. Rose, Anecd. II p. 163 sq. At the same time Accursius published A. at Augsburg May 1533, from a copy taken of the Fulda ms. in Germany. Cum notis integris Frid. Lindenbrogii (Hamburg 1609. 4.), Henr. et Hadr. Valesiorum (Paris 1636. 4. / 1681.) et Iac. Gronovii (Lugd. Bat. 1693. fol. et 4.), quibus Thom. Reinesii quasdam et suas adiecit Jo. Aug. Wagner. Ed. absolvit C. G. A. Erfurdt, Lips. 1808. 3 vols. Rec. Fr. Eyssenhardt, Berl. 1871. Cf. A. Kiessling in Fleckeisen's Jahrb. 103, p. 481—504. V. Gardthausen, Gött. Gel. Anz. 1871, p. 1302—1310. Mommsen Hermes VI. p. 231—242. Edidit V. Gardthausen, Lips. (Bibl. Teubner.) 1872.

12. Cl. Chifflet, de A. M. vita et libris, Lovan. 1627 and in the editions. C. G. Heyne, censura ingenii et historiarum Am. Marc., Opusc. VI p. 35—51. Treatises De Ammiano Marc. by A. A. Ditki (Rössel 1841. 4.), C. A. Müller (Posen 1852. 4.), E. A. W. Möller (Königsberg 1863). Quaestiones Ammianeae by Reuscher (I: A. vita, Frankfurt a. O. 1859. 4.), E. E. Hudemann (Landsberg a. W. 1864. 4.), W. A. Cart (Berlin 1868), P. Langen (Düren 1868. 4. and Philologus XXIX p. 469—487), H. Kallenberg (grammaticae, Halle 1868). J. Hermann, observationes critt. Amm., Bonn 1865. R. Unger, de A. M. locis controversis, Neustrelitz 1868. M. Haupt, Berlin 1868. 4. V. Gardthausen, coniectanea Amm. codice adhibito Vat., Kiel 1869. 46 pp. A. Kellerbauer in the Journal of Bav. Gymn. VII p. 11—24.

13. The Excerpta de Constantino Chloro, Constantino M. et aliis imperatoribus (espec. de Odoacre, Theoderico) were first published by H. Valesius (Valois) in his edition of Ammianus (Paris 1636) and subsequently in most editions of A. (e. g. Wagner-Erfurdt I p. 609—628); they are also printed in Muratori's script. rer. ital. XXIV p. 635 sqq. The first half forms a noteworthy source of the history of Constantine. J. Burckhardt, Const. p. 367, n. 3. p. 372. 374. The second half, beginning with Zeno, bears quite a different character. Though important in their matter, these Excerpts are in a barbarous diction. Both halves were composed by a Christian writer. G. Waitz, Gött. Gel. Anz. 1865, p. 81 sqq. Wattenbach's sources of Germ. history, p. 44.

14. Sulpicius Alexander, from whose Historia (books III and IV) Gregorius of Tours (hist. Franc. II 9) quotes some passages, probably belongs to the time of Ammianus.

422. Philosophy was in this time chiefly studied by those who hoped to find in it a useful weapon against the overwhelming power of the Christian religion, e. g. by Vettius Praetextatus, a noble character and who occupied a high position. None of those whom Symmachus mentions as philosophers can claim an independent value.

1. Vettius Agorius Praetextatus, augur, pontifex Vestae, pontif. Solis, XVvir, curialis Herculis, sacratus Libero et Eleusiniis, hierophanta, neocorus, taurobolatus, pater patrum, in rep. vero quaestor candidatus, praetor urb., corrector Tusciae et Umbriae, consularis Lusitaniae, procons. Achaiae (Zosim. IV 3), praef. urbi (a. 367—370, see Cod. Theod.), legatus a senatu missus V praef. praet. II Italiae et Illyrici (the second time a. 384, see Cod. Theod. VI 5, 2. Cod. Iust. I 54, 5), cons. ord. designatus (a. 385, when he died), according to his epitaph in the Capitol (Donati 72, 2. cf. Orelli 2354), which proves that even then, just as in the time of Apuleius, the best adherents of the old religion endeavoured to make up, by a multiplicity of worship, what they lacked in real satisfaction and certainty. Philosophy was intended to assist Praetextatus in the same purpose (Macrob. Sat. I 24, 21). Boeth. de interpret. ed. sec. I p. 289: Vettius Praetextatus priores postremosque Analyticos non vertendo Aristotelem latino sermoni tradidit, sed transferendo Themistium. He is perhaps the author of the treatise De X categoriis which goes under the name of St. Augustine. In the poem which his wife Aconia Fabia Paulina engraved upon his tomb (the last time printed by Bücheler, in the Greifswald List 1870, p. 13—15), it is stated of him v. 8 sqq.: tu quidquid lingua utraquest proditum cura sophorum porta quis caeli patet, vel quae periti condidere carmina, vel quae solutis vocibus sunt edita, meliora reddis quam legendo sumpseras (partly by translating, and partly by emending; see above 421, 2 sq.). A. Haakh in Pauly's Enc. VI 2 p. 2536, nr. 42. O. Jahn, Trans. of the Saxon Society of Lit. 1851, p. 338—342. H. Richter, the West Roman Empire (1865) p. 339 sq. See above 418, 6.

2. Symmach. epist. I 29: nihil moror ceteros . . qui philosophiam fastu et habitu mentiuntur. paucos, et in his praecipue familiarem meum Batrachum, nostra aetas tulit quorum germana sapientia ad vetustatem vergeret. Augustin. epist. I 1: hoc saeculo cum iam nullos videamus philosophos nisi forte amiculo corporis, quos quidem haud censuerim dignos tam venerabili nomine.

3. A request concerning the salary of the professor philosophiae Priscianus ap. Symmach. ep. I 79. A philosophiae candidatus ib. I 41.

4. In the letters of Symm. the following are mentioned as philosophers: Maximus (II 29), Asclepiades (V 31), Iamblichus (IX 2), Nicias (IX 39), Celsus (X 25).

5. Macrob. I 7, 3: Horus (cf. Symm. Ep. II 39), vir corpore atque animo iuxta validus, qui post innumeras inter pugiles palmas ad philosophiae studia migravit sectamque Antisthenis et Cratetis atque ipsius Diogenis secutus inter Cynicos non incelebris habebatur.

6. Macrob. I 5, 13: Eustathium, qui tantus in omni genere philosophiae est ut etc. VII 1, 8: quia te unicum, Eustathi, sectatorem philosophiae nostra aetas tulit. See above 421, 1.

7. On Nicomachus Flavianus I see above 421, 1.

8. On the philosophical writings of St. Augustine see below 434, 5.

423. A younger contemporary of Symm. was the grammarian Servius Honoratus, who taught and wrote at Rome, and is chiefly known as the author of the excellent commentum on Virgil which has come down to us, though disfigured by omissions and interpolations. Its principal merit consists in the wide range of reading which enabled Servius to gather an abundance of materials from the departments of mythology, history, geography and especially religious antiquities. Servius, it is true, shows little judgment and taste, but still surpasses his colleague Ti. Claudius Donatus by whom we also possess a commentary on Virgil addressed to his son Donatianus. It does not enter upon the subject-matter; but there is a vita Vergilii prefixed to it which is important so far as derived from Suetonius. Besides his commentary on Virgil we possess by Servius a commentary on the Ars of Aelius Donatus and a Survey on the different metres (Centimeter). His name is also prefixed to various treatises de accentibus, de ultimarum syllabarum natura (de finalibus) and de metris Horatii.

1. In Symmachus one of the speakers is, together with Vettius Praetextatus (a. 385, see above 422, 1) Symmachus and others, Servius inter grammaticos doctorem recens professus, iuxta doctrina mirabilis et amabilis verecundia, Macrob. I 2, 15 cf. 24, 8. 20. VII 11, 2: et Disarius, age, Servi, non solum adulescentium qui tibi aequaevi sunt sed senum quoque omnium doctissime, etc. If the scene of the conversation be assumed about a. 380, Servius would appear to have been born about a. 355. In agreement with the general character of the persons with whom Serv. is associated in Macr., his erudite interest in religious antiquities (pontifical and augural) renders it probable that he adhered to the old religion. There is no trace of Christianity in his commentary. Servius magister urbis, Acro on Hor. S. I 9, 76. Cf. Macrob. VI 6, 1: Servius . . cotidie romanae indoli enarrando eundem vatem (Virgil) necesse est habeat huius . . scientiam promptiorem. His name: Marius (or Maurus) Servius Honoratus; often mixed up with Sergius.

2. That Servius' commentary on Virgil has not come down to us in its original shape, appears from the passages in which Servius himself is quoted in it (ad Ecl. I 12. IX 1: ut Servius dicit), and likewise from the difference of the extent of this commentary in the mss.; see G. Thilo, Rhein. Mus. XIV p. 535—550. XV p. 119 sqq. Mommsen ib.

XVI p. 442 sqq. The principal edition by P. Daniel, Paris 1600 fol. (Geneva 1636). Others by P. Burmann (in his Virgil, Amsterd. 1746. 4.) and by H. A. Lion (Gotting. 1826, 2 vols.). A critical edition in which the various parts are discriminated, is promised by G. Thilo; specimens: Servii comm. Aen. I 129—300 (Naumburg 1856. 4.); Georg. I 1—100 (Halle 1866. 4.), also Quaestiones Servianae, Halle 1867. 53 pp. 4. Th. Bergk, Servii Casselani Part. I—V, Marburg 1843—45. 4. Böhmer, lectionum Serv. fasc., Oels 1858. 4.

3. On Servius and his commentary on Virgil see Lion p. V—VIII. Suringar, hist. crit. scholl. latt. II p. 59—92. E. Teuber, de Mauri Servii gramm. vita (p. 1—17) et commentariis part. I Breslau (1843) Diss. (p. 17—28 de codicibus Servii; p. 28—36 de editionibus; p. 38—59 on the value and sources of the Commentary). Gräfenhan, Hist. of class. Philol. IV p. 93 sq. 325—327. Ribbeck, prolegomena p. 189—192.

4. On the commentary on the Ars of Donatus see above 404, 2. The Explanationes in Donatum (ibid.) were probably merely composed with the help of Servius' erudition, and resemble him so little that his name was replaced by that of Sergius (n. 10). De accentibus ap. Endlicher and Eichenfeld, Analecta gramm. p. 525 sqq. It cannot be proved that this work is based on Varro. De ratione ultimarum syllabarum, ad Aquilinum, in Putsche gramm. p. 1799—1810, and in Endlicher l. l. p. 491 sqq. (sometimes attributed to Donatus, H. Hagen, Anecd. Helv. p. CL.). Identical with this in point of subject-matter is the treatise de finalibus, ad Aquilinum, in Keil, gramm. IV p. 449—455, see above 403, 4 extr. See also L. Müller in Fleckeisen's Jahrbb. 93 p. 564 sq. Dedicated to a youth called Albinus (praetextatorum decus) to whose pater avusque . . maximam reverentiam litterae debent (the father being probably identical with the Albinus in Macrob.) is the Centimeter libellus (tot enim metrorum genera digessi quanta potui brevitate), in Putsche p. 1815 sqq., in Gaisford's scriptores rei metr. p. 363 sqq., in Keil's gramm. IV p. 456—472; cf. ib. p. XLV—XLVII. Westphal, allg. Metrik p. 47 sq. with L. Müller in Fleckeisen's Jahrbb. 93, p. 563 sq., who places the author in the time of the Gothic rule over Italy and assumes Albinus to be the Consul of 493, while he also points out that all the instances are self-made (cf. p. 461, 25 K.: versiculos tibi dactylicos cecini, puer optime, quos facias; p. 463: Vergilius, Mantua quem creavit; . . Maecenas atavis Lydia quos fert genite, and the verse of rest p. 467: rem tibi confeci, doctissime, dulcisonoram). This seems a reason more for considering the author to have been a grammarian of greater note. See above 404, 5. This work is succeeded in the Paris. ms. 7530 by Servii de metris Horatii (in Keil IV p. 468—472 cf. p. XLVII sq.) with the dedication: Servius Fortunatiano dn. Superfluum, amice, fore putavi et post Terentianum metra digerere [gap] . . aliud agenti obtulerat exposita viderentur (is this a reference to the Centimeter or to Terentianus?). quare Horatium cum in Campania otiarer excepi etc. This holiday work is much inferior to the Centi-

meter and seems to be by a different author; cf. L. Müller l. l. Rhein. Mus. XXV p. 340 sq.

5. Donatus' interpretations of Virgil were edited at Naples 1535 and in the editions of Virgil by G. Fabricius (Basil. 1561 fol.) and Lucius (Basil. 1613 fol.). The work is preceded by the following epistle. Ti. Claudius Donatus Ti. Claudio Maximo Donatiano filio s. p. d. Incertum metuens vitae, quod magis senibus incumbit et proximum est, cursim scripsi quae potui, relinquens plurima, . . ut si quid mihi adversi accideret haberes interpretationum mearum quod imitareris exemplo. verum quia . . contigit diutius vivere hos libros interim legendos curavi. The author states that he is resolved to give an explanation of the subject-matter in a separate work. sic fiet ut origines singularum personarum quas Vergilius Aeneidos libris comprehendit . . (cognoscas). simul etiam cognosces oppidorum insularumque rationem, regionum, . . templorum ac fanorum, herbarum, quin etiam et lignorum vocabula et cetera his similia. sed haec sic accipias velim ut ex commentariis scias veterum me esse collecturum; antiqua enim et fabulosa ac longinquitatis causa incognita nisi priscorum docente memoria non poterunt explicari. He does not seem ever to have completed a work of this kind on the matter of the Aeneid (which would have resembled the work of Vibius Sequester). It was intended to form an appendix to the Interpretations or to fill the place of a register; cf. on VII 646: catalogus iste huic Interpretationum libro non fuerat inserendus. nihil enim habet quod artificiose possit exponi. est quippe nominibus hominum, gentium, fluviorum, deorum, . . herbarum, . . fontium plenus. tamen ne quid libro decerpi videatur dicemus aliqua eius uno libro qui XIIIus erit, cum totius operis conplexione dicturi, ut historiae per XII libros sparsae et cetera quae supra dicta non sunt possint evidenter apparere.

6. Servius repeatedly quotes (e. g. Aen. II 557. 798. Ecl. III 38) Donatus, generally in a polemical manner and without distinguishing two persons. He would thus seem to have known only one commentator of this name, no doubt the earlier (above 404, 4). In the interpolated passages the interpretations of the younger Donatus might possibly have been used.

7. On Donatus' vita Vergilii see above 220, 1, 6. In Paris. 1011 it has at its head a letter with the inscription: Fl. Donatus L. Munatio suo salutem. In the other mss. it is added to the commentary of Servius without any further title.

8. On Donatus comp. Suringar, hist. crit. scholl. II p. 31—58. Gräfenhan, Hist. of class. Philol. IV p. 315—318.

9. Claudius, five times quoted in the Ars anonyma cod. Bern. 123 and scarcely identical with Claudius Sacerdos (above 390), but rather a compiler from him. J. Steup, Rh. Mus. XXVI p. 320—323.

10. Sergii (from Italy) novem (libri) de littera et de barbarismo are quoted in the catalogue of a cod. Bern. (Hagen, Anecd. Helv. p. CXLIX), which probably means commentaries on Donatus. Part of the nine books which bore in the Middle Ages the name of Sergius seems to have been the treatise in Hagen l. l. p. 143—158 (see above 404, 2), perhaps also the fragments ib. p. CXCII—CCII. Cf. Hagen ib. p. CL.

11. A grammarian Maximus of Madaura who defended polytheism against St. Augustine is mentioned by Aug. ep. 16 (Migne XXXIII p. 81).

12. On the artigrapher Probus see above 412, 12; on Junius Philargyrius below 465, 13.

424. Flavius Vegetius Renatus dedicated his Epitoma rei militaris in four books to Theodosius I., a work chiefly historical and professing to be merely a careful compilation without claim to independent researches or stylistic elaboration. The Mulomedicina of a certain P. Vegetius is perhaps ten or twenty years earlier, a work in uneducated language and from older sources.

1. Title: Flavi Vegeti Renati viri inlustris, comitis Epitoma rei militaris. Though the Emperor to whom the work is dedicated is not mentioned, it is nearly certain that Theodosius I. is meant; see C. Lang in his ed. p. VII sq. When the work was composed, Gratianus was already dead (p. 21, 6: tempus divi Gratiani), so that it would appear to have been written between 384 and 395. There was an interval of some time between the publication of b. I and the rest. See n. 3.

2. The author professes the Christian religion, but his religious ideas are still rooted in the olden time; and his way of treating religion does not differ from that of this heathen contemporaries. Cf. II 5 (p. 37 L.): iurant (milites) per deum et Christum et sanctum spiritum et per maiestatem imperatoris, quae secundum deum generi humano diligenda est et colenda. nam imperatori . . tanquam praesenti et corporali deo fidelis est praestanda devotio. His other expressions of this kind might just as well occur in Firmicus or Symmachus; e. g. I praef.: non recte aliquid incohatur nisi post deum faverit imperator. II 21: etiam divinitatis (see above 395, 4) instinctu legiones a Romanis arbitror constitutas. IV 40: transitus siderum . . cum praescripto cursu dei arbitrio creatoris suscipiunt signa. The superstitious character of his faith appears in IV 35 where he says that timber for building ships should only be cut in the week a XV^{a} luna usque ad XII^{am}, to prevent its being worm-eaten, et ars ipsa et . . cotidianus usus edocuit et contemplatione ipsius religionis agnoscimus, quam pro aeternitate his tantam diebus placuit celebrari.

3. Veget. I praef.: tanto inferiorem me antiquis scriptoribus esse vix sensi, licet in hoc opusculo nec verborum concinnitas sit necessaria nec acumen ingenii, sed labor diligens ac fidelis, ut quae apud diversos historicos vel armorum disciplinam docentes dispersa et involuta celantur pro utilitate rom. proferantur in medium. II praef.: cum haec (instituta maiorum partis armatae) litteris breviter comprehendere maiestati vestrae . . recognoscenda praeciperer, certavit saepius devotio cum pudore. . . libellum de dilectu atque exercitatione tironum (b. I) dudum tamquam famulus obtuli, non tamen culpatus abscessi. III praef.: quae per diversos auctores librosque dispersa, imperator invicte, mediocritatem meam abbreviare iussisti. II 3 V. mentions as his chief predecessors Cato and Frontinus: horum instituta, horum praecepta in quantum valeo strictim fideliterque signabo. Cf. I 28. III 26. IV praef. Vergilius in Georgicis and Varro in libris navalibus are quoted IV 41 cf. II 1: Latinorum egregius auctor (Verg. Aen.). Sallustius is quoted I 4, 9.

4. Each book has a preface, b. I and II also an epilogue of a courtierlike rhetorical character. Book I treats of dilectus atque exercitatio tironum, b. II institutionem disciplinamque militarem (III 1), b. III of war and strategic art, b. IV of the art of besieging (rationes quibus vel nostrae civitates defendendae sint vel hostium subruendae), c. 1—30. Then IV 31: praecepto maiestatis tuae, imperator invicte, terrestris proelii rationibus absolutis navalis belli residua . . est portio; de cuius artibus ideo pauciora dicenda sunt quia iam dudum pacato mari cum barbaris nationibus agitur terrestre certamen. The summaries of each chapter (rubricae) are not by Veg. himself, but composed as early as the fifth or sixth century; see C. Lang, praef. p. X sq.

5. On account of the subject and the employment of earlier authors we do not find many late words in Vegetius. But such words as missibilis, in ante, aliquanti, proximior, clearly show the time when the book was composed.

6. We possess more than 140 mss. of Vegetius, the earliest being of saec. X. They are enumerated and criticized by Lang p. XI—XL. Part of them bear the subscription: Fl. Eutropius emendavi sine exemplario Constantinopolim Consul Valentiniano Aug. VII et Abien. (= A. D. 450). O. Jahn, Journ. of the Saxon Soc. of Lit. 1851 p. 344 sq. An abridgment of I 1 sqq. II 23 sq. by Rabanus Maurus (14 chapters) published from a ms. at Treves saec. XII by E. Dümmler, Ztschr. f. Germ. Antiq. N. S. III p. 443—451. Excerpts from b. IV in a palimpsest Vatic. Reg. 2077 saec. VII.

7. Editions. Ed. pr. Utrecht about 1473 fol. Later editions chiefly by Modius (Colon. 1580), G. Stewechius (Antv. 1584. 4.); by P. Scriverius, cum notis Stewechii, Modii, Antv. 1607, 2 vols. 4. (Wesel 1670. 8.). Ed. N. Schwebelius, Nürnberg 1767. 4. Cum notis varr. Strassburg 1806. Rec. C. Lang, Lips. (Teubner) 1869. A. Gemoll, exercitationes Veg., Hermes VI p. 113—118.

8. P. Vegetius' mulomedicina. sive ars veterinaria was printed Basil. 1528. 4. 1574. 4. (ed. J. Sambucus), in J. M. Gesner's (II p. 173—305) and J. G. Schneider's (Vol. IV) scriptores rei rusticae, divided by the earlier editors into four, by Schneider into six books (b. I = I II Schn.; III = IV and V Schn.).

9. P. Vegetius states his principles in several prefaces. I praef. 6: cum ab initio aetatis alendorum equorum studio flagrarem hanc operam non invitus arripui ut conductis in unum latinis dumtaxat auctoribus universis, adhibitis etiam mulomedicis et medicis non omissis . . in quantum mediocritas ingenii patitur plene ac breviter omnia epitome congererem. II (Gesn.) praef. 1: mulomedicinae ars iamdudum . . collapsa est. numquid vero exemplo Hunnorum . . artis usus intercidet? III (Gesn.) praef. 1 sq.: mulomedicinae me commentarios ordinante civium atque amicorum frequens querela . . suspendit. . . cedens itaque familiarium honestissimae voluntati ex diversis auctoribus enucleata collegi pedestrique sermone in libellum contuli. cuius erit praecipua felicitas si eum nec scholasticus fastidiat et bubulcus intellegat. In agreement with the horizon and style of the fourth century the author says IV (Gesn.) praef. 1 sqq.: sollemnis excusatio neglegentium est dispendia ex dissimulatione venientia deo imputare vel casibus. . . quae fortasse vera videantur in homine, qui divina providentia ac dispositione fatorum creditur regi. animalia vero, cum quibus divinitas nihil dignatur habere commune, nisi hominum studio impensisque curentur absque ambiguitate depereunt.

10. As his predecessors (and sources) Veg. I praef. 2 sq. mentions Pelagonius (cf. ib. 17, 15. IV 13, 3. 14, 2. 27, 3), Columella, Chiron and Absyrtus (cf. ib. 38, 5. IV 13, 4. 22, 1. 27, 1 sq.). He quotes Virgil I praef. 8 (Mantuanus poeta divino ore testatur) and 56, 36 (quod naturaliter laudat Vergilius). The breeds of horses mentioned by him attest his great knowledge of geography. E. g. I 56, 37: equos quos vulgo trepidiarios, militari verbo tottonarios vocant ita edomant (Parthi) etc. IV 6, 2 sq. (G.): ad bellum Hunniscorum longe primo docetur utilitas patientiae etc. Toringos deinde et Burgundiones iniuriae tolerantes. tertio loco Frigiscos etc. The anatomy of the horse given by Veg. is praised by experts.

425. Of the five books which form the collection of the so-called Plinius Valerianus the first three are an accumulation of supposed remedies mostly gathered from the Natural History of Pliny and arranged according to maladies. The fourth book is derived from the work of Gargilius Martialis on horticulture (de pomis and de oleribus). The fifth is a collection of dietetic precepts (diaetae) from the Latin version of the dietetic work of Alexander Trallianus which belongs to the sixth century of the Christian era.

1. The five books are not rare in mss. (e. g. St. Gall 751 saec. X) and bear the title (which, however, suits only the first three) Plini Secundi de remediis or de fisicis. The work was first published by Pighinucci (Rome 1509) as Medicina pliniana, then by Albanus Forinus (Basle 1528 fol.) in his collection de re medica, in which (after Sorani isagoge, Oribasii fragmentum and before Apuleius de herbarum virtute and de betonica) fol. 13—98 C. Plinii Secundi de re medica libri V accuratius recogniti et (nothis ac pseudepigraphis remotis) ab innumeris mendarum millibus fide vetustissimi codicis repurgati. The Basle text was reprinted in the Medici antiqui, Venet. Ald. 1547. The name of Valerius is an invention of Paolo Giovio at Como (Pauli Iovii tractatus de piscibus romanis, Rome 1524 fol., cap. 35). See E. Meyer, Hist. of Botany II p. 398—405. V. Rose, Anecd. gr. II p. 105—114.

2. The first three books belong together and occur also separately in mss. without the fourth and fifth, though frequently differing in size, style and arrangement, as they were continually altered in the course of time by omissions and additions. In the St. Gall ms. 751 another fourth book is added (though without the name of Pliny): Antidota per singulas passiones de diversis auctoribus electa. Extracts from the three books are found in two Bamberg mss., Capitulatio secunda (saec. IX) and liber Pauli.

3. The preface to b. 1—3 begins: Frequenter mihi in peregrinationibus accidit ut aut propter meam aut propter meorum infirmitatem varias fraudes medicorum experiscerer, quibusdam utilissima remedia ingentibus pretiis vendentibus, aliis curare nescientibus, cupiditatis causa suscipientibus . . quapropter necessarium mihi visum est undique valitudinis auxilia contrahere et velut in breviarium colligere, uti quocumque venissem possem huius modi insidias vitare. The author would thus appear a traveller, but not a physician. Similar invectives I 9 in. The arrangement follows the parts of the body and their afflictions, from head to toe (II 52: clavis et callis curandis; II 54 ad ungularum dolorem). The third book contains remedies against constitutional illnesses and poisons. The tone is dry, except I 7: De capillis denigrandis. Potest videri supervacuum inter remedia corporis ponere ea quae ad decorem pertinent, sed quosdam pudet aut ipsos rubeos esse aut in tantum luxuriae indulgent ut etc. . . operae pretium est his qui erubescunt senes esse succurrere etc. The plants mentioned in the three books are enumerated by E. Meyer (n. 1) p. 405—412.

4. Rose (n. 1) p. 106: 'The original conception of this collection (b. 1—3) was perhaps made in the beginning of the fourth century, previously to that of Marcellus (see 426, 1 sqq.), who is already acquainted with our writer under the fictitious name of Pliny (Plinius uterque) and employs his work to a great extent'. See ibid. p. 177. But Plinius uterque may be said with regard to the fictitious epistle of Pliny (the younger) ad amicos (see 426, 3) which Marcellus inserts, and the agreement may be explained from their using the same source.

In the coinciding portions the arrangement is generally different, while Marc. always retains the arrangement of those parts he takes from Scribonius Largus. Cf. Ps. Plin. I 7 (ovum corvinum from Plin. n. h. XXIX 109 . . sextarius sanguisugarum from Plin. XXXII 68 . . siliquae ervi from ibid. XXII 153 . . folia cupressi from ib. XXIV 15 . . spodilum from ib. XXIV 26 . . vermium terrenorum cinis from ibid. XXX 134) with Marcell. I 7 (hirundinum stercus . . medium lapidem . . ovi corvini interiora . . vermium terr. cinis . . folia cupressi . . nuces iuglandes . . sanguisugarum sextarius . . ervi siliquae). Marcell. I 1 p. 36 extr. we find the last five remedies in the same order as in Ps. Plin. fol. I (13) B, but various others in quite a different arrangement. The medicin. respons. of Caelius Aurelianus appear to have been used in a good text (Rose p. 175. 177).

5. The fourth und fifth books are neither connected with each other nor with b. I—III; they were originally independent extracts, which were at a later time joined to the supposed liber Plinii (1—3) by the arbitrary decision of some copyist or collector. As part of the complete works of Pliny they are found in later mss., e. g. the Prague ms. saec. XIV sq., which contains the nat. hist., Phisice Plinii Sec. lib. I—IV, then book V as liber dietarum Plinii, and a liber urinarum, Anthimus with Nomina herbarum, in the last place the letters of Pliny the younger. Rose p. 61. 107.

6. The fourth book is found in some mss. independently (without title) and is an old extract verbally copied from the large work of Gargilius Martialis on husbandry; see above 376.

7. Book V (45 chapters, some very brief) is likewise found in mss. by itself, or it is appended to the four books Plinii iun. de medicina, but with a special title: liber diaetarum diversorum medicorum, h. e. Alexandri et aliorum. It is indeed with but few exceptions (c. 14 and 22 Sorani dieta; 37 sq. dieta Sorani) a verbal extract from the Latin Alexander (below 489, 9), and belongs to saec. VII, if indeed it be so early. V. Rose (n. 1) p. 107—109.

426. Under the name of Marcellus, ex mag. officiorum under Theodosius, we possess a work on remedies, chiefly drawn from Scribonius Largus, but mixed with many superstitious additions. Merely superstitious and mixed with obscenity is the collection of animal remedies which bears the name of Sextus Placitus (Papyriensis), and of which we have also an abridgment (by Constantinus Africanus). The medical work of Theodorus Priscianus aims at scientific treatment in its way.

1. Marcelli de medicamentis empiricis, physicis ac rationabilibus liber . . iam primum in lucem emergens . . per Janum Cornarium,

Basil. 1543 fol. Also in the Collections of the Medici antiqui by Aldus (Venet. 1547) and Stephanus (Paris 1567). Preface: Marcellus vir ill. ex mag. off. Theodosii sen. filiis suis s. d. He wrote therefore under Theodosius II, and not before 408. He is probably Marcellus magister off. a. C. 395 in the Cod. Theod. VI 29, 8 and XVI 5, 29 (where he is charged to proceed against pagan Court officials). Cf. Suidas II p. 702 Bnh.: *Μάρκελλος, μάγιστρος Ἀρκαδίου τοῦ βασιλέως, κόσμος ἀρετῆς ἁπάσης* etc. As he (in his praef.) names Ausonius among his fellow-citizens, he is designated as Burdigalensis; Empiricus he is called by others from his merely empirical tendency. He was not a physician by profession.

2. The work de medicamentis contains in 36 chapters a number of simple, compound and magic remedies against all illnesses from top to toe. The pretended sources: non solun veteres medicinae artis auctores latino dumtaxat sermone perscriptos . . lectione scrutatus sum, sed etiam ab agrestibus et plebeiis remedia fortuita atque simplicia quae experimentis probaverant didici. In reality the author generally copies Scribonius Largus (above 389, 2—6) and adds plenty of other materials from other sources. See above 435, 4. Very interesting are the numerous names of plants (E. Meyer, Hist. of Botany II p. 305—315), partly with their Celtic names (e. g. p. 48: herba quae graece chamaeacte, latine ebulus, gallice odocos dicitur); J. Grimm, on Marcellus Burdig., Berlin 1849. 4. (Trans. of the Berl. Academy 1847). The preface ends: epistolas quoque eorum quorum studium aemulatum me esse scripsi huic operi . . adieci (n. 3) . . versiculis quoque lusimus migmatum et specierum digestione compositis . . quod opusculum in infima parte huius codicis collocavi (see n. 4), et ut sermone nostro opera haec . . claudantur et nugas nostras multiplex foliorum celet obiectus.

3. After the praefatio and a sketch of the Roman and Greek measures we find Epistolae diversorum de qualitate et observatione medicinae (cf. n. 2), first of Hippocrates (rather Diocles) to king Antiochus (Antigonus), of Largius Designatianus (cf. above 289, 2) for his sons, then eiusdem Hippocratis ex graeco translata ad Maecenatem, Plinii Secundi ad amicos de medicina, Scribonius Largus to Callistus (above 289, 3), under the erroneous heading Cornelius Celsus O. Julio Callisto s. d.; then Cornelius Celsus Pullio Natali s. d. (beginning: Lectis duobus libris compositionum graecis, P. N., quos misisti mihi ut in latinum sermonem converterem, libenter parui tuae voluntati etc.); lastly Epistula Vindiciani comitis archiatrorum ad Valentinianum Imp. The last letter served perhaps originally as the dedication of the work de expertis remediis mentioned in it, from which collection of prescriptions (de vindiciani afri) a quotation occurs in the Latin translations of Cassius Felix (see 456, 2); Rose, Aneed. II p. 177 n. On Vindicianus cf. Cod. Theod. XIII 3, 12 (a. 379). X 19, 9 (a. 378: v. c., vicarius). August. Epist. 138, 3. Confess. IV 1, 5. VII 6, 8.

4. 78 hexameters, in which all kinds of remedies are enumerated, are appended to the work de med. (see n. 2). The epilogue to the reader is: quotque his sunt versus, tot agant tua tempora Ianos. The prosody of Greek names is arbitrary, e. g. Abdĕra (5). Cf. E. Meyer, Hist. of Botany II p. 301—304. They are printed in the editions of Marcellus (n. 1) and Celsus, frequently under the name of Vindicianus (n. 3) or even of Serenus Samonicus; in Riese's Anth. lat. 910.

5. Title in the mss.: Sexti Placiti Papyriensis de medicina ex animalibus liber. In thirty-four chapters (cf. n. 7) remedies for any kind of illnesses are enumerated, derived from 22 mammalia (c. 17: de puello et puella virgine), and from 12 birds. The author generally begins with the brains of the animal and then goes downwards to the extremities. Among the evils mentioned are impotence, sterility etc. Always a prominent place among the remedies is given to the partes obscenae, excrements etc. Cf. 1, 15: cervi testiculorum siccorum aliqua pars pota concubitum excitat. sed hoc non agit nisi voluntas sibi praeveniat. 17, 18: Ad profluvium mulieris. Si locum saepe lotio viri laverit. — 5, 1: cerebrum apri coctum et potatum cum vino omnes dolores sedat. 7, 1: lupi carnes conditas et decoctas qui ederit a daemonibus seu ab umbris quae per phantasmata apparent vel apparere creduntur non potest inquietari. 3, 13: Ad morbum articulorum. vulpes viva in amplo vase decocta donec ossa relinquat mire sanat (used as a bath). The statement that the author had himself tested the efficacy of some of his remedies (27, 2, cf. 2, 12) does not prove him to have been a physician, considering the nature of these remedies.

6. As the author uses Pliny's Natural History (especially b. 28) as his principal source, he seems to be a Roman. Cf. 17, 19: Ad febres acerrimas. A vestigio spadonis discedentis a ianua si sustuleris quodlibet dicens. Tolle te ut ille Gaius febribus liberetur. 24, 12: Ad pediculosos, quem affectum Graeci phthiriasin vocant. Cf. 16, 22: Ad phthiriacos, i. e. pediculosos. 5, 7: epinyctidas, i. e. pustellas quae nocte ingravescunt. The numerous Greek technical terms and his computation by drachms and oboli (as weights) do not furnish an argument against this assumption; cf. Hultsch, Metrol. p. 114. The work does not contain any chronological statements; but both its superstitious character and the relative simplicity and correctness of the style are in favour of assigning it to the fourth century. See also 18: de catta seu fele, and n. 7.

7. The commencement is wanting and is in the abridgment of Constantinus Africanus (c. a. 1087): Regi Aegyptiorum Octaviano Aug. salutem. Plurimis exemplis expertus sum victoriam tuam et prudentiam tuam, tamen arbitror numquam incidisse in manus tuas tantae utilitatis virtutem quae ab Aesculapio acceptas etc. If Octavianus had already become a legendary figure in the complete work, we should be obliged to place it much later. With the dedication of Sex. Plac. the first chapter (de taxione) has been lost and preserved only by the author

of the abridgment, unless it be a later interpolation, of which kind there are many in this work.

8. Editions by Fr. Emericus (Norimberg. 1538. 4). Albanus Torinus (Basil. 1538), G. Hummelberg (Zurich 1539. 4), in the Collections of Stephanus (1527), Rivinus (1654) and T. Chr. G. Ackermann (Parabilium medicamentorum scriptores antiqui, Nurenberg and Altorf 1788), where it occupies p. 1—76 (praef. 1—22, notae p. 77 - 112) and the Epitome of Constantinus Africanus p. 115—124.

9. By the archiater Theodorus Priscianus, a pupil of Vindicianus (n. 3), we possess five books Medicinae praesentaneae, a Latin version of a (lost) Greek work of the same author. He professes the pagan belief. He is quoted as early as by Alexander of Tralles (saec. VI). Edited by S. Gelenius (Basle 1532. 4.) and (under the name of Octavius Horatianus) by H. Neuenar (Strassburg 1532. fol.) and (though incomplete) by J. M. Bernhold (Ansbach 1791). Th. Pr.'s Antidotarium and his book de simplici medicina are lost. E. Meyer, Hist. of Botany II p. 286—299. His name is unjustly given to a badly written treatise entitled Diaeta (in 20 chapters), edited by G. E. Schreiner (Halle 1632) and elsewhere. Choulant, Bibliogr. Manual p. 216—218.

427. The most brilliant figure among the Christians of that age was the powerful bishop of Milan, Ambrosius (c. 340—397), both skilful and energetic and bold, unselfish and philanthropic, but insatiable with regard to the power and glory of his Church. Among his writings his Letters and the funeral sermons on Valentinian and Theodosius are important for history. His hymns became very famous; they kept more closely to classical form than those of Damasus.

1. There is extant a biography of A. by Paulinus, in which we read c. 3 sqq.: posito in administratione praefecturae Galliarum patre eius Ambrosio natus est (perhaps at Treves) Ambrosius. . . postquam edoctus liberalibus disciplinis ex urbe (Roma) egressus est . . ita splendide causas peroravit ut eligeretur a viro ill. Probo tunc praef. praet. ad consilium tribuendum. post haec consularitatis suscepit insignia, ut regeret Liguriam Aemiliamque provincias, venitque Mediolanum. per idem tempus mortuo Auxentio Arianae perfidiae episcopo etc. Ambros. de off. I 1, 4: ego raptus de tribunalibus et administrationis infulis ad sacerdotium. Hieron. ad a. 2390 (Bong. ad. a. 2391) = 374: post Auxenti seram mortem Mediolanii Ambrosio episcopo constituto omnis ad fidem rectam Italia convertitur. He exercised great influence on St. Augustine (conf. V 13 sq. VI 3 sq.). He was firm against the Arian Empress Justina and her son, the young Emperor Valentinian. He was employed in diplomatic missions to the Usurper Maximus. He proceeded very energetically against Theodosius on account of the slaughter of Thessalonica (a. 390). He died on Easter (4 April) 397. Paulinus' vita Ambrosii. Tillemont, Mémoires T. X (1705). p. 78 sqq. 729 sqq. R. Ceillier, hist. gén.

des auteurs sacrés VII (1738). p. 329—693. F. Böhringer, the Church of Christ I 3 (Zürich 1845) p. 1—98. G. Richter, the West Roman Empire p. 302, sq. 578 sq. 592—619. 643 sqq. Pruner, on the Theology of St. Ambrosius, Eichstädt 1862. 59 pp. 4.

2. G. Richter l. l. p. 602: 'Ambrosius was neither a very great nor a very accurate scholar; his explanations of the bible are often violent, confused and strange; his speculations did not go far beyond the symbol of Nicaea; his polemic works are not strictly dialectic and often mere sermons; and in these, though A. was considered a masterly preacher, we find ordinary thoughts in a pathetic and exaggerated diction. They produce a greater impression only when the speaker is vehemently excited and allows his full character to break forth. The power of A. consisted in his personal appearance; he is the leader and politician of the Church militant, who extended its outward power more than any one else. To bend the neck of the most powerful under the yoke of the Church, to frighten and repel and annihilate her adversaries, was his glory'.

3. Ambrosii opera e. g. Basil. (Froben) 1527 fol. (by Des. Erasmus), especially studio et labore monachorum ord. Sti. Benedicti (Jac. du Frische and Nic. Le Nourry), Paris. 1685—1690, 2 vols, fol. In Migne's Patrol. T. XV and XVI (Paris 1845). Cf. also W. Cureton, spicilegium syriacum, London 1855.

4. Among the writings of A., St. Jerome attaches special importance to de viduis liber and de virginitate tres libelli (Epist. 48, 14 cf. 22, 22: de virginitate . . Ambrosii nostri quae nuper scripsit ad sororem opuscula, in quibus tanto se effudit eloquio etc.). Augustin. ad Hier., Ep. 116, 21 (p. 774 Vall.): Ambrosius noster . . suos libros utilium praeceptionum plenos De officiis (ministrorum) voluit appellare. They are an imitation of Cicero's work. A separate edition (cum Paulini libello de vita St. Ambrosii) by J. G. Krabinger, Tubing. 1857. Bittner, de Cic. et Ambr. officiorum libris, Braunsberg 1849. 4. Hieron. Ep. 84, 7 (p. 529 Vall.): nuper sanctus Ambrosius sic Hexaëmeron (history of the creation) illius (i. e. Origenes) compilavit ut magis Hippolyti sententias Basiliique sequeretur. In this A. inserted parts of Suetonius' Prata, see Reifferscheid Sueton. p. 442 sq. There are 91 letters extant by him, some long enough to be called treatises. On those against Symmachus see above 418, 13. Speeches: De obitu Valentiniani consolatio; De obitu Theodosii oratio; De excessu fratris sui Satyri libri II. Other works: a) dogmatical: De fide libri V ad Gratianum Aug.; De spiritu sancto libri III ad Gratianum; De poenitentia libri II; De mysteriis; De incarnationis dominicae sacramento. b) practical (except de off. min. libri III, de virginibus ad Marcellinam sororem libri III, de viduis): De virginitate, De institutione virginis ad Eusebium, Exhortatio virginis consecratae. De bono mortis; De fuga saeculi. c) exegetical: De paradiso; De Cain et Abel; De Noë et arca; De Abraham libri II; De Isaac et anima; De Jacob et vita beata libri II; De Iosepho patriarcha: De benedictionibus patriarcharum; De Elia et ieiunio; De Nabuthe; De

Tobia; De interpellationibus Iob et David libri IV; Apologia prophetae David ad Theodosium Aug.; Enarrationes in XII psalmos; Expositio in psalmum CXVIII; Expositio evangelii secundum Lucam, libri X.

5. The twelve hymns of Ambrosius (morning-prayers, praise of God and Christ) are all in iambic dimeters and generally divided into stanzas of four lines each. They are frequently rhymed but not regularly. The syllables are sometimes lengthened by the rhythm, e. g. castús amor; honor natús et gaudium; a fact of very frequent occurrence in hymn 6, (where we have it five times in six lines); likewise shortening (cum spiritu paraclíto). Synaloephe is not scarce. A. introduced responses (cantus Ambrosianus); cf. Augustin. conf. IX 7, 15: tunc (under Ambr.) hymni et psalmi ut canerentur secundum morem orientalium partium . . institutum est et ex illo in hodiernum retentum. From this famous author of hymns the name of Ambrosian songs became afterwards a general appellation, e. g. as applied to the well-known Te deum laudamus.

6. On the translation of Josephus' bell. iud., which may possibly be by Ambrosius, see above 416, 6–8.

428. The most learned Christian writer and at the same time an excellent dialectician, though not without passion, is Hieronymus of Stridon, whose long life (c. 340—420) was spent in assiduous literary labours, in which he both interpreted and translated the books of the Old and the New Testament, and connected classical culture with the Christian religion and his time, ever ready to impart instruction through letters and to defend his views in passionate polemical works. Of chief importance are his enlarged version of the Chronicles of Eusebius, his history of Christian literature (viri illustres), his translation of the Bible, and his letters.

1. Hieronym. viri ill. 135: Hieronymus. patre Eusebio natus, oppido Stridonis, quod . . Dalmatiae quondam Pannoniaeque confinium fuit, usque in praesentem annum, i. e. Theodosii principis XIV^{um} (a. 392) haec scripsi (see n. 2). According to Prosper Aq. he was born 331, more probably (Zöckler p. 21—24) 340, if indeed so early. His instructors in grammar were at Rome Donatus (above 404), and an anonymous rhetorician (adv. Rufin. I 30), scarcely Victorinus (Zöckler p. 30 sq.). He travelled in Gaul, sojourned at Aquileia, and repeatedly travelled to the East (Syria). A. 374—378 he stayed in the Desert, chastising himself. Epist. 123, 10: cum in chartis ecclesiasticis iuvarem Damasum romanae urbis episcopum et orientis atque occidentis synodicis consultationibus responderem (a. 382). He had intercourse with noble Roman ladies, especially Marcella, Melania, Paula (Zöckler p. 109—126. 140 sqq. 276—278. 288 sq.). Adv. Rufin. III 6: ego philosophus, rhetor, gram-

maticus, dialecticus, Hebraeus, Graecus, Latinus, trilinguis. Prosper de ingrat. 56 sqq.: hebraeo simul et graio latioque venustus eloquio, morum exemplum mundique magister Hieronymus. Cf. Zöckler p. 365 sqq. Most of his works were written in the Monastery of Bethlehem, whither he retired a. 386 and where he staid until his death (30 Sept. 420). Vita Hieronymi ex eius potissimum scriptis concinnata by D. Erasmus (Ed. Vol. I) and especially by Vallarsi (ed. t. XI p. 1—280). Martianay, la vie de Jérome, Paris 1706. 4. Tillemont, Mémoires T. XII. R. Ceillier, hist. gén. des aut. sacrés X p. 172—463. L. Engelstoft, H. Strid. interpres, criticus, exegeta, apologeta, historicus, doctor, monachus, Copenh. 1797. Lauchert and Knoll, the History of St. Jerome, from the French of F. Collombet, Rottweil 1848. O. Zöckler, H.; his Life and works according to his writings, Gotha 1865. A. Thierry, St. Jérome, la société chrétienne à Rome et l' émigration romaine en terre sainte, 2 vols. Paris 1867.

2. Hieron. v. ill. 135: usque in praesentem annum (392 A. D.) . . haec scripsi: Vitam Pauli monachi. Epistolarum ad diversos librum unum. Ad Heliodorum exhortatoriam. Altercationem Luciferiani et orthodoxi. Chronicon omnimodae historiae. In Hieremiam et in Ezechiel homilias Origenis XXVIII, quas de graeco in latinum verti. De Seraphim, de Osanna et de frugi et luxurioso filiis. De tribus quaestionibus legis veteris. Homilias in cantica canticorum duas. Adversus Helvidium de virginitate Mariae perpetua. Ad Eustochium de virginitate servanda. Ad Marcellam epistolarum librum unum. Consolatorium de morte filiae ad Paulum. In epistolam Pauli ad Galatas commentariorum libros III. Item in ep. ad Ephes. libros III. In ep. ad Philem. librum unum. In Ecclesiasten commentarios. Quaestionum hebraicarum in Genesim librum unum. De locis librum unum. Hebraicorum nominum librum unum. De spiritu sancto Didymi, quem in latinum transtuli, librum unum. In Lucam homilias XXXIX. In psalmos X—XVI tractatus VII. Malchi, captivi monachi, vitam et beati Hilarionis. Novum testamentum graecae fidei reddidi (the four Gospels codicum graecorum emendata collatione, sed veterum, according to praef. to Damasus), vetus iuxta hebraicam transtuli. Epistolarum autem ad Paulam et Eustochium, quia quotidie scribuntur, incertus est numerus. Scripsi praeterea in Michaeam explanationum libros II, in Sophoniam librum unum, in Nahum librum unum, in Habacuc libros II, in Aggaeum librum unum, multaque alia de opere prophetali quae nunc habeo in manibus et necdum expleta sunt. On account of the absence of any arrangement according to the subject-matters and in agreement with Hieronymus' general manner we may suppose that this list follows the chronological order. Cf. comm. in Ionam, praef.: triennium circiter fluxit postquam quinque prophetas interpretatus sum, Michaeam, Nahum, Abacuc, Sophoniam et Aggaeum, et alio opere detentus non potui implere quod coeperam. scripsi enim librum de illustribus viris et adversum Iovinianum duo volumina, Apologeticum quoque et De optimo genere interpretandi ad Pammachium et Ad Nepotianum vel De Nepo-

tiano duos libros, et alia quae enumerare longum est. Among the extant works of H. (except his later letters) we may assign to even a later age: Contra Ioannem Hierosolymitanum, Adversus Rufinum libri III, Regula S. Pachomii, Contra Vigilantium, Dialogorum contra Pelagianos libri III, Commentariorum in Matthaeum libri IV, Commentarius in Danielem, Commentarii in Iesaiam and in Ieremiam.

3. Complete editions by Des. Erasmus (Basil. 1516, last ed. Basil. 1565. 9 vols. fol.), Marianus Victorius of Rieti (Rom. 1566, 9 vols. fol. Antv. 1578 sq.), the Benedictine monks (studio et labore Io. Martianay et Ant. Pouget, Paris 1693—1706, 5 vols. fol.) and especially by Dan. Vallarsi (Veron. 1734—1742, 11 vols.; Venet. 1766—1772). Also in Migne's Patrol. XXII—XXX (Paris 1845. 4.).

4. G. Richter, the West-Roman Empire (1865) p. 602: 'St. Jerome was the disputant and *dialectician* of the Church militant. His pen was ready for the war of opinions, ingenious, witty, bold, artful, merciless and pungent. He also shone by his brilliant erudition'. His rhetorical training appears in his fondness for efficient descriptions, his predilection for exaggeration and tricks, and a certain vanity and sensitiveness. Among the profane writers he was fond of Cicero and Virgil, also of Horace, Terence and Persius, while he never mentions Juvenal. He was less familiar with Greek literature (E. Lübeck, Hier. quos noverit scriptores et ex quibus hauserit, Lips. 1871. 54 pp.) Zöckler p. 323—340. Next to the rhetorical character of his works we are chiefly struck with their ascetic colouring.

5. The knowledge which H. had obtained of Hebrew with the help of Rabbis (Zöckler p. 56—58. 154 sq. cf. p. 171 sq. 179 sqq. 344 sqq.) is thought quite respectable by all experts. M. Rahmer, the Hebrew traditions in the works of H. critically explained by a comparison with the Jewish sources; I: the Quaestiones in Genesin, Breslau 1861. Hieronymi quaestiones hebraicae in libro Geneseos e recogn. P. de Lagarde, Lips. 1866. The treatise, Interpretationis hebr. nominum and De situ et nominibus locorum hebr. in P. de Lagarde's Onomastica sacra, Gotting. 1870. His translation of the Bible is in its way a masterpiece; it completely superseded the earlier translation (416, 11) and became itself the foundation of the Vulgate translation. G. Riegler, A critical history of the Vulgate tr., Sulzbach 1820. L. van Ess, a pragmatical and critical history of the V., Tübingen 1824. Zöckler p. 99—106. 183—186. 207 sq. 282. 342—367. On his commentaries see Zöckler p. 368—381.

6. The letters, some of which are large enough to be called small books (e. g. ep. 22 ad Eustochium de conservanda virginitate) have been divided into five classes by Vallarsi according to chronological order. Cf. I p. XXXVI: prima (Ep. 1—18) illas exhibet quas Hier. ab a. 370, antequam eremum peteret et in ipsa eremo, scripsit ad usque 381, quo relicta solitudine contendit Romam. in altera (19—45) illae succedunt quas Romae dedit ab a. 382 ad 385, quo Hierosolymam

navigavit. tertia (46—95) illas complectitur quas e Bethleemi monasterio scripsit ab a. 386 usque ad 400, quo in alexandrina synodo Origenes damnatus est. quarta (96—144) illas repraesentat quas ab eo tempore, a. 401, ad vitae usque finem, a. 420, exaravit. in quintam denique classem tres illas (145—147) redegi quarum tempus minus compertum, iisque tres alias (148—150) subdidi quarum auctor incertus est. He justifies the chronological arrangement ib. p. XXXVI—LXIV. Ep. 85, 1 (p. 533 Vall.): uno ad occidentem navigandi tempore tantae a me simul epistolae flagitantur ut si cuncta ad singulos velim rescribere occurrere nequeam. unde accidit ut omissa compositione verborum et scribentium sollicitudine dictem quidquid in buccam venerit. Schaubach, on the letters of St. Jerome, Coblenz 1855. 4.

7. The translation of the Chronicles of Eusebius is dedicated Vincentio et Gallieno. The preface dwells on the difficulty common to all translations: et ad communem difficultatem . . hoc nobis proprium accedat quod historia multiplex est, habens in barbara nomina res incognitas Latinis, numeros inextricabiles, virgulas rebus pariter ac numeris intertextas (p. 2 Sch.). . . (p. 3:) Graecorum fidem suo auctori adsignent et quae nova inseruimus de aliis probatissimis viris libata cognoscant. sciendum etenim est me et interpretis et scriptoris ex parte officio usum, quia et graeca fidelissime expressi et nonnulla quae mihi intermissa videbantur adieci, in romana maxime historia, quam Eusebius huius conditor libri . . perstrinxisse mihi videbatur. itaque a Nino et Abraham usque ad Troiae captivitatem pura graeca translatio est. a Troia autem usque ad XX Constantini annum nunc addita nunc mixta sunt plurima quae de Tranquillo et ceteris inlustribus in historicis curiosissime excerpsi. a Constantini autem supra dicto anno (a. 325) usque ad consulatum Augg. Valentis sexies et Valentiniani iterum (a. 378) totum meum est. quo fine contentus reliquum temporis Gratiani et Theodosii latioris historiae stilo reservavi, . . quoniam dibacchantibus adhuc in terra nostra barbaris incerta sunt omnia. In agreement with this we read after Ol. 276, 2 = a. Abr. 2342 = Const. 20: huc usque historiam scripsit Eusebius Pamphili martyris contubernalis. cui nos ista subiecimus. Eusebius began with the first year of Abraham = 43 of Ninus = 22 of Europs = the first of the 16th dynasty of the Theban Kings. Ol. I 1 = a. Abr. 1240 (Mai: Scaliger and Pontacus 1241). Abr. 2016 = 1 A. D. Eusebius placed the birth of Christ in the year of the world 5199. A. v. Gutschmid, de temporum notis quibus Eusebius utitur in chronicis canonibus, Kiel 1868. 4.

8. Hieronymus' own additions to these Chronicles may be controlled by the Armenian translation of Eusebius which is free from interpolations; found 1816 and edited by I. Zorab et A. Mai (Milan 1818), better opera I. B. Aucher (Venet. 1818). The fragments of the Greek original and the translation of Hieronymus edited by A. Pontacus (Bordeaux 1604. fol.), in Jos. Scaliger's thesaurus temporum (Lugd. 1606. Amsterd. 1658. fol.), Vallarsi (ed. Hier. t. VIII), Th. Roncalli (vetust. lat. scr. chronica, Patav. 1787, t. I), in Mai's Scriptt. vett. nova

coll. VIII (Rome 1833), and especially by A. Schöne (Eusebi chronicorum libri duo, vol. II. Berol. 1866); see his Quaestionum Hieronym. capita selecta (Lips. 1864) and Gött. Gel. Anz. 1867, p. 986—996. A. v. Gutschmid in Fleckeisen's Jahrbb. 95, p. 677—688.

9. Th. Mommsen, on the sources of the Chronicles of Hier., Trans. of the Saxon Society of Literature II (phil. and hist. Class I), Leipzig 1850, p. 669—693. According to Mommsen (p. 683 sq.), Hier. employed, besides the Canon and the series regum of Eusebius, the breviarium of Eutropius, breviarium Sex. Rufi, the City Chronicles, Suetonius' work de viris in litteris illustribus (above 342, 7) which he possessed complete, a lost latina historia de origine gentis rom. and a lost work on the time from Pompey's death to the battle of Actium. His dates are not always trustworthy, as he arbitrarily placed his notes under certain years whenever his sources did not give a date (cf. e. g. above 198, 2. 372, 1 extr., 392, 1. Ritschl, Parerga p. 609 sqq. Reifferscheid's Sueton. p. 365. 380—387). Hieron.'s Chronicles were continued by Prosper and Cassiodorus.

10. The work de viris illustribus (or de scriptoribus ecclesiasticis) was composed a. 392 and dedicated to the praef. praet. Dexter. Preface: hortaris me, Dexter, ut Tranquillum sequens ecclesiasticos scriptores in ordinem digeram et quod ille in enumerandis gentilium litterarum viris fecit illustribus ego in nostris faciam, i. e. ut a passione Christi usque ad XIV^{um} Theodosii Imp. annum (392) omnes qui de scripturis sacris memoriae aliquid prodiderunt tibi breviter exponam. . . ego . . magistrum memet ipsum habeo, quamquam Eusebius Pamphili in X eccles. hist. libris maximo nobis adiumento fuerit et singulorum de quibus scripturi sumus volumina aetates auctorum suorum saepe testentur. In Vallarsi's edition (T. II 2. p. 821 sqq.) the old Greek version edited by D. Erasmus under the name of Sophronius, and (p. 967 sqq.) Gennadius' continuation of Hier., are also printed.

429. Tyrannius (Turanius) Rufinus (c. 345—410) of Aquileia, owes his celebrity chiefly to the bitter invective written against him by his former friend Hieronymus. He exerted himself principally in translating the works of the Greek fathers, especially Origenes and Eusebius. He did not, however, endeavour to render them faithfully. His translation of the Sentences of Sextius is in the same character. Other Christian prose-writers of this time were the grammarians Cresconius, Euagrius, Dexter, Anastasius, and Chromatius.

1. Gennad. vir. ill. 17: Rufinus Aquileiensis ecclesiae presbyter non minima pars fuit doctorum ecclesiae et in transferendo de graeco in latinum elegans ingenium habuit. denique maximam partem Graecorum bybliothecae Latinis exhibuit: Basilii scilicet Caesariensis . .,

Gregorii Nazianzeni . ., Clementis Romani recognitionum libros, Eusebii Caesariensis . . ecclesiasticam historiam, Sexti sententias, Evagrii sententias (see n. 4). interpretatus est etiam sententias Pamphili martyris adversum mathematicos. . . Origenis autem non omnia, quia et Hieronymus transtulit aliquanta. . . exposuit idem Rufinus Symbolum. . . disseruit et benedictionem Jacob super patriarchas triplici, i. e. historico, morali et mystico, sensu. scripsit et Epistolas ad timorem dei hortatorias multas, inter quas praeeminent illae quas ad Probam dedit. Historiae etiam ecclesiasticae (of Eusebius) . . addidit X et XI^{um} librum. sed et obtrectatori opusculorum suorum (i. e. Hieronymus) respondit duobus voluminibus, arguens et convincens de dei intuitu et ecclesiae utilitate . . ingenium agitasse, illum vero aemulationis stimulo incitatum ob obloquendum stilum vertisse. Cf. Ap. Sidon. Ep. II 9: Origenes Turranio Rufino interpretatus . . inspiciebatur . . ad verbum sententiamque translatus.

2. Rufini opera ad codd. emend. Domin. Vallarsi, Veron. 1745. fol. Tom. I (unfinished) = Migne's Patrolog. XXI, Paris 1849. Contains: de benedictionibus patriarcharum libri II; Commentarius in symbolum apostolorum; Historia monachorum; Historiae eccl. libri II; Apologiae in Hieronymum libri II; Apologia altera ad Anastasium papam, also works merely ascribed to Rufinus. The translations of Rufinus are found in the editions of Origenes etc., the invectives in those of Hieronymus. On Rufinus see R. Ceillier, hist. gén. X p. 1—65. J. Fontanini, hist. lit. Aquileiensis (Rome 1742. 4.), also in Vallarsi's and Migne's Edit. F. J. F. B. M. de Rubeis, dissertationes (Venet. 1754. 4.). J. H. Marzuttini, de Turanii Rufini pr. Aq. fide et religione, Patav. 1835.

3. Hieronym. Ep. 4 (p. 14 Vall.): Rufinus, qui cum sancta Melania ab Aegypto Hierosolymam venisse narratur, individua mihi germanitatis caritate conexus est. . . in illo conspicies expressa sanctitatis insignia etc. Hieronymus' dispute with Rufinus related to his criticism on Origenes, to whom Rufinus adhered even after he had been pronounced a heretic. The more openly Hier. had formerly praised and admired Origenes (see Ep. 84), the ruder did he become to Rufinus who publicly reminded him of this. Literary jealousy may also have been of influence. See above 428, 2 extr. Specimens of Hier's altered tone towards Rufin. are given by Funccius de veg. senect. 74, p. 800. Rufinus is considered a high authority on all questions of scholarship by Paulinus (Nol.); see Paulin. epist. 28, 5 and ep. 46.

4. On Rufinus' version of the Maxims of Sextius see above 261, 6. Hieronym. ep. 133, 3 (p. 1029 Vall.): Evagrius Ponticus Iberita (cf. Gennad. vir. ill. 11) . . edidit librum et sententias *περὶ ἀπαθείας*. . . huius libros per orientem graecos et interpretante discipulo eius Rufino latinos plerique in occidente lectitant. qui librum quoque scripsit quasi de monachis. . . illam autem temeritatem, immo insaniam eius quis digno possit explicare sermone quod Sexti Pythagorei, hominis absque

Christo atque ethnici, immutato nomine Sixti martyris et romanae ecclesiae episcopi praenotavit (no doubt bonâ fide). in quo iuxta dogma Pythagoricorum . . multa de perfectione dicitur, ut qui volumen philosophi nesciunt sub martyris nomine bibant de aureo calice Babylonis. denique in ipso volumine nulla prophetarum, . . nulla Christi fit mentio ut episcopum et martyrem sine Christi fide fuisse contendat. | fecerat hoc et in sancti Pamphili martyris nomine, ut librum primum VI librorum defensionis Origenis . . nomine Pamphili martyris praenotaret, quo scilicet egregia illa IV Origenis *περὶ ἀρχῶν* volumina latinis infunderet auribus. The last work exists only in the translation of Rufinus.

5. Gennad. vir. ill. 16: Faustinus presbyter scripsit ad personam Flaccillae reginae († 386) Adversum Arianos et Macedonianos libros VII . . scripsit et librum quem Valentiniano, Theodosio et Arcadio impp. pro defensione suorum . . obtulit. Both are extant and printed e. g. in the Bibl. patr. max. V, in Gallandi bibl. patr. VIII, and in Migne's Patrol. XIII.

6. Augustin. retract. II 26: grammaticus quidam donatista Cresconius cum invenisset epistolam meam . . putavit mihi esse respondendum et hoc ipsum scripsit ad me. cui operi eius libris quattuor respondi. . . hos autem IV libros quando scripsi iam contra Donatistas leges dederat Honorius imperator.

7. On the Donatist Tichonius see below 436, 2.

8. Hieron. vir. ill. 125: Evagrius Antiochiae episcopus . . vitam beati Antonii de graeco Athanasii in sermonem nostrum transtulit.

9. Hieron. vir. ill. 132: Dexter Paciani (above 415, 4) filius, clarus apud saeculum et Christi fidei deditus, fertur ad me omnimodam historiam texuisse, quam necdum legi. The work was either never finished or lost. The Chronicon Dextri (cf. a. 752—1183 v. c.), which the Spanish Jesuit Hieronymus Romanus de Higera pretended to have found (printed e. g. Caesaraugust. 1694. 4. in Migne's Patrol. XXXI) is a forgery.

10. Two letters of Anastasius, Bishop of Rome a. 398—402, see Coustant, Epist. pontiff. I p. 719 sqq. (485 sqq. Schön.). Gallandi bibl. patr. VIII p. 246 sqq. In Migne's patrol. XX p. 68—76. XXI p. 627 sqq.

11. By Chromatius, Bishop of Aquileia, † 406, we possess Sermons on the Gospel of St. Matthew, e. g. in Gallandi bibl. patr. VIII p. 333 sqq. and in Migne's patrol. XX p. 323 sqq.

430. The most eminent Christian poet is Aurelius Prudentius Clemens (a. 348— c. 410), whose rhetorical training exhibited itself in the abundance and versatility of words with which he treated a number of indifferent subjects, some of them of quite an abstract nature, in various metres, especially in

epics. His best performance is his work on martyrdoms (peristephanon), which are often related with much warmth and life and in a graphic manner. His poems in lyrical metres exhibit imitation of Horace. His prosody bears the traces of his time, but to a far smaller degree than other contemporary works. We may point to the account of Sacred History in Virgilian verse by Proba Faltonia, and some other performances.

1. Gennad. vir. ill. 13: Prudentius, vir saeculari litteratura eruditus, composuit *δίπτοχαῖον* de toto veteri et novo testamento personis exceptis. commentatus est autem in morem Graecorum Hexaemeron de mundi fabrica (not extant cf. ib. 67). . . fecit et in laudem martyrum sub aliquorum nominibus Invitatorium ad martyrium librum unum et Hymnorum alterum. His complete name Aurelius Prudentius Clemens is given e. g. by the old cod. Puteaneus. He was born Salia cos. (praef. 24) = a. 348, in Spain (probably at Calagurris, see Perist. IV 31 cf. I 116 nostro oppido; ib. IV 1. 97 proving less in favour of Caesaraugusta = Saragossa). On his Life see praef. 7 sqq.: docuit toga (virilis) infectum vitiis falsa loqui (in a Rhetorical School). (13) . . exin iurgia turbidos armarunt animos (advocate). . . (16 sqq.) bis legum moderamine frenos nobilium reximus urbium (as praeses of a province), ius civile bonis reddidimus, terruimus reos. tandem militiae (some office at Court) gradu evectum pietas principis (Theodosius) extulit, adsumptum propius stare iubens ordine proximo. At the age of 57 years (praef. 1 sqq.) = 405 he published the collection of his poems.

2. Praef. 34 sqq.: fine sub ultimo peccatrix anima stultitiam exuat, saltem voce deum concelebret, si meritis nequit: hymnis continuet dies, nec nox ulla vacet quin dominum canat, pugnet contra hĕreses, cātholicam discutiat fidem, conculcet sacra gentium, labem, Roma, tuis inferat idŏlis, carmen martyribus devoveat, laudet apostolos. If the order of composition be observed here, the succession would be: Cathemerinon, Apotheosis, Hamartigenia, Psychomachia, Contra Symmachum libri II, Peristephanon, Dittochaeon. His titles are almost exclusively Greek.

3. *Καθημερινῶν* liber treats of the course of day and life in the Christian sense, and contains 1. hymnus ad galli cantum. 2. hymnus matutinus (both in dim. iamb. ac.). 3. h. ante cibum (tetr. dact. c.). 4. h. post cibum (phalaec.). 5. h. ad incensum lucernae (asclep. min.). 6. h. ante somnum (dim. iamb. c.). 7. h. ieiunantium (trim. iamb. ac.). 8. h. post ieiunium (sapph. strophes). 9. h. omnis horae (tetr. troch. c.). 10. h. ad exequias defuncti (dim. anap. c.). 11. h. VIII kal. Ian. (Christmas). 12. h. Epiphaniae, both in dim. iamb. ac.

4. *Ἀποθέωσις*, a versified account of the doctrine of the Trinity, with occasional attacks against the principal heresies, e. g. those of

the Patripassians, Arians, Sabellians, Manichaeans, the Docetists etc. After a twofold introduction in hexameters and in the metre of Hor. epo. 1—10, the poem itself follows in 1084 hexameters.

5. Ἁμαρτιγένεια. After an introduction concerning Cain and Abel (in iambic trim.), the poet discusses the origin of sin (in 966 hexameters), principally as opposed to the dualistic views of the Gnostics and of Marcion (praef. 36; v. 56. 124. 502).

6. Ψυχομαχία consists of an iambic preface and 915 hexameters. The contest for the soul of man is carried on by the abstract figures of Ira, Patientia, Superbia, Sobrietas, Avaritia, Virtus, Spes, Fides, Ratio, Concordia, Discordia etc.

7. Contra Symmachum libri II. After a preface in asclep. min. b. I contains 657 hexameters, b. II (with praef. in glyconean metre) 1132 hexameters. On the subject see above 418, 13. The first book goes against polytheism in general, the second against the single statements of Symmachus.

8. Περὶ στεφάνων liber, in praise of Christian martyrs: 1. In honorem Emeterii et Chelidonii Calagurritanorum, 120 tetr. troch. c. 2. Laurentii, 584 dim. iamb. ac. in strophes of four lines each. 3. Eulaliae, 215 tetr. dact. c. 4. XVIII martyrum Caesaraugustanorum, 50 Sapphic Strophes. 5. Vincentii, 575 dim. iamb. ac. 6. Fructuosi episc. Tarraconensis et Augurii et Eulogii diaconorum, 162 phalaecean hendecasyllabics. 7. Quirini episc. eccl. siscianae, 90 glyconean lines. 8. De loco in quo martyres passi sunt, nunc baptisterium Calagurri, 9 distichs. 9. Passio Cassiani forocorneliensis, 106 lines in the metre of Hor. epo. 16. 10. Romani, of almost the size of an epic, but in (1140) iambic senarii (perhaps in strophes of five lines each), a lengthy exposition of the Christian and pagan point of view in speeches pro and con. 11. Hippolyti, 123 distichs. 12. Petri et Pauli apostolorum, 66 lines in the metre of Hor. O. I 4. 13. Cypriani, 106 archilochic lines. 14. Agnetis virginis, 133 alcaeic hendecasyllabics.

9. Dittochaeon (double food?), 49 hexametrical epigrams in four lines each on subjects taken from the Old and the New Testament, from Adam and Eve to the Apocalypse, a kind of Christian picture-gallery.

10. The violations of prosody, caused by rhythmical influences are rarely so close together in Prudentius as praef. 39 sqq. (above n. 2). A collection of them in Dressel's edition p. XVII cf. not. 54, Archaisms like aquai and venarier, to help the metre, though not frequent.

11. There are numerous mss. of Prudentius; the earliest (saec. V—VI) and most important is the cod. Puteaneus (now Paris. 8084) used by N. Heinsius. P. Krüger, Hermes IV p. 352 sq. A catalogue of the Italian mss. in Dressel p. XLVI sqq.

12. A catalogue and description of the editions in Dressel p. XXV —XLVI. We may principally mention those by V. Giselin (Antv. 1564

and often), J. Weitz (Hanau 1613), N. Heinsius (Amstel. 1667), Chr. Cellarius (Halle 1703), Faustinus Arevalus (Rom. 1788 sq. 2 vols.), Th. Obbarius (rec. et expl., Tubing. 1845), Migne (Patrolog. LIX and LX), Alb. Dressel (ad vatic. all. codd. fid. rec., ill. expl., Lips. 1860).

13. H. Middeldorpf, de Prudentio et theologia Prudentiana, Berl. 1823. 1827. 4. = Illgen's Journal of hist. Theol. II (1832) p. 127—190. F. Delavigne, de lyrica apud Prud. poesi, Toulouse 1848. J. B. Brys, de vita et scriptis Prud., Luvai 1855. C. G. Schmidt, Prudentiana, in the Journal of Lutheran theology edited by Delitzsch XXVII (1866). Cl. Brockhaus, Aus. Prud. Cl. in his importance for the Church of his time, Leipzig 1872. 355 pp.

14. In the cod. Paris. 8084 of Prudentius (see n. 11) is also found a Christian poem in 122 hexameters of a. 394 or 395, in which polytheism is impugned, with many violations of prosody (e. g. v. 44: collăribus subito membrā circumdare suetus) and in pursuance of the events of recent times (Flavianus, above 421, 1). Ch. Morel, Revue archéol. 1868. I p. 453—457. II p. 44—55. A. Riese, Anthol. lat. I p. 13—17, cf. p. XI. J. B. Rossi, Bull. di arch. crist. 1868, p. 49—58. 61—75. Th. Mommsen, Hermes IV p. 350—363 (carmen non minus pium et christianum quam ineptum et barbarum).

15. Isidor. orig. I 38, 25 (cf. de script. eccl. 5): Proba, uxor Adelphi (proconsulis), centonem ex Vergilio de fabrica mundi et evangeliis plenissime expressit. Cf. ill. 5. J. Fontanini, de antiquitt. Hortae (Rome 1708. 4.) II 1 sq., who distinguishes this Falconia (Faltonia) Proba of Horta from Anicia Faltonia Proba and from Valeria Proba. The cento has often been printed (Fabricius, bibl. lat. med. aet. ed. Mansi I p. 143 sq.), at first Venet. 1472 fol., then e. g. by Meibom (Helmstädt 1597. 4.), in the Centones homerici et vergiliani of H. Stephanus (1578), J. H. Kromayer (Hal. 1719). L. H. Teucher (Lips. 1793), the last time in Migne's patrol. XIX p. 803—817. According to Montfaucon, diar. ital. p. 36, a ms. saec. X bears the subscription: Proba uxor Adelphi, mater Olybrii et Alypii, cum Constantini bellum adversus Magnentium conscripsisset, conscripsit et hunc librum. In her preface she actually refers to publications of that kind: iamdudum temerasse duces pia foedera pacis, . . diversasque neces regum, crudelia bella, . . confiteor, scripsi; satis et meminisse malorum. nunc, deus omnipotens, sacrum, precor, accipe carmen, . . arcana ut possim vatis Proba cuncta referre. . . Vergilium cecinisse loquar pia munera Christi. Of the Old Testament only the creation, origin of sin and the flood are related. cetera facta patrum pugnataque in ordine bella praetereo atque aliis post me memoranda relinquo. She then turns to the birth of Christ and relates his history until his ascension. A grammarian who copied this (or a similar?) cento for some Emperor (perhaps Arcadius), added some bad dedicatory lines (Anth. lat. 735 R.): Romulidum ductor, . . dignare Maronem mutatum in melius divino agnoscere sensu, scribendum famulo quem iussisti. . . haec relegens servesque diu tradasque

minori Arcadio, haec legat ille tuo generi, haec tua semper accipiat doceatque suos augusta propago. See below 466, 6. J. Aschbach, on the Anicii and the Roman poetess Proba, Vienna 1870 (Trans. of the Academy at Vienna, phil. and hist. Class LXIV p. 369—496).

16. On Severus Sanctus Endelechius see below 441, 1 and 2.

431. Meropius Pontius Anicius Paulinus of Burdigala (a. 353—431), a relative and friend of Ausonius, wrote both in verse and prose. As he had received a careful rhetorical training, he composed a panegyric on Theodosius after his victory over Eugenius. We possess by him 51 letters and a number of poems in epic and melic metres. A. 389 Paulinus became a convert to Christianity and henceforth devoted his pen to the glorification of his faith; after he had become bishop of Nola a. 409, he wrote in praise of the martyr Felix, who was venerated there. His skill in formal respects and his comprehensive acquaintance with secular literature appear in these works very conspicuously.

1. Gennad. vir. ill. 48: Paulinus, Nolae Campaniae episcopus, composuit versu brevia (?), sed multa, et ad Celsum quendam epitaphii vice consolatorium libellum super mortem christiani et baptizati infantis, spe christiani munitum; et ad Severum (n. 2 fin.) plures epistolas, et ad Theodosium imp. ante episcopatum prosa panegyricum super victoria tyrannorum, eo maxime quod fide et oratione plus quam armis vicerit (cf. Hieron. ep. 58, 8: librum tuum quem pro Theodosio principe prudenter ornateque compositum transmisisti libenter legi et praecipue mihi in eo subdivisio placuit etc. Paulin. epist. 28, 6: ut in Theodosio non tam imperatorem quam Christi servum . . praedicarem). fecit et Sacramentarium et Hymnarium. ad sororem quoque epistolas multas de contemtu mundi dedit. edidit et ex diversis causis diversa disputatione tractatus, praecipuus tamen omnium eius opusculorum est Liber de poenitentia et laude generali omnium martyrum. claruit temporibus Honorii et Valentiniani non solum eruditione et sanctitate vitae sed et potentia adversum daemones. Extensive Prolegomena by Muratori in Migne LXI p. 16—124 and the testimonies on P. ib. p. 125—152. R. Ceillier, hist. gén. X p. 543—631. A. Buse, Paulinus bishop of Nola and his time, Regensburg 1856. 2 vols.

2. Ausonius dedicated to P. his Technopaegn. and addressed to him Epist. 19—25 (e. g. 23, 33 sqq.: ego sum tuus altor et ille praeceptor primus, veterum largitor honorum, primus in Aonidum qui te collegia duxi). See above § 414, 3 m. Paulinus' poetical answer in his c. 10, where we read v. 93 sqq.: tibi disciplinas, dignitatem, litteras, linguae, togae, famae decus, provectus, altus, institutus debeo, patrone, praeceptor, pater. Yet Ausonius had soon to learn that his pupil was

more influenced by his rich and pious wife, Therasia, than by his old semi-pagan teacher. Augustin. de civ. dei I 10: Paulinus noster, Nolensis episcopus, ex opulentissimo divite voluntate pauperrimus (he gave his riches to the poor, see Sulpic. v. Mart. 25, 4). He corresponded with Hieronymus, Augustine and Sulpicius Severus. Cf. 435, 1. 441, 1. 4. Cos. (suff.) before Ausonius (Aus. epist. 20), i. e. before 379.

3. Editions of the works of P. by H. Rosweyd (Antv. 1622), P. F. Chifflet (Dijon 1662. 4.), J. B. Lebrun des Mareltes (Paris 1685. 2 vols. 4.), L. A. Muratori (Veron. 1736. fol.), in the Bibl. patr. max. VI and in Migne's patrol. LXI (Paris 1847). Carmen eucharisticum prolegomenis et adnot. ill. ed. L. Leipziger, Breslau 1858.

4. Of the extant 36 poems of P. we possess from his pagan period jocular poetical Epistles to Gestidius (1. 2), and a fragment de regibus after Suetonius (3). The greater half of the Christian poems is devoted to Felix (c. 12–14. 18 in 469 hexameters; 19 in 730, 21 in 858 hexameters; 23, 26—34 partly in fragments), c. 6 treats of St. John the Baptist; others are prayers (4 sq.), paraphrases of psalms (e. g. 7: beatus ille qui procul vitam suam ab impiorum segregarit coetibus), or polemical and apologetic in their contents (c. 36: discussi, fateor, sectas, Antonius, omnes, plurima quaesivi, per singula quaeque cucurri, sed nihil inveni melius quam credere Christo). In his melic metres P. imitates Horace, principally in his Sapphic stanzas and in the Epodes (Hor. epo. 1—10), the first especially c. 17 addressed to bishop Nicetas in Dacia (85 strophes), the latter in c. 24 addressed to Cytherius (942 lines). In elegiac metre the epithalamium c. 25, and c. 35 on the death of young Celsus (630 lines).

432. The Lex dei or a Comparison of the Mosaic and Roman law concerning the most frequent sins (Collatio legum mosaicarum et romanarum) seems to be by a theologian who wrote in the reign of Theodosius. The work endeavours to trace the agreement of either law and to prove the Mosaic law as the foundation of the Roman law.

1. Title in the mss.: Lex dei quam deus praecepit ad Moysen. The sixteen titles treat 1) de sicariis et homicidis; 2) de atroci iniuria; 3) de iure et saevitia dominorum cohibenda; 4) de adulteris; 5) de stupratoribus; 6) de incestis; 7) de furibus; 8) de falso testimonio; 9) de familiari testimonio non admittendo; 10) de deposito; 11) de abigeis; 12) de incendiariis; 13) de termino moto; 14) de plagiariis; 15) de mathematicis et Manichaeis; 16) de legitima successione. The Mosaic law is always put first (Moyses dicit; scriptura divina dicit), in a translation which is neither by Hieronymus nor by Sulpicius Severus and does not even closely follow the LXX. There follows the Roman law extracted from the principal works of Gaius, Papinian, Ulpian,

Paulus and Modestinus, and Imperial Constitutions from the Codex Gregorianus and Hermogenianus together with some laws of more recent origin. The latest law quoted is by Theodosius of a. 390 (v. 2).

2. For the tendency of the work. VII 1: quodsi XII tabulae . . iubent, scitote iurisconsulti quia Moyses prius hoc statuit, sicut lectio manifestat. Cf. VI 7: maledicti sunt omnes incesti per legem, cum adhuc rudibus populis ex divino nutu condita iisdem adstipulantibus sanciretur, et utique omnes malefici puniti sunt quos divina et humana sententia consona voce damnavit. XIV 3, 6: sciendum tamen est ex novellis constitutionibus . . plagiatores . . puniendos, quamvis et Paulus etc. V 2: hoc quidem (the opinion of Paulus sent. II) iuris est; mentem tamen legis Moysis Imp. Theodosii constitutio (a. 390) ad plenum secuta cognoscitur. These specimens of the diction of the work might lead us to think that the author was of Greek descent.

3. As the author knows only the codex Gregorianus and Hermogenianus, and not the Theodosianus, and as he mentions only the Manichaeans among the heretics and seems to speak of Theodosius the Great as a living person (V 2; see n. 2), it is credible that the work was composed at the close of his reign, i. e. in the time of Ambrosius and Rufinus, though we find no traces to infer the authorship of either of them. The author must, however, have been well-versed in the works of the Roman Jurists and more so than was usual among theologians. He may, therefore, originally have been an orator. That the work was composed after the law of citation (426) does not immediately follow, because the author has voluntarily limited himself to the five Jurists mentioned in it, that law merely fixing as legal a custom which had long been in existence. That it arose in the East (cf. n. 2 fin.) may be inferred from a law made by Valentinian, Theodosius and Arcadius conjointly a. 390 being in the text merely called Theodosii constitutio.

4. We possess this work in three mss., the Pithoeanus (at Berlin) saec. IX, Vercellensis and Vindobonensis saec. XI. The first edition by Pithoeus, Paris. 1573. 4. Modern editions by F. A. Biener (ius civ. anteiust. II p. 1417 sqq.) and especially F. Blume (Bonn 1833 = Bonn corp. iur. anteiust. I p. 389—396) and Ph. E. Huschke (iurisprud. anteiust. p. 530—590 = 549—609. ed. II).

5. Huschke, on the age and author of the leg. m. et. r. collatio, Journal of scientific Jurispr. XIII p. 1—49, and in his iurisprud. ant. p. 528—530 = 547—549. A. F. Rudorff, Hist. of Rom. Law I p. 284—286 and: on the origin and design of the lex dei or mos. et rom. leg. coll., Berlin 1869. 32 pp. 4. (Trans. of the Ac.) H. E. Dirksen, on the coll. leg. etc., Posthumous Writings II p. 100 sq.

3. The Fourth to the Fifth century.

433. At the close of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth century we have a number of writers, among whom Claudian is the most important heathen and St. Augustine the most prominent Christian author. Though a native of Alexandria, Claudius Claudianus wrote principally in Latin, and had studied the poets of the classical age so accurately that he imitated their diction and metres with perfect success. Claudian reminds us of Statius by his great command of form and phrases, also by his flattery to the great, but he far surpassed him in imagination and thought and in his varied range of subjects. He generally derived his subjects from his time, in praising high patrons like Stilicho and Honorius, and inveighing against common adversaries like Rufinus, and Eutropius. He bestowed the whole ornament of epic poetry upon mere occasional pieces. His works contain much that is historically interesting, though the value of this information is greatly impaired by poetical exaggeration and the poet's personal connexion with the acting persons. The mastery of Claudian in descriptions appears very brilliantly in his Rape of Proserpina. In his other poems he likewise proves himself to have inherited the skill of the Alexandrine poets in mythological narrations. We find, however, fault with Claudian for using means too elaborate as compared with the insignificance of his subjects, and for being farfetched and exaggerating his description too rhetorically.

1. Orelli 1182 = Mommsen I. R. N. 6794 (C. I gr. III 6246): Claudio Claudiano v. c. tribuno et notario inter ceteras (vig)entes artes praegloriosissimo poetarum, licet ad memoriam sempiternam carmina ab eodem scripta sufficiant, adtamen testimonii gratia ob iudicii sui fidem dd. nn. Arcadius et Honorius felicissimi ac doctissimi imperatores senatu petente statuam in foro divi Traiani erigi collocarique iusserunt. *Εἰν ἑνὶ Βιργιλίοιο νόον καὶ Μοῦσαν Ὁμήρου Κλαυδιανὸν Ῥώμη καὶ Βασιλῆς ἔθεσαν.* Ap. Sidon. carm. IX 271 sqq.: non pelusiaco satus Canopo, qui ferruginei toros mariti et Musa canit inferos superna. Suid. II p. 272 Bernh.: *Κλαυδιανὸς Ἀλεξανδρεύς, ἐποποιὸς νεώτερος. γέγονεν ἐπὶ τῶν χρόνων Ἀρκαδίου καὶ Ὀνωρίου τῶν βασιλέων.* Claud. XXXIX (ep. 1), 20: conditor hic (Alexander M.) patriae. 56 sqq. XLIII (ep. 5), 3: nostro cognite Nilo. Augustin. civ. dei V 26: unde et poeta Claudianus, quamvis a Christi nomine alienus, in eius (Theodosii) tamen laudibus dixit. Cf. Oros. VII 35: unus ex ipsis (the adversaries of

Christianity) poeta quidem eximius, sed paganus pervicacissimus, . . testimonium tulit. In the poems of Cl. nothing seems to lead beyond the year 404: we may, therefore, consider it certain that he did not survive the fall of his patron Stilicho.

2. The arrangement of the poems of Cl. is very different in the mss. and editions (Gesner p. XXXIX sqq.). Since Gesner the poems generally occupy the first place, and are followed by the Epistles, Idyls and Epigrams.

3. Greater poems on historical subjects. The principal ms. Vatic. 2809 saec. XI; see L. Jeep (n. 11). I: in consulatum Olybrii et Probini (a. 395), 279 hexameters. II—V: the two books in Rufinum, in 387 and 527 hexameters, to each of which an introduction in elegiac metre is prefixed. VI and VII: de III consulatu Honorii Aug. (a. 396), 211 hexameters with an elegiac preface. VIII: de IV cons. Honorii Aug. (a. 398). 656 hexam. IX and X: de nuptiis Honorii et Mariae (a. 398), 341 hex. with an elegiac preface. Berchem, de Cl. epithalamio in nupt. H. et M., Crefeld 1861. 4. XI—XIV: fescennina written on the same occasion in Alcaeics, Anacreontics, Anapaestics and Asclepiadeans. XV: de bello Gildonico, 526 hexameters, describing the preparations of the war against Gildo, a Maurian prince (a. 398). XVI and XVII: de cons. Fl. Mallii Theodori v. c. (a. 399), 339 hex. with an elegiac preface. XVIII—XX two books in Eutropium, 513 and 602 hex., the second with a preface in elegiac metre, composed subsequently to a. 399. XXI and XXII, in praise of the Vandal Stilicho, two books in 385 and 476 hexameters; to which XXIII sq.: de consulatu Stilichonis (a. 400), 369 hex. with an elegiac preface. XXV sq.: de bello getico, 647 hex. with an elegiac preface, Stilicho's Wars against the Goths a. 400—403. XXVII sq.: in VI cons. Honorii Aug. (a. 404), 660 hex. with elegiac preface. XXIX: laus Serenae Reginae, the niece and adopted daughter of Theodosius I and wife of Stilicho, left unfinished, 237 hexameters. XXX sq.: Epithalamium dictum Palladio v. c. tribuno et notario et Celerinae, 145 hex. with a preface in four distichs.

4. In these historical poems Claudian adheres to historical truth so far as never to invent or alter facts; but he leaves his imagination full play in psychological description and poetical additions, and there his preference or hatred fully display themselves. His real hero is the brave Stilicho; Honorius being praised merely as the possessor of the throne, without any fictitious qualities being added to him. Just as Claudian is never satisfied in his love for Stilicho, he openly exhibits his hatred against Rufinus, the Minister of the Eastern half of the Empire, and his contempt of his successor, the Eunuch Eutropius; both times in the interest of Stilicho and in the most passionate manner, but without violating truth in any fact. Ed. Vogt, de Cl. Claudiani carminum quae Stiliconem praedicant fide historica, Bonn 1863, p. 1—13. 50—66. G. Zeiss, Claudian and the Rom. Empire from 359 to 408. I. Landshut 1863. 4. II. 1865. 4. P. Schultz, de Stilichone iisque quae

de eo agunt fontibus, Claudiano imprimis et Zosimo, Königsberg 1864. J. H. Ney, Vindiciae Claudianeae, sive de Cl. fide historica. Marburg 1865. 4. E. Vogt, the political tendencies of Stilicho etc. I: Introduction and sources, Cologne 1870. 24 pp. 4.

5. Poems on mythological subjects. The three (Jeep: four) books de raptu Proserpinae, in 286, 372 and 448 hexameters (with strange introductions to b. I and II, the latter ad Florentinum), do not bring the subject down to the end, but only to Ceres' resolution to seek for her lost daughter. The poem was probably never completed. We possess the poem in more than fifty mss., the relatively best of which is Laurent. XXIV 112 saec. XII—XIII. L. Jeep, on the mss. of Claudian's R. Pr. in Ritschl's Acta soc. Lips. I p. 345—390. B. G. Walch, uberioris commentationis de Cl. c. de r. P. inscr. specimen, Gotting. 1770. 4. J. B. Merian, l'enlèvement de Pr. traduit avec un discours, Berlin 1767. Baden, lectiones var. ad Cl. de r. P. e duobus codd. ital., Kiel 1796. 4. J. Svedborg, de Claud. quod de r. Pr. inscribitur carmine epico quaestiones, Upsala 1860. 4. Of Claudian's Gigantomachia we possess 129 hexameters, and a fragment (77 lines) of a Greek poem on the same subject with the heading *Κλαυδιανοῦ*; see Köchly, coniect. ep. I (Zurich 1851. 4.) p. 19 sqq. Schenkl, Reports on the meetings of the Acad. at Vienna XLIII (1863) p. 32—42.

6. There are five letters extant (XXXIX—XLIII): 1. to Hadrianus (mag. off. 397—399, praef. praet. 400—416), a request not to be angry with the poet so long for an offence committed in his lubrica aetas (cf. n. 8). 2. to Serena (n. 3), thanking for her mediation in the poet's wooing, after a. 398. 3. to Olybrius, and 4. to Probinus (after 395), complaints of the want of letters from them. 5. to Gennadius ex procos., a reply to his request for poems. All five are in elegiac distichs, actual letters, and therefore in a simple diction. Only the first two rise somewhat above the extent and tone of letters.

7. The seven Eidyllia (XLIV—L) are studies descriptive of nature and containing narratives, in epic or elegiac form. 1. Phoenix, 110 hexameters. Edd. J. G. Linsén et A. Ingman, Helsingfors 1838. 18 pp. 4. 2. Hystrix, 48 hexameters, a description of a hedgehog. 3. Torpedo, a description of a roach in 21 hexameters. 4. Nilus, 42 hexameters. 5. Magnes (Magnet), 57 hex. 6. Aponus, on the hot sulphurate wells near Patavium, 50 distichs. 7. On the brothers Amphinomos and Anapias, who saved their aged parents at an eruption of Vesuvius, 24 distichs.

8. Among the 44 epigrams (LI—XCIV) in Gesner's edition we also find some spurious and doubtful compositions, e. g. 27—29. 41. No doubt by Claudian are the occasional pieces on the concha of Serena (5) and those intended to accompany presents sent by her to Honorius and Arcadius (20—23). 24 is an ironical poem asking pardon for an unfavourable criticism on the poems of the Quaestor Alethius. 25 sq. on the glutton Curetius. 30 on Mallius and Hadrianus; see n. 6. Al-

most idyls 1—4. Variations on the same theme (a glass vase with ice) 6—14 (13 sq. in Greek). In other poems taken from the Greek Anthology (15—17) we should perhaps think of Cl. (*Κλανδιανὸς καὶ Κῦρος ποιηταί*, Evagr. h. e. I 19 under Theodosius II). Not by the Claudian of Stilicho (but by Claud. Mamertus, Merobaudes or others) are the Christian poems 46—49; 45 belongs undoubtedly to Damasus.

9. In some mss. of Claudian a number of poems are appended which resemble those of Cl. in technical details and in style and seem to be of perhaps the same period. The most important of them is the epithalamium Laurentii (above 22, 7) in 87 lines, which occupied the last three pages of the original ms. (at 29 lines) and the beginning of which has been lost. The other poems in these mss. (in epic and elegiac metre) cannot be compared with the ep. Laur. and are of later origin; of some of them only the titles are extant. They are printed in Riese's Anth. lat. 753—758; cf. ib. II p. XXVII sq. L. Jeep, quaest. critt. p. 27 sqq., on the mss. of the Rape of Pros. p. 378 sq.

10. Editio princeps Vicent. 1482 fol. Emend. p. Th. Ugoletum, Venet. 1495. 4. Other editions chiefly by Th. Pulmann (Antverp. 1571 and elsewhere), J. Scaliger (Lugd. B. 1603; cf. Bernays, Rh. Mus. XV p. 163—165), C. Barth (Hanov. 1612, Francf. 1650. 4.), N. Heinsius (Lugd. Bat. 1650. 1665), J. M. Gesner (Lips. 1759), P. Burmann (Amstelod. 1760. 4.), G. L. König (Gotting. 1808. Vol. I), in W. E. Weber's Corpus poett. p. 1270—1359. The first critical edition by L. Jeep, Lips. (Bibl. Teubner). 1872.

Claud. paneg. in cons. Ol. et Prob., in Rufinum libri II cum var. lectt. ed. Orelli, Zürich 1843. 4.

11. J. Parrhasii comm. in Claudianum, Basil. 1539. 4. Hertel, de nonnullis Cl. carminum locis, Torgau 1848. 4. Th. G. Paul, quaestionum Cl. particula, Glogau 1857. 4. and quaest. Claud., Berlin 1866. 4. L. Jeep, quaest. criticae ad emendationem Cl. panegyricorum spectantes, Naumburg and De Cl. codice (saec. IX) Veronae nuper reperto, 'Begrüssungsschr. der Thomasschule' (Lips. 1872. 4.) p. 43—54. Cf. n. 5. R. Unger, Friedland 1869. 4.

434. Not merely among the Christian writers nor only in his own time is the African Aurelius Augustinus (a. 354—430) conspicuous for mental significance and far-reaching influence. After a stormy youth A. was during nine years an adherent of the Manichaean heresy and professor of rhetoric in Africa, at Rome and Milan; but Ambrosius a. 356 gained him over to a deeper understanding of Christianity, and he subsequently became presbyter at Hippo a. 392 and bishop about 395. Augustine combined in his character qualities seemingly opposite: an abundant imagination and penetrating in-

tellectual vigour, a passionate want of regard and affectionate tenderness, a tender heart and zelotism, a blind belief in superior authority and originality of thought, zeal for the unity of the Church and individual piety, romanticism and scholasticism, mysticism and sophistry, poetical talent and philosophical genius, rhetorical pathos and grammatical pedantry. Himself a psychological mystery and drawn into errors by his hot blood, Augustine was absorbed in the mysteries of the life of the human soul, and he led the Christian dogmas, which the Eastern theologians had buried in sterile quibbles on theological and christological details, back to the study of man, to the observation of his inner being and the means of his salvation and blessing. Owing to this double aspect of his nature, Augustine's writings are now devoted to self-reflexion or descend into the nature of the deity with religious earnestness, now again they enlarge upon the doctrine and oppose deviations from the Church with unconquerable logic, sometimes also sophistically. To the first class belong his Confessions, to the second his letters, sermons, dogmatic and exegetical treatises and his invectives. The diction of Augustine is likewise uneven: sometimes too ornate and verbose, but not rarely also logical and precise. Among his best compositions we mention the 22 books de civitate dei, a work containing a great wealth of materials.

1. The chief source on Augustine are his Confessiones (n. 9) and Retractationes (n. 4). Vita Augustini by his pupil and friend Possidius, Bishop of Calama, about 432, printed in most editions of Augustine (e. g. in that of the Benedictine monks t. X, Append. t. III), separately edited studio et labore Jo. Salinas, Naples 1731 (Augsburg 1768); in Migne's Augustin. XI p. 105—128, patrol. XXXII p. 33—66; the indiculus ib. XLVI p. 1—21. Recent works on A. e. g. by the Benedictines (in Migne August. XI p. 153—868 = Patrol. XXXII p. 66—578), by Tillemont, Mémoires T. XIII (Paris 1702. 4.), R. Ceillier, hist. gén. T. XI p. 1—754. XII p. 1—685. J. Böhringer, the Church of Christ and her witnesses I 3 (Zürich 1844). Poujoulat, histoire de St. Augustin, Paris 1846. 3 vols. C. Bindemann, St. Augustine, Greifswald (Leipzig) 1854—1869, 3 vols. Flottes, études sur St. Aug., son génie, son âme, sa philosophie, Montpellier 1861. 646 pp.

2. He was born 13 Nov. 354 at Tagaste. His father was the passionate Patricius, the son being chiefly influenced by his tender and pious mother Monica. Madauris coeperam litteraturae atque oratoriae percipiendae gratia peregrinari (Conf. II 3, 5). He continued his studies

and lived rather wildly (his son Adeodatus) at Carthage, were he was converted to the Manichaean doctrine. He was then professor of rhetoric at Tagaste and Carthage (cf. IV 7, 12. V 7, 13), and subsequently went to Rome (ib. V 8, 14), ut docerem artem rhetoricam (12, 22). Posteaquam missum est a Mediolano Romam ad praef. urbis ut illi civitati rhetoricae magister provideretur, . . ego ipse ambivi, . . ut dictione proposita me probatum praefectus tunc Symmachus (above 418, 2) mitteret. et veni Mediolanum ad Ambrosium episcopum (13, 23), by whom and by his mother his conversion took place. He was baptized at Easter 387, and died during the siege of Hippo by the Vandals, 28 August 430.

3. Ap. Sidon. ep. IX 2: Hieronymus interpres, dialecticus Augustinus. In his philosophy A. chiefly adhered to the idealism of Plato, which he turned into Christian theism. E. Feuerlein, on A.'s position in the History of the Church and of general culture, Sybel's Hist. Journal XI (1869.) p. 270—313. Ferraz, de la psychologie de St. Aug., Paris 1862. 498 pp. Heinichen, de Aug. anthropolog. orig., Lips. 1862.

4. The vita of Possidius (n. 1) gives a sketch of the literary activity of Augustine and an indiculus of his works, but above all Augustine himself in his two books of Retractationes (in Possidius: de recensione librorum) which he wrote towards the end of his life (c. 427) and in which he enumerates his works so far as published, with the exception of his sermons and letters, in chronological order, adding also remarks calculated to rectify some dogmatical incorrectness. The first book deals with the works published before he was chosen bishop, the second with those subsequent to his election. Cf. the preface: iam diu est ut facere cogito . . ut opuscula mea sive in libris sive in epistolis sive in tractatibus cum quadam iudiciaria severitate recenseam et quod me offendit velut censorio stilo denotem. (3.) scribere autem ista mihi placuit ut haec emittam in manus hominum, a quibus ea quae iam edidi revocare emendanda non possum. nec illa sane praetereo quae catechumenus iam, licet relicta spe quam terrenam gerebam, sed adhuc saecularium litterarum inflatus consuetudine scripsi. . . inveniet fortasse quomodo scribendo profecerim quisquis opuscula mea ordine quo scripta sunt legerit. quod ut possit, hoc opere quantum potero curabo ut eundem ordinem noverit. And at the close of the work (II 67): haec opera XCIII in libris CCXXXIII me dictasse recolui quando haec retractavi, utrum adhuc essem aliquos dictaturus ignorans; atque ipsam eorum retractationem in libris II edidi . . antequam epistolas ac sermones ad populum, alios dictatos, alios a me dictos, retractare coepissem. From the list of Possidius we may add as the fruits of the last years of Augustine's life: Speculum; De haeresibus ad Quodvultdeum liber (also in Oehler's corpus haeresiol. I), against the Armenian bishop Maximinus and the Pelagian Julianus, and especially De praedestinatione sanctorum and De dono perseverantiae.

5. August. conf. IV 13, 20: scripsi (at Carthage about the year 380) libros de pulchro et apto, puto duo aut tres. tu scis, deus;

nam excidit mihi. non enim habemus eos, sed aberraverunt a nobis nescio quomodo. 14, 21: quod me movit . . ut ad Hierium (above 419, 7) romanae urbis oratorem scriberem illos libros. This youthful work is omitted in the retract., which begin with the three books contra academicos. Retract. I 1: cum reliquissem vel quae adeptus fueram in cupiditatibus huius muudi vel quae adipisci volebam et me ad christianae vitae otium contulissem, nondum baptizatus contra academicos vel de academicis primum scripsi (a. 386), ut argumenta eorum, quae . . prohibent cuiquam rei assentiri et omnino aliquid tanquam manifestum certumque sit adprobare . . ab animo meo . . quantis possem rationibus amoverem. He followed Cicero's work which bore the same title (above vol. I § 173, 7) in giving his work the shape of a dialogue with his patron Romanianus, his son Licentius (see above 491, 4 sqq.) and another youth, Trygetius. Edited in Cicero's Acad. by Orelli, Turici 1827.

6. Retract., I 2: librum de beata vita non post libros de acad. sed inter illos ut scriberem contigit. ex occasioue quippe ortus est diei natalis mei. . . Manlio Theodoro (see 416, 3), ad quem librum ipsum scripsi, quamvis docto et christiano viro, plus tribui quam deberem. . . istum librum nostro in codice interruptum repperi . . nec adhuc apud aliquem integrum inveneram ex quo emendarem quando haec retractavi. I 3: per idem tempus, inter illos qui de acad. scripti sunt, duos etiam libros de ordine scripsi, in quibus magna quaestio versatur utrum omnia bona et mala divinae providentiae ordo contineat. sed . . de ordine studendi loqui malui quo a corporalibus ad incorporalia potest profici. in his libris . . nec illud mihi placet quod Pythagorae philosopho tantum laudis dedi. I 4, 1: inter haec scripsi etiam duo volumina . . de his rebus quas maxime scire cupiebam, me interrogans mihique respondens tamquam duo essemus, ratio et ego, cum solus essem; unde hoc opus Soliloquia nominavi, sed imperfectum remansit. I 5, 1: post libros Soliloquiorum iam de agro Mediolanum reversus scripsi librum De immortalitate animae. . . qui ratiocinationum contortione atque brevitate sic obscurus est ut fatiget cum legitur . . vixque intellegatur a me ipso. Augustini de anima 53 hexameters in a dialectic spirit, with an address to God, but in very incorrect form, in Riese's Anth. lat. 489 (II p. 38—40).

7. Retr. I 6: per idem tempus quo Mediolani fui, baptismum percepturus (a. 387), etiam Disciplinarum libros conatus sum scribere, interrogans eos qui mecum erant atque ab huiusmodi studiis non abhorrebant, per corporalia cupiens ad incorporalia quibusdam quasi passibus vel pervenire vel ducere. sed earum solum de grammatica librum absolvere potui, quem postea de armario nostro perdidi, et de musica sex volumina, quantum attinet ad eam partem quae rhythmus vocatur. sed eosdem sex libros iam baptizatus iamque ex Italia regressus in Africam scripsi (cf. ib. I 11); incohaveram quippe tantummodo istam apud Mediolanum disciplinam. de aliis vero quinque disciplinis illic similiter incohatis, de dialectica, de rhetorica, de geome-

trica, de arithmetica, de philosophia, sola principia remanserunt, quae tamen etiam ipsa perdidimus, sed haberi ab aliquibus existimo. This encyclopaedia was even in its title imitated from Varro (above vol. I p. 245, 6) and treated of the seven artes liberales. The part extant, six books de musica, are in the form of a conversation between master and pupil, 'very garrulous and meaningless discussions on rhythm and metre' (Westphal, allg. gr. Metr. p. 46), but deviating from the general theories by assuming pauses to restore the equality of tact between unequal metrical feet, and no doubt chiefly derived from Varro. Westphal l. l. and Fragments of the Greek writers on rhythm p. 19 sqq. with H. Weil in Fleckeisen's Jahrb. 1862 p. 335 sqq. 1867, p. 132 sqq. An early abridgment of this work is printed in Mai, Collectio script. vett. III (Rome 1828) p. 116—144, with the additions of du Rieu, schedae Vaticanae (Lugd. B. 1860) p. 216—220. Of the section De rhetorica we possess in the mss. of Fortunatianus (above 420, 5) a part (bonae frugis plena, Halm) under the title of principia rhetorices, printed e. g. in Migne patrol. XXXII p. 1440—1448, the best text in Halm's Rhetores lat. min. (1863) p. 137—151. Especially Cicero and Hermagoras are often mentioned in it. It is not in the form of questions. The Principia dialecticae (in Migne patrol. XXXII p. 1409—1419 and especially edited by W. Crecelius, Aug. de dialectica liber, recogn. et adn. Elberfeld 1857) mention Augustine as their author (c. 7; ut cum Augustino nominato nihil aliud quam ego ipse cogitor ab ipso cui notus sum etc.). The former doubts of the genuine origin of the work consisted chiefly in the deviations from Augustine's general manner (e. g. in the use of many Greek terms and avoidance of the form of a dialogue), which are of small importance in works based throughout on foreign models. Of the part De grammatica only an abridgment (probably made by a Benedictine monk) is extant, from a cod. Lauresham. (now Vatic.) first edited by A. Mai (Nova patrum bibl. I 2 p. 155 sqq. Rome 1852), better (from a Paris and Brussels ms.) by C. Fr. Weber (Aur. Aug. ars grammatica breviata, Marburg 1861. 4.). By its difference from this abridgment the claims (even formerly doubtful) of the treatise de grammatica in Putsche gramm. latt. p. 1975 sqq. (and e. g. in Migne's patrol. XXXII. p. 1385—1408) to the name of Augustine are even more imperilled. Weber l. l. p. 2 sq. The Categoriae X ex Aristotele decerptae (Migne XXXII. p. 1419—1440) should probably be attributed to Praetextatus (above 422, 1), as A. was remarkable neither for his knowledge of Greek nor for his admiration of Aristotle.

8. Retract. I 7: iam baptizatus cum Romae essem (a. 387) nec ferre tacitus possem Manichaeorum iactantiam de falsa et fallaci continentia vel abstinentia, . . scripsi duos libros, unum De moribus ecclesiae catholicae, alterum De moribus Manichaeorum. I 8: in eadem urbe scripsi dialogum in quo de anima multa quaeruntur ac disseruntur. . . totus liber nomen accepit . . De animae quantitate. I 9: cum adhuc Romae demoraremur voluimus disputando quaerere unde sit malum. . . tres libri quos eadem disputatio peperit appellati sunt De libero arbitrio.

quorum secundum et tertium in Africa, iam etiam Hippone regio presbyter ordinatus, . . terminavi. I 10: iam vero in Africa constitutus scripsi duos libros de Genesi contra Manichaeos. I 11: deinde . . sex libros de musica (n. 7) scripsi, quorum ipse sextus maxime innotuit. I 14: iam vero apud Hipponem regium presbyter scripsi librum De utilitate credendi. Both this and his next work were against the Manichaeans: De duabus animabus (ib. I 15), also Contra Fortunatum quendam Manichaeorum presbyterum, probably a disputation with him quae excepta est a notariis veluti gesta (minutes) conficerentur; nam et diem habet et consulem. I 20: volens etiam causam Donatistarum ad ipsius humillimi vulgi . . notitiam pervenire . . psalmum qui eis cantaretur per latinas litteras feci, sed usque ad V litteram. tales autem abecedarios appellant. . . hypopsalma etiam quod responderetur et prooemium causae . . non sunt in ordine litterarum. ideo autem non aliquo carminis genere id fieri volui ne me necessitas metrica ad aliqua verba quae vulgo minus sunt usitata compelleret.

9. Retract. II 6: confessionum mearum libri XIII . . a primo usque ad decimum de me scripti sunt; in tribus ceteris de scripturis sanctis. . . multis fratribus eos multum placuisse et placere scio. They are very interesting for the history of morals. The confessions are addressed to God (e. g. IV 2: malebam tamen, domine tu scis, bonos habere discipulos etc. et, deus, vidisti de longinquo lapsantem in lubrico). The person of Christ does not appear conspicuously. They have often been edited separately, e. g. by A. Neander (Berlin 1823); on the basis of the Oxford edition (Bibl. patrum eccl. cath. ed. Pusey, Vol. I, Oxford 1838) edited and explained by K. v. Raumer, Stuttg. 1856.

10. Retract. II 43, 1: interea Roma Gothorum irruptione (a. 410) . . eversa est; cuius eversionem deorum falsorum multorumque cultores . . in christianam religionem referre conantes solito acerbius . . deum verum blasphemare coeperunt. unde ego . . libros de civitate dei scribere institui. quod opus per aliquot annos me tenuit, eo quod alia multa intercurrebant. . . hoc autem de civ. d. grande opus tandem XXII libris est terminatum (c. a. 426). quorum V primi eos refellunt qui res humanas ita prosperari volunt ut ad hoc multorum deorum cultum . . necessarium esse arbitrentur et quia prohibetur mala ista exoriri . . contendunt. sequentes autem V adversus eos loquuntur qui fatentur haec mala nec defuisse umquam nec defutura mortalibus, . . sed deorum cultum . . propter vitam post mortem futuram esse utilem disputant. (Cf. Epist. 169, 1.) his ergo X libris duae istae vanae opiniones christianae religioni adversariae refelluntur. (2.) sed ne quisquam nos aliena tantum redarguisse, non autem nostra asseruisse reprehenderet: id agit pars altera operis huius, quae libris XII continetur. . . primi quattuor (XII—XV) continent exortum duarum civitatum, quarum est una dei, altera huius mundi. secundi quattuor (XVI—XIX) excursum earum sive procursum. tertii vero, qui et postremi (XX—XXII), debitos fines. ita omnes XXII libri, cum sint de utraque civitate conscripti,

titulum tamen a meliore acceperunt. The work is dedicated to Marcellinus, no doubt the same who had been sent to Africa a. 450 to appease the disturbances of the Donatists and to whom other works were also addressed by Augustine, see also Epist. 128 sq. 138 sq. 143. His chief sources are Cic. (esp. de rep.) and Varro (Antiquitates and de gente rom., perhaps also some logistorici); in all matters concerning the East he avails himself of Hieronymus' version of Eusebius; besides these works Plato, Sallust, Pliny the Elder and Solinus are used, among the poets Virgil is often quoted, next to him Terence, Horace, Persius, Lucan, Terentianus, Claudian and others. Kettner, Varronian Studies p. 40—46. Separate editions especially by J. L. Vivis (comment. illustr., Basil. 1522. 1555. 1570) and B. Dombart (Lips. Teubner 1863, 2 vols.). Redner, the civitas dei of St. Aug., Conitz 1856. 4.

11. Among the other works of St. Augustine we may notice as of special importance the dogmatic writings de doctrina christiana libri IV (composed 397—426), de trinitate libri XV (a. 400—416), de peccatorum meritis et remissione libri III (c. 412), de gratia et libero arbitrio; de correptione et gratia; de praedestinatione sanctorum and de dono perseverantiae. In the domain of practical theology we may mention the works de mendacio, de continentia, de patientia, de agone christiano, de bono coniugali, de nuptiis et concupiscentia, de adulterinis coniugiis, de opere monachorum, de unico baptismo, de cura pro mortuis gerenda and others. The polemical works of A. are directed against the sects and heresies of the Manichaeans, Donatists, Pelagians, Priscillianists, Arians and Origenists. The sermons fill a large volume, which, however, contains also some doubtful and spurious pieces. Though simple, they are often rhetorical and effective, sometimes also touching. On the character of the audience see J. Vérin, St. Augustini auditores, s. de Afrorum christianorum circa Aug. ingenio ac moribus, Paris 1870. Thèse. Part of them are devoted to the explanation of biblical passages (homilies), e. g. on the Psalms, the Gospel of St. John and the sermon of the Mount. Aug. did not write very many or good commentaries on the Bible, owing to his imperfect knowledge of Greek aud his complete ignorance of Hebrew. He wrote, however, on Job, the Gospels (de consensu evangelistarum libri IV; quaestionum evangelicarum libri II), the Epistles to the Romans and to the Galatians. H. N. Clausen, Aug. . . sacrae scripturae interpres, Berlin 1827. Passages from the Bible are always quoted from the Itala. The collection of the Letters embraces 270 pieces, inclusive of those addressed to Augustine. Only few of them are brief, some (e. g. nr. 147, de videndo deo) are so long that they might well be quoted among his treatises. They deal with all the contemporary questions of the Church, and several are on confessional affairs. An epistolary character belongs also to the work De diversis quaestionibus LXXXIII (Retract. I 26). The Benedictines have divided the letters into four classes: 1 of a. 386—395 (from the time of his conversion to his election); 2. a. 395—410; 3. a. 411 (Disputation with the Donatists) until a. 430 (death); 4. those which cannot be dated.

12. Editions of the complete works of St. Augustine e. g. Basileae 1506 apud Jo. Amerbachium; Ex emendatione D. Erasmi, Basil. 1528 fol. 10 vols, (often reprinted); Per theologos Lovanienses (Antv. 1577 fol. 11 vols.); with a supplement by H. Vignerius (Paris 1654. fol. 2 vols.); especially the edition by the Benedictine monks e congregatione S. Mauri, Paris 1679 sqq. 11 vols. fol. Mere repetitions of this edition are those by Jo. Pheroponus (Clericus), Antv. 1700—1703 (12 vols. fol.), and the two edd. by J. P. Migne, Augustini opera omnia in 11 vols. (Paris 1835—1836—1839) and Patrolog. XXXII—XLVII.

435. At the beginning of the fifth century the Presbyter Sulpicius Severus (c. 365—425) in Aquitania wrote a short account of universal history from the creation of the world down to his own time, from the best sources, with historical criticism and in a simple but polished diction, imitated from the best historians. His biography of Martinus of Tours is a pious novel attesting his enthusiastical veneration of his hero, but full of strange miracles. The two dialogues in the manner of Cicero are likewise devoted to Martianus.

1. Gennad. vir. ill. 19: Severus presbyter cognomento Sulpicius, Aquitanicae provinciae, vir genere et litteris nobilis et paupertatis atque humilitatis amore conspicuus (cf. vita Mart. 24, 4 sqq.), carus etiam sanctorum virorum Martini Turonensis episcopi et Paulini Nolensis, scripsit non contemnenda opuscula. nam epistolas ad amorem dei et contemptum mundi hortatorias scripsit sorori suae multas, quae notae sunt. scripsit ad Paulinum praedictum duas et ad alios alias. sed quia in aliquibus etiam familiaris necessitas inserta est non digeruntur. composuit et chronica. scripsit et ad multorum profectum vitam b. Martini monachi et episcopi, signis et prodigiis ac virtutibus illustris viri, et Collationem Postumiani et Galli se mediante et iudice de conversatione monachorum orientalium et ipsius Martini habitam in dialogi speciem duabus incisionibus comprehendit. . . hic in senectute sua a Pelagianis deceptus . . silentium usque ad mortem tenuit. In the genuine works of St. Augustine Severus is never mentioned, but Hieronymus speaks of him (V. p. 422 Vals.): Severus noster. Paulin. Nol. epist. 5 (Severo fratri), 5: tu . . es aetate florentior, laudibus abundantior, in . . fori celebritate diversans et facundi nominis palmam tenens. repentino impetu discussisti servile peccati iugum . neque te divitiae de matrimonio familiae consularis aggestae neque post coniugium peccandi licentia et caelebs iuventas ab angusto salutis introitu . . revocare potuerunt. (6.) tu ergo verus factor legis . . merito socrum (Bassulam) . . in matrem sortitus aeternam . . relicto patre . . Christum secutus es. . . piscatorum praedicationes tullianis omnibus tuis litteris praetulisti. confugisti ad pietatis silentium (when he retired into a monastery). Cf. ib. epist. 1 (from which it appears that Sev. lived Elusone). 11. 17.

22. 23. 24. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31 (ad basilicam quam modo apud Primuliacum . . condideris). 32. above 431, 1 and 2. R. Ceillier, hist. gén. X p. 635—660.

2. Sulp. Sev. chron. 1: res a mundi exordio sacris litteris editas breviter constringere et cum distinctione temporum usque ad nostram memoriam carptim dicere aggressus sum. . . non peperci labori meo quin ea quae permultis voluminibus perscripta continebantur duobus libellis concluderem, ita brevitati studens ut paene nihil (? cf. Bernays p. 45) gestis subduxerim. . . non pigebit fateri me, sicubi ratio exegit, ad distinguenda tempora continuandamque seriem usum esse historicis mundialibus atque ex his quae ad supplementum cognitionis deerant usurpasse. As he did not know Hebrew, he used the Old Testament in the translation of the LXX. He takes from it the historical events, frequently using them for polemical observations on his own time. Having been a Jurist and advocate, he exhibits also a certain interest in the Mosaic law, both civil and criminal (Bernays p. 31 sqq.). See above 432, 3. On the time of the book of Judith II 14, 1—6. The historical contents of the New Testament are purposely left aside (II 27, 3), as he might have found it dangerous to use them as freely as he did in the case of the Old Test. He never mentions his non-biblical authorities, not even the Chronicles of Eusebius; cf. II 5, 7. Josephus has not been used, but Tacitus; especially in the account of the destruction of Jerusalem Sev. uses parts of the History now lost (Bernays p. 53—61). We rarely meet with traces of carelessness (Bernays n. 81). The work goes by the Consulate of Stilicho (a. 400) and was finished a. 403. The diction is successfully imitated from the classical writers, especially Sallust (Bernays n. 9. 15. 24. 33. 37. 45. 50. 59) and Tacitus (ibid. n. 6. 70), also Velleius (n. 49) and Curtius (n. 35), without being unpleasant nor without traces of the time (n. 58). Sulpicius neither intended nor furnished a scientific work on history, but a good and pleasant book for general reading. J. Bernays, on the Chronicles of S. S., Berlin 1861. 72 pp. 4.

3. We possess the Chronicles in only one mss. saec. XI, first used by M. Flacius (n. 4: libellum hunc . . ex quadam celeberrimae Saxonum civitatis Hildesiae bibliotheca erutum) and which came from the Palatine Library a. 1623 into the Vatican (Vat. 824). C. Halm, Reports of the Munich Acad. 1865. II 2 p. 37—64. From its heading (incipit prologus Sulpitii Severi in chronica. quae ipsa fecit ab exordio mundi usq. ad tempus suum) Chronica would appear to be the original title. As Sulpicius several times (I 36, 6. 42, 1. 46, 5. II 5, 7. 6, 1) mentions Eusebius merely as chronica, Bernays (p. 71 sq.) considers A mundi exordio libri II as the authentic title.

4. Editio princeps of the Chronicles by M. F. (Matthias Flacius): Sulpitii Severi sacrae historiae . . libri II nunc primum in lucem editi, Basil. 1556. Later editions by Victor Giselinus (Antv. 1574), C. Sigonius (Bonon. 1581, with notes), Jo. Drusius (Arnhem. 1607).

5. The vita Martini gives a lively image of the religious excitement of the time, which produced even visions. The Saint has violent struggles with the Devil, hears and sees Christ and the angels, performs various miracles, and announces the approaching end of the world (dial. II 14) etc. The same subject is further developed in the two (formerly three) dialogues. Three letters ad Eusebium, Aurelium diaconum, Bassulam (see n. 1) serve as introductions to these dialogues. Cf. Ep. I 1: mentio incidit libelli mei quem de vita beati viri Martini episcopi edidi studioseque eum a multis legi libentissime audiebam. Paulin. Epist. 11, 11. J. H. Reinkens, Martinus of Tours, Bresl. 1866. The diction of these works is likewise generally pure and select. They exist in numerous mss., the earliest and most important of which is the ms. of the Chapter Library of Verona saec. VII, which is copied from a ms. written a. 519. The earliest ms. of the class common in France and Germany is the Quedlinburg ms. saec. IX; see Halm, praef. p. VIII sq.

6. From these genuine letters we should distinguish the seven bearing the name of Sulpicius with doubtful claim (Appendix in Halm), and the second of which is also found among the letters of Hieronymus. They differ greatly from the tone of Sulpicius. The first two (ad Claudiam sororem de ultimo iudicio and de virginitate) are edifying; the third, in monkish humour, is also found Paul. Nol. Epist. 22.

7. Complete editions of the works of Sulp. Sev. by J. Vorst (cum notis, Berlin 1668 and elsewhere), H. de Prato (Veron. 1741—1754, 2 vols. 4.), in Migne's Patrol. XX p. 95—248, and especially by C. Halm (rec. cum comment. crit. instr., Vienna 1866).

Critical contributions by de Rooy, spicileg. critic., Dordrecht 1771.

436. Q. Iulius Hilario, a contemporary and compatriot of Sulpicius Severus, composed a. 397 a treatise on the duration of the world; the Donatist Tichonius from Africa three books on the inner war, besides other writings. About the same time Flavius Mallius Theodorus (Cons. 399) wrote, not without originality, his extant work de metris.

1. Hilario's work de duratione mundi, though barbarous in contents and diction, still exhibits considerable audacity of investigation, in the Bibl. patrum ed. de la Bigne VII p. 277—284. A. v. Gutschmid in Fleckeisen's Jahrbb. 87 p. 714.

2. Gennad. vir. ill. 18: Tichonius, natione Afer, in divinis litteris eruditus iuxta historiam sufficienter et in saecularibus non ignarus fuit, in ecclesiasticis quoque negotiis studiosus. scripsit De bello intestino libros III et Expositiones diversarum causarum, in quibus ob suorum defensionem antiquarum meminit synodorum. e quibus omnibus agno-

scitur Donatianae partis fuisse. composuit et Regulas ad investigandam . . intellegentiam scripturaram VII, quas in uno volumine conclusit (cf. J. B. Pitra, Spicileg. Solesm. p. 294 sq.). exposuit et Apocalypsin Ioannis etc. floruit hic vir aetate qua iam memoratus (above 429, 1 sqq.) Rufinus, Theodosio et filio eius regnantibus.

3. Flavius Mallius Theodorus, Cons. 399 (C. I. gr. 6232 and elsewhere) among the compilers of this time the one who manifests most freedom and independence in the form of his work (Westphal, allg. gr. Metr. p. 46 sq. = I² p. 130). The work is addressed to his son Theodorus. Among his predecessors he mentions Juba and Terentianus. The first edition of the work de metris by J. Fr. Heusinger (with De pedibus expositio by an unknown writer, Iulius Severus), Wolfenbüttel 1755 (cura Ruhnkenii, Lugd. Bat. 1766); in Gaisford's script. lat. rei metr. (1837) p. 525—559. Cf. p. 560—567. Iulius Sev. ib. p. 567—573. A. Ruben, diss. de vita Fl. Mallii Theodori, Utrecht 1694. Lips. 1754. See also above 433, 3 and 8. 434, 6.

437. Among the numerous friends and enemies of St. Augustine the following were active in literature (besides those already mentioned): the well-known author of Pelagianism, the respectable Briton Pelagius, of whose writings we have especially a well-written confession of faith addressed to Innocentius; his compatriot and younger friend Caelestius; the translator Anianus, and Bishop Julianus known through the invectives of Augustine. Among the other Christian writers of this time we may mention Antiochius, Severianus, Bachiarius, Sabbatius, Helvidius, Vigilantius, Simplicianus, Innocentius.

1. Extant works of Pelagius: Expositionum in epistulas Pauli libri XIV; Epistola ad Demetriadem; Libellus fidei ad Innocentium; and probably the Epist. ad Celantiam matronam de ratione pie vivendi. His works De natura and De libero arbitrio libri IV are merely known from Augustine's replies. He also wrote De trinitate libri III and other works.

2. Gennad. vir. ill. 44: Caelestius . . adhuc adolescens scripsit ad parentes suos de monasterio epistolas in modum libellorum tres. His works are only known so far as Augustine mentions or uses them, e. g. Contra traducem peccati, Definitiones (see Aug. de perf. iust. hom.), and his confession addressed to Zosimus (libellus fidei; see Aug. de peccato orig.).

3. Anianus, Deacon at Celeda, translated some Homilies of Chrysostomus, which translations are printed in the editions of the latter.

4. Iulianus, 416 Bishop of Aeclanum, but deposed a. 418 as a Pelagian. Gennad. vir. ill. 45: vir acris ingenii, in divinis scripturis

doctus, graeca et latina lingua scholasticus. . . scripsit Adversus Augustinum libros IV et iterum libros VII. est etiam liber altercationis amborum partes suas defendentium. At the time of a famine he distinguished himself by charity. moritur Valentiniano et Constantino filio eius imperante. See above 434, 11.

5. On the Donatists Tichonius and Cresconius see above 436, 2. 429, 6.

6. Gennadius vir. ill. 20 sqq. mentions the following as Christian writers of the time: 20. Antiochius episcopus (moritur Arcadii imp. tempore); 21. Severianus Gabalensis ecclesiae episcopus (in homiliis declamator admirabilis . . imperatore Arcadio; . . moritur minore Theodosio imperante; Fragments in Pitra, spicileg. Solesm. p. 275 sq.); 22. Niceas; 23. Olympius, natione Hispanus, episcopus; 24. Bachiarius (vir christianae philosophiae); 25. Sabbatius, gallicanae ecclesiae episcopus; 26. Ursinus monachus; 27. Macarius, alius monachus (scripsit in urbe Roma adversus mathematicos librum); 29. Heliodorus (Antiochenae ecclesiae presbyter); 30. Ioannes (Ierosolymorum episcopus); 31. Paulus episcopus; 32. Helvidius, Auxentii (the Arian) discipulus, Symmachi imitator (Hieronymus wrote against him); 33. Theophilus (Alexandrinae civitatis episcopus); 35. Vigilantius presbyter, natione Gallus, Hispaniae Barcilonensis parochiae ecclesiam tenuit (huic et b. Hieronymus presbyter respondit); 36. Simplicianus episcopus Mediolanensis (multis epistolis hortatus est Augustinum adhuc presbyterum ut etc.); 37. Vigilius episcopus (scripsit . . epistolam continentem gesta sui temporis apud barbaros martyrum); 40. Maximus, Taurinensis ecclesiae episcopus (moritur Honorio et Theodosio iun. regnantibus); 41. Petronius, Bononiensis eccl. episc. († Theodosio Arcadii filio et Valentiniano regnantibus); 43. Innocentius urbis Romae episcopus (a. 401—417), author of a number of extant letters (Constant, epist. pontiff. rom. I p. 739 sqq. Gallandi bibl. patr. VIII p. 545 sqq.); 47. Avitus presbyter, homo Hispanus genere.

7. The Platonic philosopher Synesius of Cyrene, born 379, bishop of Ptolemais since about 410, wrote in Greek speeches, treatises, letters, hymns, and other works. Cf. R. Volkmann, Synesius of Cyrene, Berlin 1869.

438. At the end of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth century, Macrobius Theodosius wrote his commentary on Cicero's dream of Scipio in two books, and seven books of Saturnalia. The latter work deals in the form of a dialogue with a series of subjects concerning literature and early Roman ritual and religious antiquities, in which Macrobius has greatly used Gellius, and Servius' Commentary on Virgil, also Seneca, Plutarch and others, though without mentioning these writers.

1. In the Bamberg. the name is before the Saturn.: Macrobius Theodosius v. c. et illustris; before the Somn. Scip.: Macrobius Ambrosius Theodosius v. c. et incl. As he thus appears to have been of high rank, he may probably be the same Macrobius who was a. 399 sq. praef. praet. Hispaniarum (Cod. Theod. XVI 10, 15. VIII 5, 61), a. 410 procos. Africae (ib. XI 28, 6) and is called vir illustr. as late as a. 422, and held the position of praepositus sacri cubiculi (ib. VI 8, 1). This presupposes that he was subsequently converted to Christianity, as he could not have attained to the latter high office without this. In his works he appears still to be a heathen (see n. 3); they were, therefore, probably composed previously to them, the complete titles of the author being added afterwards. See also below 443, 1.

2. Macrob. Sat. praef. 11 sq.: sicubi nos sub alio ortos caelo latinae linguae vena non adiuvet. . . si in nostro sermone nativa romani oris elegantia desideretur. The interest he feels in Cicero and Virgil renders it less probable that he was a native of some hellenic or hellenistic country; he may rather have been of African descent, as L. v. Jan supposes.

3. He admires Symmachus (above 418), Nicomachus (above 421. 1) and Praetextatus (above 422, 1); see Sat. I 1, 4. All these men belong to the pagan party. There is no trace of Christianity in Macrobius, but he rather exhibits great interest in the gods of polytheism (esp. I 17 sqq.) and a fondness for Neoplatonism (n. 4). Cf. Sat. I 12, 8: cum hodieque in sacris Martem patrem, Venerem genetricem vocemus. 24, 1: laudare . . cuncti religionem (of Praetext.), adfirmantes hunc esse unum arcanae deorum naturae conscium, qui solus divina et adsequi animo et eloqui posset ingenio. He is a somewhat younger contemporary of Servius (see above 423, 1) and employs his writings (see n. 6).

4. To Macrobius we owe the preservation of Cicero's Somnium Scip. (from de rep. VI); see above vol. I p. 292. Macrobius has arranged his commentary so ut praemissis Ciceronis verbis promeret quidquid e placitis Platonicorum atque e praeceptis geometriae, geographiae, astronomiae ad ea referri posse videretur (L. v. Jan p. VIII). After an introduction on the relation of Cic. de rep. to Plato's Republic and on the significance of dreams the commentary itself begins in which the Platonic tenets (on number, tone, the soul, the motions of the stars, the zones etc.) are added to Cicero's words in rather a loose and unequal manner. Cf. I 5, 1: discutienda nobis sunt ipsius somnii verba, non omnia, sed ut quaeque videbuntur digna quaesitu. Many writers are mentioned, especially Greek authors (L. v. Jan p. XI), but rather for show than real use. No doubt Macr. follows principally one authority. He addresses his son: I 1, 1: Eustachi fili, vitae mihi dulcedo pariter et gloria; II 1, 1: superiore commentario, Eustachi luce mihi dilectior fili, usque ad stelliferae sphaerae cursum . . sermo processerat. We possess the work complete II 17, 15: sed iam finem

somnio cohibita disputatione faciamus, hoc adiecto quod conclusionem decebit etc. L. Petit, de Macrobio Ciceronis interprete philosopho, Paris 1866. 136 sqq. 4.

5. From the preface to the Saturnalia: (1) multas variasque res in hac vita nobis, Eustachi fili, natura conciliavit; but nothing surpasses love for one's children. (2.) hinc est quod mihi quoque institutione tua nihil antiquius aestimatur, ad cuius perfectionem . . quidquid mihi vel te iam in lucem edito vel antequam nascereris in diversis seu graecae seu romanae linguae voluminibus elaboratum est, id totum sit tibi scientiae supellex etc. (3.) nec indigeste . . congessimus digna memoratu, sed variarum rerum disparilitas . . ita in quoddam digesta corpus est ut quae indistincte atque promiscue ad subsidium memoriae adnotaveramus in ordinem . . convenirent. (4.) nec mihi vitio vertas si res quas ex lectione varia mutuabor ipsis saepe verbis quibus ab ipsis auctoribus enarratae sunt explicabo, quia praesens opus non eloquentiae ostentationem, sed noscendorum congeriem pollicetur. (6.) nos quoque quidquid diversa lectione quaesivimus committemus stilo. For M.'s apology concerning his diction see n. 2.

6. The subject treated in the Saturnalia is put in the shape of dialogues which are supposed to have taken place on the three days of the Saturnalia and the preceding day sometimes before and sometimes during dinner, between Praetextatus (n. 3) and his friends, though the author claims the privilege of going also beyond his time (I 1, 5: nec mihi fraudi sit si uni aut alteri ex his quos coetus coegit matura aetas posterior saeculo Praetextati fuit). He appears, therefore, to write a considerable time after his death (a. 385). The form is derived partly from Gellius, partly from Plato (Symp.). Euangelus represents the opposition in mainly attacking Virgil, while Eustathius (above 422, 6) praises him as a philosopher and skilful imitator of the Greeks, Nicomachus Flavianus and Praetextatus as an expert on ius augurale and pontificium, the two Albinus as antiquarian, Avianus and Servius the other sides. This discussion on Virgil forms the chief part of the work, a variety of subjects being, moreover, treated in the table talk. Macrobius defends his piratical manner with the example of others, VI 1, 2 sqq.

7. The mss. of the Satur. are all derived from the same source, as they have the same gaps in common. We have lost the conclusion of the second and the beginning of the third book, the second half of the fourth and the conclusion of the seventh book. Most of the mss. omit the Greek passages. The most complete is Paris 6371 saec. XI, the best a Bamberg ms. of the end of saec. IX, which now contains only Sat. I and II and the greater part of IV. Another Bamberg ms. (saec. XI) is with a Paris ms. the principal authority for the text of the commentary on the somn. Scip. A catalogue of the mss. in L. v. Jan I. c. 5 (p. LXII—LXXXVII).

8. Of the treatise De differentiis et societatibus graeci latinique verbi only mediaeval excerpts in a Paris and Vienna (Endlicher, Anal.

gramm. p. 187 sqq.) ms. are extant; in L. v. Jan's edition I p. 229—276, and in Keil's gramm. lat. V p. 599—654. They are the sole representatives of a comparative study of Greek and Latin in antiquity. Apollonius Dyscolus' Ῥηματικόν served as source in many places. G. Uhlig, Rh. Mus. XIX p. 38 sq. G. F. C. Schömann, commentatio Macrobiana, Greifswald and Leipzig 1871. 48 pp. They are dedicated (Theodosius Symmachus suo) to some Symmachus (the son or grandson of the orator, see above 418, 2). Similar to this treatise is an anonymous fragment De verbo, printed in v. Jan's ed. p. 278—306. It is addressed to Severus, disertissimus studiosorum.

9. The editions are enumerated in L. v. Jan's prolegg. c. VI (p. LXXXVIII—XCVIII). Ed. princeps Venet. 1472 fol. Aldina Venet. 1528. Hervagiana Basil. 1535. The ed. of J. J. Pontanus (Lugd. B. 1597 and elsewhere) is remarkable for its arbitrary alterations (L. v. Jan p. XXXII —XXXVII). Cum notis J. Meursii, J. Gronovii, Lugd. B. 1670. Emendavit, app. crit., adnotationes . . adiecit L. Ianus, Quedlinburg and Leipzig 1848—1852. 2 vols. Recognovit Fr. Eyssenhardt, Lips. Teubner 1868.

439. To nearly the same time we assign some poor treatises for school-use, viz. an alphabetical list of the names of localities in the most common poets by the pretended Vibius Sequester, and Julius Exuperantius' brief account of the first Civil War after Sallust. Other grammarians and rhetoricians of this time were Claudius, Donatianus, Grillius, Julius Honorius, Papirianus, and others.

1. The title: Vibii Sequestris de fluminibus, fontibus, lacubus, nemoribus, paludibus, montibus, gentibus per litteras. The name of Vib. Seq. is probably a jocular fiction from Cic. pro Cluent. 8, 25: Sex. Vibium, quo sequestre . . dicebatur esse usus. So Hassel (a. 1711), M. Hertz, F. Lüdecke; against them Bursian p. III not. None of the names given leads us beyond saec. IV, and the complete absence of all traces of Christianity as well as the frankness with which the author speaks of pagan worship as extant (e. g. p. 2, 15 Bu.: Almon Romae, ubi mater deum VI kal. apr. lavatur; p. 12, 13: Angitiae nemus Lucaniae) would even cause us to infer a much earlier time of composition, if the author's stupidity did not oblige us to limit this to his authorities. Preface: Vibius Sequester Virgiliano filio salutem. Quanto ingenio ac studio, fili carissime, apud plerosque poetas fluminum mentio habitast, tanto labore sum secutus eorum et regiones et vocabula et qualitates in litteram digerens, . . cum tuae professioni sit necessarium. The poets taken into account are Virgil, Ovid's Met. and Fasti (perhaps also ex Ponto), Lucan's Phars., Silius Italicus, and perhaps Statius' Thebaid. There are also commentaries on these poets employed, some of which are now lost (Bursian p. V—VIII). Whenever the author attempts to give more than a mere register, he becomes absurd. Numerous errors

attest his ignorance, and his style proves him to be a barbarian. The text has, however, come down to us in a very corrupt state.

2. The earliest ms. of Vib. Seq. is Vaticanus 4929 saec. X (see above 291, 3). All the others are derived from this and even worse than it.

3. Editio princeps of Vib. Seq. by J. Mazochi, Rom. (time unknown), Aldina (with Mela etc.), Ven. 1514. 1518 (= Iunt. 1519); then with a Commentary by Fr. Hessel (Rotterdam 1711), J. J. Oberlin (Strassburg 1778), L. Baudet (with a French translation, Paris 1843); lastly Vibi Sequestris de fluminibus etc. libellus a Conr. Bursian recognitus (Zürich 1867. 4.). 20 pp. with XIII pp. of introduction. Cf. Fr. Lüdecke, Götti. gel. Anz., 1868, p. 561—569.

4. Iulii Exuperantii opusculum has been preserved in a Sallust ms. saec. XI Paris. 6085, which once belonged to P. Pithoeus; from this it was first published by F. Sylburg 1588 and in many editions of Sallust, separately also by Bursian, Zürich 1868. 4. On a Basle ms. and Goldast's copy of it see F. Lüdecke, Gött. gel. Anz. 1869, p. 77—80.

5. That the opusc. of Iul. Exup. belongs to the fourth or fifth century becomes probable partly by the fact of its exclusive use of Sallust, who was then the fashion, and by the mode of employment. Not only the subject-matter is taken from Sallust (especially Jugurtha and Historiae), but also numerous phrases. The author shows, however, but a confused idea of the constitution of the Republic, commits several flagrant historical errors (e. g. in confounding the younger Marius with the elder), and is both trivial and awkward in his style and diction. He lacks tact in arranging his words and choosing his expressions, e. g. in saying praelium instead of bellum, leges ac iura praescribere, comportatur exercitus (meaning 'it is brought together') etc. Cf. G. Linker, Reports of the Ac. at Vienna, philolog. and hist. Class XIII (1854) p. 286 sqq. Bursian p. VI—VIII.

6. The name of Exuperantius was borne by several persons in the fourth and fifth centuries (Wernsdorf poetae latt. min. V 1. p. 549—552. Bursian p. IV sq.), though we cannot identify our author with any one of them. Some E. was bishop of Ravenna a. 386—418; Hieronym. Ep. 145 (p. 1079 Vall.) is addressed to another qui militiae operam dat, perhaps the one called decurialis Cod. Theod. XIV 1, 14 (a. 404), and vir clariss. Vat. fr. 86. The fact that a Julius is mentioned after him in the Cod. Th., merely shows what was the principal name of both without proving the impossibility of the person in question being the author of the opusc. It is less probable that he was the praeses Aremoricae mentioned by Rutil. Namat. I 213 sqq. (Wernsdorf l. c. p. 551 sq.), as his son was called Palladius Rutilius (not Julius or Exuperantius); see above 405, 1.

7. On the grammarian Claudius who had among others used Sa-

cerdos, see J. Steup Rh. Mus. XXVI p. 320—323, cf. H. Hagen, Anecd. Helv. p. LXXXVI sq.

8. After the treatise de metris Horatii (see above 299, 2) a cod. Bobiensis gives grammatical Excerpts, Ars grammatica accepta ex auditorio Donatiani, derived from Charisius (Keil gramm. VI p. 254). They are printed in Keil, gramm. latt. VI p. 275—277.

9. Excerpta ex *Grillii* commento in Cic. libr. de inventione in Halm's Rhett. latt. min. p. 596—606. Grillius quotes (p. 598, 20) the rhetorician Eusebius (above 419, 6) and is himself quoted by Priscian I 47 (Grillius ad Vergilium de accentibus). His diction also suits this period.

10. Under the title of Julii Honorii oratoris excerpta quae ad cosmographiam pertinent we possess a list of geographical names printed in A. Gronovius' edition of Mela, Leyden 1696 and 1722 (p. 691—702). The author is probably the same as Julius orator mentioned by Cassiodorus divin. lect. 25. Müllenhoff, on the Chart of A. (Kiel 1856) p. 6 sqq. considers him a Spaniard. Possibly a diluted version of it is the Cosmography arbitrarily assigned to Aethicus Ister (below 488, 1—3), the last ed. of which is found in A. Gronovius' Mela (1722) p. 705—722. Another (alia totius orbis descriptio, Gronov. p. 723—733) contains a description of Asia, Europe and Africa (cum limitibus suis et populis) and of the islands of the Mediterranean, mostly in agreement with Oros. I 2. Cf. Ritschl and Petersen (above vol. I p. 397, 12). Pertz, de cosmogr. p. 12 sqq.

11. Priscian I 35 (p. 27, 11 H.), quod testatur Papirianus de orthographia. XII 26 (p. 593, 14): teste Papiriano qui de orthographia hoc ostendit. Cf. ib. I 39 (auctore Plinio et Papiriano et Probo). X 11 (Nisus et Papirianus et Probus). An extract from this work in Cassiod. de orthogr. 4 = Putsche p. 2292 sqq. Pap. himself mentions Donatus (p. 2292, 31 P.) and was used by Cassiodorus (div. inst. 30). He can, therefore, at the earliest have written a. 400. Tortellius (saec. XV) quotes of him b. II, III, IV. He is probably identical with the Q. Papirius of whom Lipsius (de recta pronunt. lat. ling. c. 14) quotes a fragment, probably taken from Adamus Petrus in his edition of Palaemon etc. (Basle 1527. 8) fol. 106: Q. Papyrii de orthographia fragmentum. Brambach, lat. Orthogr. p. 55 sq. In a Berne ms. Papperinus is likewise mentioned as a Spanish grammarian who wrote on orthography and elsewhere (H. Keil, de gramm. inf. aet. p. 15 not. H. Hagen, Anecd. Helv. p. CCLII sq.) he (Paperinus) is credited with statements partly agreeing with those of Paperianus, but which do not by any means teach us anything new.

12. On Julius Paris see above 274, 9 and 11.

13. On the Scholia Bobiensia on Cicero's orations see above 290, 4; on those by Ps. Asconius above 290, 3.

14. On mss. of Virgil in this time see above 226, 9; on a palimpsest see above 399, 4.

440. Probably of this time are some Gromatic writers by whom we possess commentaries on earlier works, viz. Aggenus Urbicus, Nipsus and Innocentius.

1. C. Lachmann, The Writings of the Rom. Surveyors II p. 104 'the Commentum Aggeni Urbici, only in the mss. of the second class and not employed in the appendix of Boethius, the wretched work of some Christian schoolmaster.' Cf. p. 9: suscepimus quoque tractandos controversiarum status cum divino praesidio. The commentary is on Jul. Frontinus (above 322, 3); printed l. l. p. 1—58. The heading p. 9: explicit commentum de agrorum qualitate, incipit de controversiis. In addition some designs, entitled Liber diazografus. Cf. ibid. II p. 142. Different from this I p. 59—90: Ageni Urbici de controversiis agrorum. Cf. liber colon. I (ibid. I) p. 246: ex commentario Urbici edictorum VI Caesaris Quinto Pedio Camidiano quae oppressit illa agrorum.

2. Writings of the Roman Surveyors I (Berlin 1848) p. 285: incipit Marci Juni Nipsi liber II feliciter. Fluminis varatio (p. 285 sq.). Limitis repositio (p. 286—288). varationis repositio p. 288 sq. On placing lapides p. 289—295. Podismus p. 295—301. In a cod. Bamberg. saec. XI we find fragments entitled Liber Junii Nipsi de mensuris; L. v. Jan, Z. f. Alt. 1844, nr. 65.

3. Works of the Roman Surv. I p. 310 with the title: Ex libro XII. Innocentius v. p. (vir perfectiss.) auctor de litteris et notis iuris exponendis. Casa per A nomen habens etc. Casa per B nomen habens etc. (p. 310—318, and after the Greek alphabet p. 318—325.). Expositio litterarum finalium ib. p. 325—331 (Greek and Lat. alphabet). p. 331 the heading: incip. et de casis litterarum montium in ped. V fac. pede uno (p. 331—338). See Rudorff l. l. II p. 406 'the casae litterarum, . . the most peculiar piece of the whole collection, which has severely suffered by long school-use.' p. 408 'the Latin is not so much rustic as rather altogether barbarous in the constructions, prepositions and even the substantives'. Cf. de sub rivo latus ('from the brookside') p. 316, 17 and others, ibid. n. 452. Similar compositions from a Milan ms. saec. X in the Reports of the Meetings of the Ac. at Berlin 1861, p. 1014 sqq.

4. On Frontin. Strateg. IV see above 322, 5.

441. In this time the rhetorician Severus Sanctus Endelechius composed in neat Asclepiadean and Glyconean lines his pleasant idyl on a rinderpest. In the last years of the fourth century Augustine's countryman and pupil Licentius addressed to him from Rome a poem in 154 hexameters, over-

laid with phrases both archaic and quite modern, confused in thought and most unclassical in prosody. By another contemporary poet, Audax, we possess also some tiro-like verses on Augustine. The Satires which Lucillus had composed are lost.

1. Subscription of the cod. Flor. of Apuleius (above 363, 8): ego Salustius legi et emendavi Romae felix Olibrio et Probino v. c. cons. (a. 395) in foro Martis controversiam declamans oratori Endelechio. The rhetorician whose pupil made this entry in his copy, was no doubt identical with the End. who composed the Christian Idyl entitled in editio princeps by P. Pithoeus (veterum aliquot Galliae theologorum scripta, Paris 1586. 4. p. 144 = Epigramm. 1596. p. 573—576): Incipit carmen Severi Sancti i. e. Endeleichi rhetoris de mortibus boum. It is possible that he did not assume the names Severus Sanctus until after his conversion to Christianity. He was on friendly terms with Paulinus Nol.; see his epist. 28, 6: alius libellus ex his est quos ad benedictum i. e. christianum virum, amicum meum Endelechium scripsisse videor (the panegyric on Theodosius; see above 431, 1). . . is enim mihi auctor huius . . opusculi fuit, sicut ipsius epistola, quae libello meo pro themate praescribitur, docet. It is very probable that End. was a Gaul, but that he was an Aquitanian, does not appear from v. 21 sqq.: haec iam dira lues serpere dicitur. pridem Pannonios, Illyrios quoque et Belgas graviter stravit et impio cursu nos quoque nunc petit. These words do not state that the plague invaded the poet's country from Belgium. See Bernays, on the chron. of Sulp. Sev. p. 2 sq. n. 3.

2. The poem is a dialogue between two cowherds. Aegon asks Buculus for the cause of his sadness, who then says that it arises from the rinderpest which he describes most pitifully. Tityrus then drives past his healthy flock and requested to say what remedy he had used he answers: signum quod perhibent esse crucis dei, . . mediis frontibus additum, cunctarum pecudum certa salus fuit, upon which Aegon and Buculus immediately resolve to become also Christians: nam cur addubitem quin homini quoque signum prosit idem . . quo vis morbida vincitur? A popular (cf. Minuc. Fel. Oct. 32, 2 sq.) or also Augustinian conception of Christianity v. 117 sqq: non ullis madidast ara cruoribus, nec morbus pecudum caede repellitur, sed simplex animi purificatio optatis fruitur bonis. The 33 strophes are in the metre of Hor. O. I 6. If the rinderpest be the lues pariter boum atque hominum of which Ambrosius speaks (comm. in Lucam X 10), the poem would appear to be still of saec. IV.

3. Besides in Pithoeus (n. 1) the poem is also found e. g. in Werns dorf poetae latt. min. II p. 218—229, cf. p. 53—61; recent editions by E. Piper (Gotting. 1835) and J. A. Giles (London 1838); also (from Fallandi bibl. patr. IX) in Migne's patrol. XIX. p. 797—800; in Riese's Anth. lat. 893 (II p. 314—318).

4. Licentius, the son of Romanianus to whom Augustine dedicated his books de academicis and who was a cognatus of the bishop of Thagaste, Alypius (Aug. epp. 27, 4 sq.), a pupil of Augustine at Carthage, Rome and Milan, but who had remained at Rome on A.'s return to Africa in order to continue his rhetorical and poetical studies to which he always had a bent (Aug. c. acad. II 3. III 1. de ordine I 2. 5. 8) being especially fond of romantic subjects like Pyramus and Thisbe. From Rome he addressed a letter to A. and the poem in which he first speaks of his difficulties in studying Varro's encyclopaedia in those parts which treated of music, asks his old master to send him his work de musica, assures him of his attachment and himself appears as an industrious, but vain student of rhetoric, displaying much cheap erudition in borrowed phrases. But as he is foolish enough to confess: et nunc Romulidum sedes . . desererem, . . ni mens coniugio incumbens retineret euntem (71 sqq.), having probably further dwelt upon his views in his letter, A. (ep. 26 Bened. = 39) warned him (mi Licenti, . . timeo te rebus mortalibus . . compediri. . . imaginationibus mortiferarum voluptatum aurem accommodas. . . ornari abs te diabolus quaerit) and employed also the eloquence of his friend Paulinus of Nola, to whom he communicated his letter and Lic.'s poem, and who assailed Lic. both in prose and (elegiac) poetry (epist. 8 = 46; in Aug. epp. 32 = 36) writing e. g. to the father: credimus in omnipotentem Christum quod adolescentis nostri votis carnalibus spiritualia vota Augustini praevaleant; and to the son: vere pontifex et vere consul, Licenti, eris si Augustini vestigiis propheticis apostolicis disciplinis . . adhaereas, and in verse: tu thalamos licet et celsos mediteris honores, . . vive, precor, sed vive deo; nam vivere mundo mortis opus: viva est vivere vita deo). It would seem that the united efforts of Paulinus and Augustine succeeded in bringing the stray sheep back to the flock; at least Licentius' name never again appears in the political or literary history of the time.

5. Licent. ad Aug. 137 sqq.: sed nos, praeterea quod ab una exurgimus urbe, quod domus una tulit, quod sanguine tangimur uno saeclorum, christiana fides connexit. Biblical phrases v. 44. 102. But beside them v. 26 clari rector Olympi and 32 tibi noster Apollo corda replet, meaning Christ. A similar want of tact 148: conceptum in lucem vomuisti nectareum mel. Reminiscences of Virgil v. 52 (o mihi transactos revocet si pristina soles etc.). 97. 132 sq. (non si mihi murmura centum det Boreas etc.!) 141; of Persius v. 47; especially of Claudian, which are sometimes so strong as to resemble an attempt to deck himself with strange feathers; see v. 60. 98 sq. 114. 132. In Claudian Lic. chiefly admires and imitates his Alexandrine phrases. As v. 98 sq. is taken from Claudian's poem on the consulate of Probinus (a. 395), Lic.'s poem was probably written 396. Lic. deviates from Claud. in shortening a long final o (e. g. scrutandŏ, omninŏ), in saying Pelŏpum (125) and admitting the hiatus spem ac (29), and similar mistakes.

6. The poem of Lic. (taken from A.'s correspondence) has been printed e. g. in P. Pithoeus' epigr. (Lugd. 1596) p. 471 sq. and especially Wernsdorf poetae latt. min. IV p. 516—544, cf. p. 504—516.

7. The five hexameters of Audax (among them one in seven feet) in his letter in Aug. Epp. 260 = 139; in Wernsdorf, poetae latt. min. IV p. 514.

8. Versus Bassi excōsule scripti in tumulo . . Mānicē (Monicae) metris scti Augustini from Paris. 8093 in Riese, Anth. lat. 670 (II p. 127 sq.).

9. Rutil. Nam. I 599—614; huius (i. e. Lucillus, the father of Decius, consularis Tusciae a. 416; see above 418, 6) vulnificis satira ludente Camenis nec Turnus potior nec Iuvenalis erit. restituit veterem censoria lima pudorem, dumque malos carpit praecipit esse bonos. His Satires appear, therefore, to have treated of ethic subjects in a polemic manner.

442. The hundred riddles of Symphosius were probably composed about this time. They consist of three hexameters each, with an awkward prologue. His diction and prosody are in good taste and prove the author to be an imitator of Ausonius.

1. Title in the cod. Salm.: Enigmata Symfosi scolastici. In the prologue (in 17 hexameters) the unfortunate attempt is made to represent this collection as the production of jocular improvisation at a Saturnalian feast, cf. 1 sq.: haec quoque Symphosius de carmine lusit inepto. sic tu, Sexte, doces, sic te deliro magistro. 15: hos versus feci subito de carmine vocis. 17: da veniam, lector, si non sapit ebria Musa. The author still moves in the ancient traditions without showing any trace of Christianity.

2. Chr. A. Heumann perversely attributed these riddles to Lactantius (above 393, 8): Lactantii symposium, sive C epigrammata etc. (Hannover 1722), whence they are found in many editions of Lactantius, even in that by Fritzsche (II p. 298—308, cf. p. XI sq.) A. Riese places the poet at the beginning of saec. VI; W. Th. Paul (de Symposii aenigmatis, Berlin 1854) and Schenkl (see n. 3) in saec. IV—V; L. Müller (metr. lat. p. 55—57) in saec. II—III on account of his accuracy in prosody and metre.

3. The collection has been preserved in a number of mss. representing two recensions. The earliest is the codex Salmasianus (A in Riese) at the end of saec. VII or beginning of VIII. A. Riese in the Journal of the Austrian Gymn. XIX (1868) p. 483—500. Cf. K. Schenkl, Reports of the Meetings of the Ac. at Vienna XLIII (1863) p. 11 sqq. L. Müller in Fleckeisen's Jahrbb. 93, p. 266—272. J. Klein, Rh. Mus. XXIII p. 525—531.

4. The riddles are printed e. g. in Wernsdorf, poetae latt. min. VI 2. p. 473—579 cf. p. 410—472. Symp. énigmes revues sur plusieurs manuscripts et traduites par E. F. Corpet, Paris 1868. 78 pp. The best text in A. Riese, Anthol. lat. I 286 (p. 187—207).

443. In perhaps the same time Avianus composed 42 Aesopian fables in elegiac metre and dedicated them to a certain Theodosius. They were used as a school-book, frequently copied, augmented, paraphrased and imitated.

1. From the preface: Dubitanti mihi, Theodosi optime, quoinam litterarum titulo nostri nominis memoriam mandaremus fabularum textus occurrit. . . nam quis tecum de oratione, quis de poemate loqueretur, cum in utroque litterarum genere et Atticos graeca eruditione superes et latinitate Romanos? huius ergo materiae ducem nobis Aesopum noveris, after which Socrates, Flaccus, Babrius and Phaedrus are mentioned as predecessors. de his ego ad XLII in unum redactas fabulas dedi, quas rudi latinitate compositas elegis sum explicare conatus. It is possible that this preface is addressed to the grammarian Macrobius Theodosius.

2. The author moves among the creations of polytheism (Iuppiter, Phoebus, Neptune, Fortuna etc.) without gêne, mentions both the erection of altars (12, 5) and sacrifices (29, 25), speaks merely of the campus (10, 3) and therefore seems to have lived at Rome and in a heathen sphere. His diction is not always simple, but generally pure; his metre correct, sometimes even elegant. C. Lachmann (de aetate Flavi Aviani, Berlin 1845. 4 pp. 4.) followed Cannegieter (de aetate et stilo Flavii Av., in his ed. p. 254 sqq.), in assigning this author to the second century: L. Müller (de re metr. p. 55) to ultimis imperii rom. temporibus; Edéléstand du Méril (poésies inédites p. 95 sqq.) to the sixth; W. Fröhner (ed. p. XII) to the fifth (fabulator rusticissimus quinti saec. tam est quam potest), O. Keller (Pauly's Real-Enc. I 2. p. 1326) to the end of saec. IV or beginning of V. Similarly Wernsdorf, poetae latt. min. V 2. p. 663—670. A treatise de aetate et fabulis Aviani by F. Zorn is announced as forthcoming.

3. There are numerous mss. beginning with saec. IX. The text of Fröhner is based on A (Paris. 8093), P (St. Germain 1188), C (Paris. 5570) and K (Karlsruh Court Library 85; Fragment). Cf. K. Schenkl, Journal of Austrian Gymn., XVI (1865) p. 397—413.

4. Editions with Phaedrus and others (e. g. in P. Pithoeus epigr.). Separately by H. Cannegieter (Amstelod. 1731), C. H. Tzschucke (Lips. 1790), C. Lachmann (rec. et emend., Berlin 1845), W. Fröhner (ex rec. et cum instrum. crit., Lips. Teubner 1862).

5. These fabulae were chiefly enlarged by the addition of epimythia; see Fröhner p. 50 sqq. In general they betray their mediaeval

origin even by their leonine rhythm. Such appear also in the paraphrase (perhaps of saec. XI) entitled Novus Avianus (from a Munich and Brussels ms. edited by E. Grosse, Königsberg 1868. 4.). In saec. XII we have the Novus Avianus of Alexander Neckam († 1227) ap. Fröhner p. 55 sqq. A paraphrase of Av. in prose and verse from a Paris ms. saec. XIV in Fröhner p. 65 sqq.

444. To this time we may also ascribe some anonymous didactic poems, among which the most important is on rhetoric (carmen de figuris).

1. The carmen de figuris was discovered in a Paris ms. and published by Quicherat (Bibl. de l'école des chartes I p. 51 sqq.), then by Schneidewin (Gött. 1841), the most complete and best edition in Halm's rhetores latini minores p. 63—70, who also used the critical observations of H. L. Ahrens (Z. f. Alt. 1843, p. 162 sqq.), Bergk and Mommsen (ibid. 1845 p. 81 sqq.), H. Sauppe (Epist. crit. ad G. Hermann. p. 152 sqq.), F. Ritschl (Rh. Mus. XVIII p. 138—141. 320) and others. The last ed. in Riese's Anth. lat. 485 (II p. 16—26). It consists of 185 or 186 hexameters and treats of the figurae lexeos so that each figure gets three lines, one of which generally contains the definition and two the illustrations. After a preface in three lines (collibitum est nobis in lexi schemata quae sunt trino ad te, Messi, perscribere singula versu et prosa et versu pariter planare virorum), the author treats first of the three principal terms of *κόμμα*, *κῶλον* and *περίοδος*, which Aquila also has from Alexander Numenius; then the single figures in the alphabetical succession of the Greek terms so that in each letter they are first taken from Rutilius Lupus and in observance of his arrangement, then from others are added from other sources, especially Alexander Numenius, (see Dzialas, quaest. Rutil. p. 21 sqq. cf. F. Haase p. 389—391). With v. 151 follows another supplement of (less important) figures formerly passed over. The instances are generally happy and partly self-made partly derived from Greek and Roman writers, both poets and prosaists, merely transformed so as to suit the hexameter. Thus we have instances from Sallust (Catil. 20, 4) v. 8 sq., Ennius (Trag. 47 Vahl.), v. 51 (also in Rutilius Lupus), from Virgil (Aen. I 664 sq.) v. 78, from Horace (S. I 5, 23) in the supplement v. 179. The poem has a pronounced archaic character, not only in ignoring final s in prosody and using such forms as dixem, indupetravi, prosiet, *sŭās*i, but also in divisions of words like (v. 10) peri-quam dicunt-odos; especially Lucretius seems to be often used (e. g. differitas, bucera saecla etc.). These archaisms are so numerous and strange as to deserve the appellation of far fetched. While, therefore, the first editors ascribed the poem to the Augustan period, W. Christ (Rhein. Mus. XX p. 67 sq.) moved it down to the age of the Antonines. But the constant shortening of final o, and v. 167 the erroneous use made of a trifling late epigram (nr. 210 in Meyer's Anth. lat.) lead us even lower

down. The poem appears, therefore, to be the trifling versification of a schoolmaster well-versed in Greek (lemodes 150 = λημώδης) and in the archaic and classical literature of the Romans, of the time of Jul. Rufinianus, Ausonius and Paulinus of Nola, when we also meet with other instances of the dropping of final s. Fr. Haase, Haller Allg. Zeitg. 1844, nr. 217 sq. p. 386—400. L. Müller, de re m. p. 345 and Rh. Mus. XXIII p. 683 sq. A writer of this kind could also venture on such formations as parimembris (ἰσόχωλος), distribuela, suffragiolum.

2. In some mss. of Priscian we find a carmen de ponderibus et mensuris which is for this reason frequently ascribed to him, though unjustly (nam nec mss. librorum auctoritate satis defenditur nomen grammatici nec rerum de quibus agitur argumento, Keil gram. VI p. 402). It was probably composed at the end of saec. IV or the beginning of V (C. Schenkl, Reports of the Meetings of the Acad. at Vienna, hist. phil. Class XLIII. 1863. p. 35 sqq.). W. Christ (Rh. Mus. XX p. 66—70) places it even under Diocletian. See L. Müller in Fleckeisen's Jahrb. 93 p. 559. In mss. saec. IX and X it bears the title: Remi Fauini de ponderibus (et mensuris) (ex sensu eiusdem clari oratoris — Rufini — below 405, 6 sqq. — ad Symmachum — below 469, 4 — metrico iure missa), also ex opere Rufini uel Fauini. It is printed (in 163 hexameters) in Wernsdorf, poet. lat. min. V p. 494—519 (cf. p. 235—240), then (increased to 208 lines) from Vindob. 16 (saec. VIII—IX) by Endlicher (Vienna 1828); the best edition in F. Hultsch, script. metrolog. rom. (1866) p. 88—98 (cf. p. 24—31), and after him by Riese, anth. lat. 486 (II p. 27—37, cf. p. VIII sq.)

3. On the scholastic poem of the XII sapientes see above 23, 2.

4. On the poem in praise of Sol see above 21, 4.

445. In the North of Africa and before it was conquered by the Vandals, Martianus Capella wrote his encyclopaedia of the seven artes liberales in nine books. The very strange invention according to which the single Arts appear at the nuptials of Mercury and Philology, is executed in a very pedantic manner. In most parts of the subject-matter Varro was the principal source; in rhetoric (b. V) the author used especially Aquila Romanus, in geometry and geography (b. VI) Solinus and Pliny; in music (b. IX) Aristides Quintilianus. Many passages are in poetical form, likewise in imitation of Varro. These parts are relatively more enjoyable than those in prose which often disgust the reader with their pedantry and then again exaggerate the ornate style of Apuleius to an unbearable degree.

1. Subscription in the Bambergensis: Martiani Minnei Felicis Capellae Afri Carthaginensis . . liber VIIII explicit. According to Cassi-

odorus he was a native of Madaura. On the author and his work the epilogue contains the following statement (p. 374 sq. Eyss.): habes senilem, Martiane, fabulam, miscilla lusit quam lucernis flamine Satura; Pelasgos dum docere nititur artes creagris vix amicas Atticis sic in novena decidit volumina. haec quippe . . immiscuit Musas deosque, disciplinas cyclicas garrire agresti cruda finxit plasmate. . . Felicis sed Capellae flamine (cf. VIII 806: ne tu Felix vel Capella vel quisquis es), indocta rabidum quom videre saecula iurgis caninos blateratus pendere, proconsulari perorantem (?BR: vero dantem) culmini, . . beata alumnum urbs Elissae quem videt iugariorum murcidam viciniam parvo obsidentem vixque respersum lucro, nictante cura somnolentum lucibus. The author was, therefore, a solicitor (cf. VI 577: ex quo desudatio curaque destrictior tibi forensis rabulationis partibus inligata aciem . . obtudit) in Africa (Carthage) while there were still proconsuls, i. e. before Geiserich's capture of Carthage (a. 439) or landing in Africa (a. 429), and lived in modest circumstances. His calling Constantinople Byzantium oppidum p. 224, 19 sq. (in agreement with his source) is almost compensated by p. 213, 25 sq: caput gentium Roma, armis, viris sacrisque quam diu viguit coeliferis laudibus conferenda, if this suggests the time after Alarich's conquest of Rome (a. 410) and not rather the actual removal of the Emperor from Rome in the reigns of Dioletian and Constantine. To the latter time Capella's complete silence as to Christianity (except perhaps by sacrisque l. l.) and his spacious composition, which is out of keeping with the generally depressed state of the beginning of the fifth century, would be more favourable. But at the close of the third or beginning of the fourth century Mart.'s taste was shared by his countryman Arnobius (above 392), the heathen Firmicus (above 403, 1 sqq.) and others. At all events we can scarcely see "refined malice" in that designation of Constantinople, as L. Müller does, Fleckeisen's Jahrb. 93 p. 705—715. Cf. Lüdecke, Gött. gel. Anz. 1867 p. 82—86.

2. The first two books contain the fable. Fabellam tibi quam Satira comminiscens hiemali pervigilio marcescentes mecum lucernas edocuit . . explicabo. Cum inter deos fierent sacra coniugia (I 2), . . Cyllenius . . uxorem ducere instituit (I 5). After several failures Mercury consults Apollo, who advises him to marry a 'doctissima virgo' of the name of 'Philologia'. Mercury agrees and obtains permission to marry her. The bride is then raised to divine state and, after some reluctance on her part, fetched to heaven, with songs of the Muses, but first has to give up all her learning (II 135 sqq.). They journey by the milky way and after various festivities the contract is made out (II 217). The description resembles Apuleius' Met., but is weighed down with erudite details in a most tasteless manner. The second book terminates: nunc ergo mythus terminatus, infiunt artes libelli qui sequentes asserent. nam fruge vera omne fictum dimovent et disciplinas annotabunt sobrias etc. But as early as at the beginning of the third book the author repents his purpose and resolves to maintain his

fable. The single disciplines are therefore introduced as persons of the Court of the bridegroom (dotales virgines VIII 810; Mercuriales IX 897. 899) and described in details, sometimes not unwittily, but then again their subjects are discussed very drily; in b. III grammar, IV dialectic, V rhetoric, VI geometry, VII arithmethic, VIII astronomy, IX music. The undue extent of the fable (even quite at the end Harmonia takes the bride to her thalamus) and the frequent insertion of poetical pieces render the contrast with the pedantry of the theoretic passages much more glaring, and the whole thus becomes disagreeably diversified. The order in which the single arts are discussed agrees with Varro (see above 154, 6 a), the number of books also being the same, as the omission of medicine and architecture (cf. IX 891) is compensated by the two books of the introduction. It is therefore probable that the works agreed also in the title (Disciplinae). But at the end of the second book the Bamberg ms. has the subscription: Martiani Minei Felicis Capellae de nuptiis philologiae lib. II explicit, and then the title: incipit de arte grammatica lib. III.

3. On the sources of the single books see Eyssenhardt's edition p. XXXI—LVIII. The fable (b. I. II) is probably the author's own invention, though there also some uncommen statements (e. g. such as were peculiar to the Orphics) may have been taken from Varro. This may especially be the case in the occasional identification of the gods with stars and the division of them into 16 regions. And as the form of the satira menippea was no doubt borrowed from Varro, it becomes probable that Mart. used him to a large extent (espec. in b. VII and VIII). In rhetoric Aquila is copied in the doctrine of the figurae (above 384); but Fortunatianus (above 420, 5) may just as well have borrowed from Mart. or from his sources as vice versa. Most of the instances are from Cicero, then from Terence and Virgil, also from Sallust and Ennius. The sixth book is a compilation from Pliny and Solinus, but without any employment of the so-called chorographia pliniana; see Fr. Lüdecke, de M. C. libro sexto, Gotting. 1862. 48 pp. (diss.) and Gött. gel. Anz. 1867, I p. 88—90. Where we are able to control Mart. in his use of the sources, we always find traces of haste and ignorance. So especially in his theory of harmony and rhythm (c. IX) which is generally a verbal translation from a bad source (Aristides Quintilianus), with numerous errrors; see R. Westphal, Greek writers on rhythm (1861) p. 47—65.

4. In the later literature the work is most like the Disciplinarum libri of St. Augustine (434, 7). According to the chronological succession (see n. 1) of the .two, we should either assume that the latter derived his matter from the same sources as Mart., but more extensively and omitting the insipid fable and poetical digressions, or Mart. may have used Augustine's work, omitting the Christian additions and sweetening his book by a novel-like dress-up.

5. Each book opens and generally also terminates with a poetical piece. Not only are many poems inserted (especially in b. II and IX),

but also often the prose passes into poetry, even in very abstruse discussions; e. g. III 289. Variety of metrical forms is evidently aimed at and the author endeavours to follow classical models. Most frequently he has epic and elegiac lines, and senarii; but there are also Anacreontics, Anapaestics, Asclepiadeans, hendecasyllabics, Ionics (e. g. IV 424) and other metres. Burdens II 117 sqq. IX 915 sqq. The prosody shows the influence of a later time (e. g. stŏici, Sabaeorum as an ionicus II 124); instances of synaloephe of long vowels (e. g. si erudita IX 888) are not scarce, even more frequent is hiatus (minore ambigens I 31; vera omne and Musae et II 220; mando oculos IX 903).

6. C. Böttiger, on M. C. and his satira, in Jahn's Archiv XIII (1847) p. 590—607; on his diction ibid. p. 620—622. Eyssenhardt's praef., e. g. p. XVIII: indigestus in particulis ab ipso (M. C.) excogitatis tumor sermonis, . . foeda neglegentia in locis aliorum scriptorum a Martiano excerptis. . . scriptoris immanis oscitantia et neglegentia.

7. In several mss. of M. C. we find the following subscription: Securus Memor Felix v. sp(ectabil.), com(es) consist: rhetor (urbis) R. ex mendosissimis exemplaribus emendabam contra legente Deuterio scholastico, discipulo meo, Romae ad portam Capenam cos. Paulini v. c. sub d. non. Martiarum Christo adiuvante. The Cons. Paulinus is more probably the one of 534 than of 498, and hence Deuterius not the one mentioned by Ennodius (below 469, 5). O. Jahn, Trans. of the Saxon Soc. of Lit. 1851, p. 351—354.

8. The work of M. C. was used as a school-book in the Middle Ages. Already Gregorius of Tours (born 539) X extr.: si te . . Martianus noster septem disciplinis erudiit etc. (Eyssenhardt p. XIX sq.). Hence the great number of mss.; see Eyssenhardt p. X—XVIII. XX—XXXI. The extant mss. are all derived from one original, and agree in the corruptions of the text. By far the oldest and best ms. is Bambergensis of beginning of saec. X; after which come the Reichenau ms. (now at Karlsruhe) and one at Darmstadt, both of the tenth or the beginning of the eleventh century.

9. Ed. princeps by Fr. Vitalis Bodianus, Vincent. 1499 fol. Subsequent editions especially by B. Vulcanius (Basil. 1577, with Isidore), H. Grotius (Lugd. 1599), U. F. Kopp (and C. F. Hermann, Frankf. 1836. 4.) and F. Eyssenhardt (rec., Lips. Teubner 1866). The fifth book also in Halm's Rhetores latt. min. (1863) p. 449—492 cf. p. XI sq.), B. IX in Meibom's auct. vett. mus. (1652. 4.) II p. 165 sqq.

10. Critical contributions by C. Böttiger (Jahn's Archiv XIII p. 607—620) and Fr. Eyssenhardt (Rhein. Mus. XVII p. 638—640. XVIII p. 323—326. 637—639. XIX p. 152—154. 479 sq. and comment. crit. de M. C. particula, Berlin 1861).

E. The Fifth century.

446. With the fifth century we are in the midst of the migration of tribes. One country of the West after the other

was seized and swallowed up by this torrent of nations, ancient culture perishing with it. At the beginning of this century (a. 406 sqq.) Gaul was flooded by the horde of Radagais; a. 410 Rome was taken by Alarich, the king of the Visigoths; a. 415 his successor Wallia founded the kingdom of the Visigoths in Southern France and Spain; a. 429 the kingdom of the Vandals in Africa was founded by Geiserich. Italy was devastated by the Huns under Attila a. 452, Rome escaping destruction with great difficulty; but a. 455 it was plundered by Geiserich. After a series of feeble Emperors, the West-Roman Empire was finally overthrown by the Herulian Odoacer, and a. 486 Gaul passed into the possession of the Franks under Chlodwic. The ruling nations were now barbarians who oppressed civilisation and were accessible only to its bad influences. The conquered nations submitted in dull despair. At first some whose culture was due to a better time showed a purer taste in their works, e. g. Rutilius Namatianus, Vincentius of Lerinum, and Leo the Great. But by degrees literary production became extinct, and those who still attempted it were either infected by the prevalent barbarity or, like Salvianus and Apollinaris Sidonius, proved by their artificial diction that the literature they intended to continue was already dead. Culture and literature gradually passed into the exclusive possession of the clergy. Only Jurisprudence gained some new importance by the necessity of arranging the new States and adopting the Roman law to the requirements of the Conquerors. A. 426 the Law of Citations regulated the treatment of classical Jurisprudence, and a. 438 the Imperial Edicts which were still valid were collected and arranged in the Codex Theodosianus. This facilitated also such abridgments as were now undertaken both by private individuals and public authorities. In the same manner abridged translations of medical works became more frequent, at the close of the century the Greek Anthimus even addressed a Latin work on dietetics to Theuderich, king of the Franks. The East of Europe was less afflicted by the horrors of the time; there paganism was energetically defended by Eunapius, Olympiodorus and Zosimus in their historical works; Roman law was studied more zealously, and even traditional Latin grammar was diligently represented at Constantinople by Priscian. In the West, Gaul retained and appreciated ancient culture perhaps

longer than other parts; but the united efforts of the Germans and of the Church overthrew it at last, feeble as it was. At last deep and deeper night overspread the nations and countries.

1. Salvian, de gubern. VI 18: ubi sunt antiquae Romanorum opes ac dignitates? fortissimi quondam Romani erant, nunc sine viribus. . . vectigalia illis solvebant populi barbarorum, nos vectigales barbaris sumus. VII 1: totus romanus orbis et miser est et luxuriosus. Sidon. ep. VIII 6: mundus iam senescens. ib. III 8: romana resp. in extrema haec miseriarum defluxit. Orient. commonit. II 185: labentis funera mundi. Claudian. Mam. in his letters to Sapaudus: bonarum artium iam inde a proavorum nostrorum saeculis facta iactura et animi cultum despuens . . deliciis et divitiis serviens . . pessum dedit cum doctrina virtutem. Fulgent. myth. praef.: quamvis nostri temporis aerumnosa miseria non dicendi petat studium, sed vivendi fleat ergastulum, nec famae assistendum poeticae, sed fami sit consulendum domesticae.

2. Apoll. Sidon. carm. 12, 1 sqq.: quid me, etsi valeam, parare carmen fescenninicolae iubes Diones inter crinigeras situm catervas et germanica verba sustinentem, laudantem tetrico subinde vultu quod Burgundio cantat esculentus, infundens acido comam butyro? vis dicam tibi quid poema frangat? ex hoc barbaricis abacta plectris spernit senipedem stilum Thalia ex quo septipedes videt patronos. Yet the Courts of the Visigothic king at Toulouse, the Burgundians at Vienna, and subsequently of the Franks long continued to be the refuge of the last representatives of Roman literature. Of Carthage Salvian. de gub. VII 16: illic artium liberalium scholae, illic philosophorum officinae etc. Cf. Apulei. Flor. 16 and (on the time of Thrasamund) Florent. (Anth. lat. 376, 32 R): Carthago studiis, Carthago ornata magistris.

3. Cod. Theod. I 4, 3 (of a. 426): Papiniani, Paulli, Gaii, Ulpiani atque Modestini scripta universa firmamus ita ut Gaium quae Paullum, Ulpianum et cunctos comitetur auctoritas lectionesque ex omni eius opere recitentur. eorum quoque sententiam quorum tractatus atque sententias praedicti omnes suis operibus miscuerunt ratam esse censemus, ut Scaevolae, Sabini, Iuliani atque Marcelli. . . ubi autem diversae sententiae proferuntur potior numerus vincat auctorum, vel, si numerus aequalis sit, eius partis praecedat auctoritas in qua excellentis ingenii vir Papinianus emineat. The name 'law of citation' is due to Hugo. Cf. Rudorff, Hist. of Roman Law I p. 202 sq. Dernburg, Gaius p. 111 sqq.

4. An edict of Theodosius and Valentinian of a. 438 (cod. Theod. praef.): saepe nostra clementia dubitavit quae causa faceret ut tantis propositis praemiis quibus artes et studia nutriuntur tam pauci raroque extiterint qui plena iuris scientia ditarentur et . . vix unus aut alter receperit soliditatem perfectae doctrinae (knowledge of the Law). See below 451, 1.

5. Eunapius (born c. 346), was the author of *βίοι φιλοσόφων καὶ σοφιστῶν* (ed. J. Fr. Boissonade, Amsterdam 1822, and in Didot's col-

lection T. XXXII) and continued the history of Dexippus (above 382, 16) until A. D. 404. The fragments in Niebuhr's edition of Dexippus (Bonn 1829) and in Dindorf's hist. gr. min. I. (Lips. Teubner 1870) p. 205 sqq.

6. Olympiodorus of Thebes continued Eunapius until A. D. 427; the fragments in Niebuhr's Dexippus and L. Dindorf's hist. gr. min. I p. 450 sqq. J. Rosenstein, Critical Investigations on the relations of Ol., Zosimus and Sozomenus, in the Invest. on German history, edited by the Munich Historical Commission I 2.

7. Zosimus, the author of the *ἱστορία νέα* in six books from Augustus and extensively from Constantine to the capture of Rome a. 410. Edited by C. F. Reitemeier (Lips. 1784) and I. Bekker (Bonn 1837). P. Schmidt, de auctoritate et fide historica Zi. vitam Constantini narrantis, Berlin 1866. R. C. Martin, de fontibus Zosimi, Berlin 1866. See above 421, 8.

8. A very important source of the history of saec. V is Priscus, whose fragments are collected in L. Dindorf's hist. gr. min. p. 275—352. Cf. n. 11.

9. An epigram on an official chart: hoc opus egregium . . Theodosius princeps venerando iussit ab ore confici, ter quinis aperit cum fascibus annum (the 15th year of the reign of Theodosius the younger 422—423, 15th Consulate a. 435). supplices hoc famuli, dum scribit pinget et alter mensibus exiguis . . in melius reparamus opus etc. It is preserved in the geographical work of Dicuil, a. 825; Riese anth. 725. It is erroneous to ascribe this to the elegant poet Sedulius, see below 466, 8.

10. In the West Honorius (a. 395—423) and Valentinian III (a. 425—455) reigned as Emperors, in the East Arcadius (395—408), from a. 402 together with Theodosius II (—405). The latter is also known as caligrapher; see above 195, 7 and 385, 5.

11. A. F. Ozanam, la civilisation au Ve siècle, Paris 1855. 2 vols. (Oeuvres compl. I. II). On the history and criticism of the sources of saec. V cf. A. Köcher, de Ioanne Antiocheno (Bonn 1871) p. 35—37. 42—80.

447. We possess a poem in two books by Rutilius Namatianus composed a. 416, describing in elegiac metre the author's return from Rome to Gaul, with numerous excursuses on persons and things. The poem is lively and interesting on account of the warm feeling pervading it, while at the same time all formal details are correct and pure. Unfortunately the greater part of the second book is lost.

1. The author's name in the (only) codex Bobiensis (discovered) 1494): Claudius Rutilius Namatianus v. c. He was a native of Gaul

(I 20: indigenamque suum gallica rura vocant), but magister officiorum (I 563 sq.) at the West-Roman Court, and at Rome praef. urbi (I 157—160), probably in the course of a. 414, as the predecessor of Albinus (I 473 sq. cf. Cod. Theod. XIII 5, 38). If he be the mag. off. Namatius in the cod. Theod. VI 27, 15, he belongs to a. 412. His father Lachanius held this appointment (I 595), had been consularis Tusciae, comes sacr. larg., Quaestor and praef. (urbi?) and had a statue at Pisa (I 575—596). He is perhaps the Claudius who was a. 389 cons. Tusciae (cod. Theod. II 4, 5) and 396 praef. urb. (ib. VI 26, 8. XV 13, 1). He was related to Palladius, the son of Exuperantius (I 207 sqq.); see above 439, 6. His journey home was caused by the devastation of his estates (I 20—34), perhaps by the Visigoths (near Tolosa?).

2. The journey takes place by sea (on account of the Goths, I 37 sqq.) and suffers many delays in consequence of the bad season (departure from Ostia at the beginning of October). Many digressions (deverticula II 61) are joined to the account, containing descriptions of places, myths and legends, rhetorical excursuses (on gold and iron I 357 sqq.); especially friends receive memorials, e. g. Rufius Volusianus (I 167 sqq. 417 sqq.), Palladius (I 208 sqq.), Albinus (I 466 sqq.), Victorinus (I 493 sqq.), Protadius (I 542 sqq.), his father Lachanius (n. I) and others (n. 6). The invective against the Jews is probably also intended against the Christians. Christianity is in the poet's eye a deterior circaeis secta venenis (I 525) and he inveighs very much against monks and ascetic life (I 440 sqq. 517 sqq.). He is a sincere believer in polytheism, cf. e. g. I 67 sqq. 233 sqq. 259 sqq. Rome is enthusiastically praised at the beginning of the first book.

3. On the date of composition see I 135 sq.: quamvis sedecies denis et mille peractis annus praeterea iam tibi (Roma) nonus eat. a. 1169 V. C. (Varr.) = 416 A. D. The Goths (Getae) are often mentioned (I 40. 142. 336. II 51). Capture of Tolosa I 496. Stilicho is attacked for his treaty with them II 41—60. Half idyl, half satire, the poem is very interesting as a picture of the time. Of b. II only the first tenth is extant. The beginning of the first book has likewise been lost.

4. After the loss of the codex Bobiensis (originally discovered a. 1494), the text of the poem rests exclusively on a copy at Vienna, saec. XVI. Editio princeps (as Itinerarium) by J. B. Pius (Bonon. 1520. 4.) Ab Jos. Castalione emend. et adn. illustratum, Rom. 1582. Cum animadv. Th. Sitzmanni, Lugd. 1618. Rec. C. Barth, Frankf. 1623. Cum Simleri, . . Graevii all. animadv. ed. Th. J. ab Almeloveen, Amstelod. 1687. Rec. T. Damm (Brandenb. 1760), J. Chr. Kapp (Erlangen 1786), J. C. Gruber (Nürnberg 1804). In P. Pithoeus' Epigrammata (p. 475 sqq.), the poetae latini minores by P. Burmann (T. II p. 3 sqq.), Wernsdorf (V 1 p. 77—202). Cl. R. N. de reditu suo rec. et illustr. A. W. Zumpt, Berlin 1840. With a French translation by J. Z. Collombet, Lyons and Paris 1842. Rec. et praefatus est L. Müller, Lips. Teubner. 1870.

5. A. W. Zumpt, Observationum in R. Cl. Nam. carmen de reditu suo pars prior, Berlin 1836. 44 pp. On R. N. also Wernsdorf poet. latt. min. V p. 5—28 and (on the edition etc.) p. 40 sqq., also Zumpt's Prolegomena. On his prosody see L. Müller's edition p. XI sq.

6. As contemporary poets R. N. mentions the Satirist Lucillus (above 441, 8) and a certain (Valerius) Messala (I 268—276), probably the same as is often mentioned as praef. praet. a. 396, 399—401, 403 in the cod. Theodos., and to whom Symmachus addressed Epp. VII 81—92; cf. Ap. Sidon. carm. IX 302: Messalam ingenii satis profundi.

448. About this time the Spanish Presbyter Orosius wrote, at St. Augustine's request, for apologetic purposes his work on universal history from Adam to A. D. 410, without much study and knowledge, chiefly from Livy and Hieronymus' version of Eusebius' Chronicles, but arbitrarily selecting and treating his materials so as to suit his views, in an unequal diction, mostly bombastic. Besides this work we have by Orosius a treatise on the liberty of human will, caused by the Pelagian disputes.

1. Gennad. vir. ill. 39: Orosius presbyter, Hispanus genere, vir eloquens et historiarum cognitor (from Prosper chron. ad a. 396), scripsit adversum querulos et infamatores christiani nominis, qui dicunt defectum romanae reip. Christi doctrina invectum, libros VII. . . hic est Orosius qui ab Augustino pro discenda animae ratione ad Hieronymum (to Bethlehem) missus rediens reliquias b. Stephani primi martyris tunc nuper inventas primus intulit occidenti (Minorca). claruit extremo paene Honorii imperatoris tempore. The name of Paulus is due to an erroneous interpretation of the abbreviation P (for presbyter). His native town was perhaps Tarraco. Oros. VII 22: nos quoque in Hispania Tarraconem nostram. He was presbyter probably at Braccara in Lusitania. Avitus of Braccara, presbyter in Palestine, writes to the bishop of Braccara, Balchonius (Baron. annal. eccl. ad a. 415): ut dilectissimus filius et compresbyter meus Orosius usque ad has partes ab africanis episcopis mitteretur, cuius mihi caritas . . vestrum omnium praesentiam reddidit. Cf. Augustin. ep. 166, 2 (to Hieronymus): venit ad me (a. 413 or 414) religiosus iuvenis, catholica pace frater, aetate filius, honore compresbyter noster Orosius, vigil ingenio, promptus eloquio, flagrans studio . . ad refellendas falsas perniciosasque doctrinas, quae animas Hispanorum multo infelicius quam corpora barbaricus gladius trucidarunt. nam inde ad nos usque ab oceani littore properavit etc. Ibid. 169, 13 (ad Euodium episc.): sanctissimi et studiosissimi iuvenis presbyteri Orosii, qui ad nos ab ultima Hispania, i. e. ab oceani littore . . advenit. He found Augustine engaged on his work de civ. dei, the first five books of which were already finished (ib. 169, 1). In conse-

quence of Orosius' request to be enlightened about the nature of the human soul, Augustine wrote his treatise contra Priscillianistas et Origenistas ad Orosium. Orosius may have been born about 390 at the latest; we do not know in what year he died.

2. Oros. hist. praef.: praeceptis tuis parui, beatissime pater Augustine. . . praeceperas mihi ut scriberem adversus vaniloquam pravitatem eorum qui . . pagani vocantur, . . qui . . praesentia tantum tempora veluti malis extra solitum infestissima ob hoc solum quod creditur Christus et colitur deus, idola autem minus coluntur, infamant. praeceperas ergo ut ex omnibus qui haberi ad praesens possunt historiarum atque annalium fastis quaecumque aut bellis gravia aut corrupta morbis aut fame tristia aut terrarum motibus terribilia aut inundationibus aquarum insolita aut eruptionibus ignium metuenda aut ictibus fulminum plagisque grandinum saeva vel etiam parricidiis flagitiisque misera per transacta retro saecula reperissem ordinato breviter voluminis textu explicarem. maxime cum reverentiam tuam perficiendo adversus hos ipsos paganos undecimo libro (de civ. dei, see above 434, 10) insistentem, quorum iam decem . . elati sunt, . . levi opusculo occupari non oporteret, . . dedi operam etc. . . ut merito hac scrutatione claruerit regnasse mortem avidam sanguinis dum ignoratur religio, . . ista illuscente illam constupuisse. For this purpose Orosius always chooses the most sanguinary account, in case his authorities differ, and perhaps also exaggerates horrors intentionally. In the preface of b. III bellorum miseriae is stated to be the subject, and perhaps the obscure ormesta etc. in the title of some mss. may point to something like moesta mundi or Orosii miseriae mundi; see Mörner p. 178—181.

3. Oros. I 21 extr.: quoniam spopondisse me memini . . dicturum me esse ab orbe condito usque ad urbem conditam, huic volumini, quod ab orbe condito explicuimus, finis hic sit. The second book contains the history of Rome to the capture by the Gauls and an account of the other contemporary events from the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus to the battle of Cunaxa; the third book goes to a. 280 B. C.; the fourth book from the wars with Pyrrhus to the destruction of Carthage; the fifth book from the destruction of Carthage to the first Civil War; VI from the wars with Mithridates to Augustus and the birth of Christ; VII History of the Emperors to the author's own time (Vallia), special attention being paid to the history of the Christian Church. This disposition is the best part of the book, though the number seven is no doubt due to superstitious considerations (VII 2: septenarius ille numerus quo iudicantur omnia) and the distinction (based on the book of Daniel) of four monarchies according to the four quarters of the globe (Babylonian, Roman, Macedonian, and Carthaginian) sometimes interferes with the arrangement. The synchronistic design and the interest shown in chronology deserve praise, though the latter part is carried out indifferently and with many errors. In accordance with his source, the Chronicles of Eusebius, Orosius follows the Catonian era (752) in the time before Christ; in the Impe-

rial period he states the years of each Emperor's reign merely in a round sum. Mörner p. 67—82. Everything relating to Spain is treated with a certain preference, and in prefatory remarks and epilogues to the single books many edifying observations are made. The author's consciousness of being a Roman citizen and a Christian appears especially V 1 sq.

4. A careful discussion of the sources of Orosius in Mörner p. 49—165. Orosius would like to create the impression that he used a great many works for his book, and therefore copies especially those passages from his authorities in which other authors are mentioned (e. g. VII 10 from Tac. Hist. a passage on Sallust); he also mentions many Greek and Roman writers (e. g. Plato, Polybius, Palaephatus, Phanocles; Fabius, Claudius, Valerius Antias, Galba, Pompeius Trogus; also Josephus) whom he never had in his hands, being, moreover, scarcely competent to understand Greek. In reality he has employed only very few and (with the exception of part of Tac. Hist.) only such as we still possess, so that we can control him, even when he does not mention his source, which is habitual with him. He used and occasionally quotes the Old and the New Testament, Livy, Justinus, Tacitus, Suetonius, Eutropius; he uses without mentioning Hieronymus' version of Eusebius, Florus, and a Cosmography. The basis of his design is Eusebius; his principal source of Roman history is sometimes Livy, sometimes Florus, and lastly Eutropius; in foreign history Justinus; in the Imperial time Eutropius and beside him Tacitus and Suetonius. In his account of the conquest of Gaul Caesar's b. gall. is also used, though O. considers it a work of Suetonius; see VI 7: hanc historiam Suetonius Tranquillus plenissime explicuit, cuius nos competentes portiunculas decerpsimus (Mörner p. 148—152, see above 183, 1 extr.).

5. Orosius' haste in using his sources has caused numerous mistakes, repeated mentions of the same fact from different sources, confusions etc ; cf. U. Köhler, qua rat. Livii ann. p. 42—46. 95—98. Or. himself feels that he is not equal to his task; cf. e. g. III praef.: repeto . . nec omnia nec per omnia posse quae gesta et sicut gesta sunt explicari, quoniam magna atque innumera copiosissime et a plurimis scripta sunt. . . praeterea ex hac ipsa de qua queror abundantia angustia oritur mihi et concludit me sollicitudo nodosior, the difficult task of avoiding the charge both of incompleteness and obscurity.

6. Orosius' education and diction were under the influence of Virgil (Mörner p. 177 sq.) and subsequently of Augustine (ib. p. 52—55). Orosius shows also certain traces of an acquaintance with Lucan (VI 1 extr.) and Cicero (Mörner p. 177), and in general of rhetorical training. His style depends on the sources he is copying; when Oros. himself speaks, he commonly gets into clerical loquacity and unction, and is easily entangled in his periods.

7. Epilogue (VII 43 extr.): explicui adiuvante Christo secundum tuum praeceptum, beatissime pater Augustine, ab initio mundi usque

in praesentem diem, h. e. per annos MMMMMDCXVII, cupiditates et punitiones hominum peccatorum, conflictationes saeculi et iudicia dei quam brevissime et quam simplicissime potui. . . de qualitate autem opusculorum tu videris qui praecepisti: tibi adiudicanda si edas, per te iudicata si deleas. The 5617 years point to a. 418 as the time when the author terminated his work (birth of Christ a. 5199), cf. VII 41: irruptae sunt Hispaniae. . . nihil quidem novum, hoc enim nunc per biennium . . sustinuere a barbaris quod per CC quondam annos passae fuerunt a Romanis. The greater part had been written before his journey to Palestine, soon after his interview with St. Augustine. (V 2: nunc me Africa excepit), near whom and perhaps from whose library the rest was subsequently composed. The apologeticus de arbitrii libertate was written in Palestine about the end of a. 415 (Mörner p. 23 sq. 29 sq.).

8. The orthodoxy of Orosius and his relations to Augustine were long in favour of the work. King Alfred had it translated into Anglosaxon (edited by D. Barrington, London 1773, and J. Bosworth, London 1855; cf. R. Pauli, King Alfred p. 226 sqq. 307 sqq.). Hence there are also numerous mss., beginning with saec. VII (at Florence and Laon); of saec. IX there are mss. at Chartres and Donaueschingen; of saec. X Vat. 1974. These mss. have not yet been used methodically. Critical contributions by E. Grubitz (Emendationes Orosianae, Naumburg 1835. 4.) and U. Köhler (Philologus XVIII p. 552—555).

9. Ed. princeps per Jo. Schüssler, Augsburg 1471. fol. Subsequent editions Vincent. c. 1575 fol.; by G. Bolsuinge (Cologne 1526. fol.), Fr. Fabricius (Cologne 1561 and elsewhere) and especially S. Havercamp (Lugd. B. 1738 and 1767. 4.). Text also in the Bibl. patr. max. VI p. 376 sqq., in Gallandi bibl. patr. IX, and in Migne's patrol. t. XXXI. (1846.) p. 636—1212 (hist. and apol.) and p. 1212—1216 (Commonitorium). Ad fid. rec. Havercampi. Thorn 1857.

10. The principal work on O. is: Th. v. Mörner, de Orosii vita eiusque historiarum libris VII adversus paganos, Berlin 1844. 182 pp. Cf. also R. Ceillier, hist. gén. des aut. XIV p. 1—10. G. F. H. Beck, de Orosii historici fontibus et auctoritate (Marburg 1832) p. 1—9. E. Mejean, Paul Orose et son apologétique contre les païens, Strassburg 1862. 33 pp. Thèse.

449. Among the other friends of Augustine in his war with the Pelagian sect one of the most zealous, both orally and in literary works, was Marius Mercator; we may also mention Aurelius, bishop of Carthage, Leporius, the Presbyter Paulinus of Milan, and others.

1. Augustin. epist. 193 (of the close of 418) to Mercator: litteras tuae sinceritatis inveni et alium adversus novos haereticos librum. The

extant works of Marius Merc. were edited studio Jo. Garnerii (Paris, 1673 fol.), emend. St. Baluzius (Paris. 1684) and in the collections of Galland. (VIII p. 615 sqq.), Migne (Patrol. XLVIII) and others.

2. An Epistle by Aurelius De damnatione Pelagii atque Caelestii in Garnier's ed. of Mercator, Gallandi bibl. VIII p. 129 sqq., Migne's Patrol. XX and others. By his successor Capreolus (since 430) we have letters against the heresy of Nestorius, e. g. in Gallandi bibl. IX p. 490 sqq., Migne's patrol. LIII p. 843 sqq.

3. Gennad. ill. 59: Leporius adhuc monachus, postea presbyter, . . pelagianum dogma coeperat sequi. sed a gallicanis doctoribus admonitus et in Africa per Augustinum a deo emendatus scripsit Emendationis suae libellum, in quo et satisfacit de erroribus et gratias agit de emendatione. Printed in Garnier's ed. of Mercator (I p. 224 sqq.) and in the patristic collections, e. g. Gallandi bibl. IX, Migne's Patrol. XXXI.

4. Cassian. de incarn. dom. 7: Paulinus presbyter, non ille Nolanus episcopus, conscripsit s. Ambrosii vitam. See above 427, 1. Printed in most editions of the works of Ambrosius. Paulini Mediolanensis libellus adversus Caelestium Zosimo papae oblatus (c. 417) and De benedictionibus patriarcharum e. g. in Gallandi bibl. patr. IX and Migne's patrol. XX.

5. The letters from Evodius Uzalensis episcopus to Augustine, Epist. 158—164. 169 = 98—102. 246 sq. The other works ascribed to Evodius e. g. in Migne's Patrol. XXXI.

6. On Prosper see below 453, 1 sqq.

450. On the opposite side the most prominent writer is John Cassianus of Massilia, the diligent promotor of monasticism and who is considered the author of the semi-pelagian heresy. There are three works extant by him: De institutis coenobiorum libri XII; Collationes, four and twenty pious dialogues with Egyptian monks; De incarnatione Christi libri VII. Contemporary writers, mostly of the same theological party, are the rhetorician Victorinus of Massilia, the Presbyters Philippus and Eucherius, the bishop Hilarius of Arles and others. There are works extant by the three last-mentioned writers.

1. Gennad. ill. 61: Cassianus, natione Scytha, Constantinopoli a Ioanne (Chrysostomo) magno. episcopo diaconus ordinatus, apud Massiliam presbyter condit duo monasteria. . . scripsit, experientia magistrante, litterato sermone et . . sensu verba inveniens et actione linguam movens res omnium monachorum professioni necessarias, i. e. De habitu monachi et De canonico orationum modo atque Psalmorum

qui in monasteriis Aegypti diu noctuque tenentur libros III; Institutionum librum unum; De origine et qualitate ac remediis VIII principalium vitiorum libros VIII, singulos scilicet de singulis vitiis expediens. digessit etiam Collationes cum patribus aegyptiis habitas. . . et ad extremum rogatus a Leone urbis Romae episcopo (then still archidiaconus) scripsit adversus Nestorium De incarnatione domini libros VII et in his scribendis apud Massiliam et vivendi finem fecit, Theodosio et Valentiniano regnantibus (i. e. 425—450).

2. Editions of the works of Cassianus opera et stud. Henr. Cuykii (Antverp. 1578), Al. Gazaei (Atreb. 1628 fol. and elsewhere, also in the patristic collections e. g. Migne's Patrol. XLIX and L (Paris 1846). On a ms. of the Collationes see above 399, 4.

3. On Cassianus see especially Voss. hist. pelag. I 7. Norisius hist. pel. II 1 sqq. G. F. Wiggers, de Io. Cass. Massil. qui semipelagianismi auctor vulgo perhibetur, Rostock 1824 sq. 4. and in Ersch and Gruber's Enc. I 21. p. 105 sqq. J. Geffken, historia semipelagianismi antiquissima, Gotting. 1826. 4. G. Kaufmann in Raumer's hist. Taschenbuch 1869, p. 64—73.

4. Gennad. ill. 60: Victorinus (Var. Victorius) rhetor Massiliensis ad filii sui Aetherii personam commentatus est in Genesim, i. e. a principio libri usque ad obitum patr. Abrahae, tres diversos edidit libros, christiano quidem et pio sensu, sed utpote saeculari litteratura occupatus homo et nullius magisterio in divinis scripturis exercitatus levioris ponderis sententiam figuravit. moritur Theodosio et Valentiano regnantibus. See below 457, 5. 459, 13.

5. Gennad. ill. 62: Philippus presbyter, optimus auditor Hieronymi, commentatus in Iob edidit sermone simplici librum. legi eius et Familiares epistolas et valde salsas et maxime ad paupertatis et dolorum tolerantiam exhortatorias. moritur Marciano (a. 450—457) et Avito (a. 455 sq.) regnantibus, i. e. a. 455 or 456. His commentary on Job (in historiam Iob commentariorum libri III) edited (by J. Sichard) Basil. 1527 and in the works of Hieronymus (e. g. in Migne's Patrol. XXIII p. 1401 sqq.).

6. Gennad. ill. 63: Eucherius, Lugdunensis ecclesiae presbyter, scripsit ad Valerianum propinquum suum De contemtu mundi et saecularis philosophiae epistolam unam, scholastico sermone et rationabili. disseruit etiam ad personam filiorum Salonii et Veranii, postea episcoporum, obscura quaeque sanctarum capitula scripturarum. sed et Cassiani quaedam opuscula lato tensa sermone angusto verbi resolvens tramite in unum coegit volumen, aliaque tam ecclesiasticis quam monasticis studiis necessaria. moritur sub Valentiniano (a. 425—455) et Marciano (a. 450—457) principibus (i. e. between 450 and 455). Edit. of his works e recogn. B. Rhenani (Basil. 1516. 4.), cum scholiis Erasmi Rot. (Basil. 1530. 4.), and in the patristic collections, e. g. Migne (Patrol. L). On a work by him see Salvian. epist. 8.

7. Gennad. ill. 69: Hilarius, Arelatensis episcopus (since 429), vir in sanctis scripturis doctus, paupertatis amator, . . homo genere clarus. . . ingenio immortali aliqua et parva edidit, quae eruditae animae et fidelis linguae indicio sunt. in quibus praecipue . . vitam scti Honorati (see below 462, 7), praedecessoris sui, composuit. moritur Valentiniano et Marciano regnantibus (i. e. 450—455). This vita is e. g. printed in Salina's edition of Vincent. Lerin., in Migne's Patr. L. Four lines by him in the Anth. lat. 487 R. (II p. 37). Prosper to Augustin. (ep. 225, 9): unum eorum (of the Semi-Pelagians who held high positions) praecipuae autoritatis et spiritualium studiorum virum, sanctum Hilarium Arelatensem episcopum, sciat beatitudo tua admiratorem sectatoremque in aliis omnibus tuae esse doctrinae. Gallicanism and Romanism fought their first struggles in the persons of H. and Leo I., see Leo's Epist. 10 sq.

8. By Hilarius' brother-in-law Lupus, Bishop of Troyes (episc. Trecensis) a. 429—479, letters in Gallandi bibl. patr. IX. p. 516 sqq. and Migne's patrol. LVIII p. 63 sqq.

9. Sermons and letters by Petrus Chrysologus (c. 405—450) from Imola, Bishop of Ravenna since 433, in the ed. of Dom. Mita (Bonon. 1643. 4. Venet. 1742 fol.); rec. Seb. Pauli (Venet. 1750 fol.), in Migne's Patrol. LII and elsewhere. A letter to the Presbyter Eutyches ib. LIV p. 739 sqq.

10. Sermons by Valerianus, abbot at Lerinum, Bishop of Cemele (near Nice) c. 440, with an Epistola ad monachos de virtutibus et ordine doctrinae apostolicae, edited by Syrmond (Paris. 1612), in Mita's ed. of Petrus (n. 9), Gallandi bibl. X p. 123 sqq., Migne's Patrol. LII.

11. Agroecius dedicated to the bishop Eucherius (n. 6), probably in Gaul, his opus de orthographia et proprietate et differentia sermonis, which was intended to form an appendix to the work of Flavius Caper (above 338, 3). Cf. p. 2266 P.: huic Capri libello . . quaedam adicienda subieci, non quod vir tantae peritiae aliquid praetermiserit, tam multis praesertim litterarum operibus celebratus, qui in commentando etiam Cicerone praecipuus, sed quia nos difficilia putamus quae ille ut facilia neglexit. The whole in Putsche's gramm. lat. p. 2266—2275. Cf. Apoll. Sidon. VII 5. Prob. on Verg. Ecl. V 80. F. Osann, comm. de Fl. Capro et Agroecio grammaticis (Giessen 1849. 4.) p. 4 sq. 20. Brambach, Latin Orthogr. p. 44 sq.

451. A. 434 Vincentius of Lerinum wrote, under the name of Peregrinus, his Commonitorium, an exhortation to maintain genuine Catholic doctrine, based on the Bible and on tradition, and a caution to beware of heresies of all kinds, in a simple and comparatively educated style. It is evident that Vincentius, too, thinks Augustine's views too abrupt and onesided, and that he professes a mild Pelagianism.

1. Gennad. ill. 64: Vincentius, natione Gallus (of the North of France) apud monasterium Lerinensis insulae (near Nice) presbyter, vir in scripturis sanctis doctus et notitia ecclesiasticorum dogmatum sufficienter instructus, composuit ad evitanda haereticorum collegia nitido satis et aperto sermone validissimam disputationem, quam absconso nomine suo titulavit Peregrini adversus haereticos (cf. n. 2). cuius operis quia secundi libri maximam in schedulis partem a quibusdam furatam perdidit, recapitulato eius paucis sermonibus sensu pristino, composuit et uno in libro edidit. moritur Theodosio et Valentiniano regnantibus (i. e. a. 425—450).

2. Vincent. comm. praef.: videtur mihi minimo omnium servorum dei Peregrino quod res non minimae utilitatis . . futura sit si ea quae fideliter a sanctis patribus accepi litteris comprehendam. . . remotioris villulae et in ea secretum monasterii incolimus habitaculum. . . cum aliquamdiu variis ac tristibus saecularis militiae turbinibus volveremur tandem nos in portum religionis . . condidimus. . . hac scribendi lege servata ut nequaquam omnia, sed tantum necessaria quaeque perstringam, neque id ornato et exacto, sed facili communique sermone. . . me sublevandae recordationis vel potius oblivionis meae gratia Commonitorium mihimet parasse suffecerit. 42 in.: exemplum adhibuimus sancti concilii quod ante triennium ferme in Asia apud Ephesum celebratum est vv. cc. Basso Antiochoque coss. (a. 431). c. 40: iam tempus est ut pollicitum proferamus exemplum, ubi et quomodo sanctorum patrum sententiae congregatae sint, ut secundum eas . . fidei regula figeretur. quod quo commodius fiat hic sit iam huius commonitorii modus, ut cetera quae sequuntur ab alio sumamus exordio. This second commonitorium has, however, been lost except the summing up at the end (c. 41—43); cf. c. 41 in.: iam tempus est ut ea quae duobus his commonitoriis dicta sunt in huius secundi fine recapitulemus. The conclusion (c. 43): haec sunt fere quae duobus commonitoriis latius diserta aliquanto nunc brevius recapitulandi lege constricta sunt, ut memoria mea . . prolixitatis fastidio non obruatur.

3. The definition of catholicity c. 3; id quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus creditum est. All 'novitas' is thus suspected by Vinc., and he quite agrees with the word of Caelestinus: desinat incessere novitas vetustatem (c. 43). Cf. 39: eorum dumtaxat patrum sententiae conferendae sunt qui in fide et communione catholica sancte . . viventes . . mori in Christo fideliter . . meruerunt. quibus tamen hac lege credendum est ut quidquid vel omnes vel plures uno eodemque sensu manifeste, frequenter, perseveranter . . firmaverint, id pro indubitato, certo ratoque habeatur; quidquid vero, quamvis ille sanctus et doctus, quamvis episcopus, quamvis confessor et martyr, praeter omnes aut etiam contra omnes senserit, id inter proprias et occultas et privatas opiniunculas . . secretum sit. 37: (haeretici) audent polliceri et docere quod in ecclesia sua . . magna et specialis ac plane personalis quaedam sit dei gratia, adeo ut sine ullo labore, etiamsi nec petant nec quaerant nec pulsent, quicumque illi ad numerum suum pertinent . . num-

quam possint offendere. This is a manifest allusion to Augustine de dono persev. 23: falluntur qui putant esse a nobis, non dari nobis, ut petamus, quaeramus, pulsemus. But the statement of Vossius is exaggerated, hist. pelag. I 9: commonitorium adversus Augustinum ipsum vel eos saltem qui Augustini sententiam sequerentur scripsisse Vincentium existimamus. Similarly Norisius and A. Neander, Hist. of the Church II 3 p. 1327. While Vincentius and his adherents defend their doctrine 'vetustate' (Prosper epist. ad August. of a. 428 or 429) and call Augustine's doctrine of predestination an individual heresy (Prosper l. l.: multi qui in Massiliensi urbe consistunt in . . scriptis quae adversus Pelagianos condidisti contrarium putant patrum opinioni et ecclesiatico sensui quidquid de vocatione electorum secundum dei propositum disputasti), they were themselves designated as Semipelagians by Augustine's partisans. Against the Pelagian Julianus Vincentius speaks, common. 40.

4. Editions especially by G. Calixtus (Helmstedt 1629. 1655), St. Baluzius (with Salvianus, Paris 1663 and elsewhere), E. Klüpfel (notis illustr. and with 78 pp. prolegg., Vienn. 1809), in Migne's patrolog. L and others.

5. Vincentius does not seem to have written his intended work on the Trinity (comm. 22 extr.). But that he further participated in the Pelagian contests may be inferred from the invective of Prosper entitled pro Augustino responsiones ad capitula (XVI) obiectionum Vincentianarum. In a similar circle, though not by Vinc. himself, were composed the three books of Praedestinatus (ed. Sirmond, Paris 1643; in Migne's Patrol. LIII p. 587 sqq.). Not at all by Vinc. is the symbolum Quicumque. E. Klüpfel p. 56—71.

452. The works of the founder of papal power, the Roman bishop Leo I. (or the Great), a. 440—461, are both important for their subject-matter and interesting in their form. They consist of sermons and letters, the latter embracing nearly the whole time of his episcopal rule, the years 442—460. Leo appears in them both as a strict thinker and excellent man of business, and as a perfect master of style, no less prudent than energetic; unshakeable in his purposes, full of invention and fine calculation with regard to the means leading to them; moderate and fair in practical questions, of excellent tact in all dogmatic questions, though he obstinately defended the doctrines once fixed on against deviations of any kind, but above all jealously watchful as to the privileged position claimed by him. His diction is pure and fluent, in some parts even elegant.

1. Gennad. ill. 70: Leo, urbis Romae episcopus (a. 440—461), scripsit ad Flavianum, Constantinopolitanae ecclesiae episcopum, adver-

sus Eutychen presbyterum . . epistolam. moritur Leone et Maioriano imperatoribus (10. November 461). As acolouthos he appears first a. 418, whence he would seem to have been born about 395. His letter to Flavianus (Epist. 28) on the relation of the two natures in Christ became the basis of the decrees of the Synod of Chalcedon (a. 451) and gradually assumed a symbolic character. Even longer is his letter to the Emperor Leo (Epist. 165) written a. 458 in justification of the first (and the resolutions of Chalcedon) on the ground of Scripture and tradition. The claims of the Roman See to the Primate are very distinctly put forward Epist. 16 and 156, 2. Marcianus acknowledged directly on his accession to the throne Leo's principatus in episcopatu (epist. 73). Leo wisely avoided exposing his person to the intrigues and tempests of the East; but he required from the bishops regular reports on all important events in the Church, energetically opposed any manifestation of independence (e. g. in the case of Hilarius Arelat. and Anatolius Cpol.) as ambitus (ep. 104—106. 157, 4) and invoked even the temporal power against it (ep. II 24 and other passages).

2. Towards the Emperors Leo combines strictness in matter with the utmost politeness in form; he exhibits great cleverness and immense industry, and practises also the small arts of diplomacy. He never sends an important letter to the Emperor without an accompanying letter to the Empress, or an additional letter to the priest who possessed the greatest influence at Court (with a copy of his letter to their Majesties). When it was necessary (a. 449) to persuade the Emperor Theodosius to withdraw his countenance from the Alexandrine bishop Dioscorus and the so-called Robber-Synod of Ephesus (Epist. 43 sq.), Leo wrote not only also to the Empress Pulcheria (45) and Iulianus episcopus Coensis (quem in speculis propter fidem illic esse constitui, ep. 134, 2 cf. 136, 3) and other powerful men at Constantinople, but caused also the Emperor to be influenced by a letter of the Western Emperor Valentinian (55), the Empress Galla Placidia (56 58) and Licinia Eudoxia (57), all which letters appear in Leo's collection with good reason. Under Marcianus also Pulcheria and Julianus were the channels through which Leo influenced the weak Emperor; once (Ep. 123) Eudocia is used; under the Emperor Leo the Presbyter Aëtius is requested to make opportunas suggestiones, nor is the influential patricius Asper forgotten (Ep. 153, 1). Significantly Leo says of Marcianus (Ep. 140, a. 454): multis experimentis probavimus eam esse gloriosissimi Augusti fidem ut tunc maxime se arbitretur regno suo consulere cum praecipue studuerit pro integritate ecclesiae laborare; and ep. 156, 3 to the Emperor Leo (a. 457): debes incunctanter advertere regiam potestatem tibi non ad solum mundi regimen sed maxime ad ecclesiae praesidium esse collatam.

3. To protect the interests of ecclesiastical unity Leo is an inexorable defender of orthodoxy; cf. Ep. 165, 2: catholica fides, quae est singularis et vera cuique nihil addi, nihil minui potest. In questions of practical life he was free from rigour and pedantry; cf. e. g.

ep. 159. 167 sq. E. D. Baur, on the Church in the fourth to the sixth century (Tübi. 1863) p. 114—116. 238—243. 246 sq. 248 sq.

4. The extant sermons of Leo amount to the number of 96, most of them brief, as sermons ought to be, and similarly the 173 letters are free from loquacity. The first attest rhetorical training. Leo's purity of diction is not carried to classicity (late Latin words and phrases like aliquanti homines, obviare, fiducialiter, pervasor, subadiuva, tribulatio being not rare), but it is admirable in his time and may tend to prove that Leo was a native of Rome and descended from a good family with an original talent for formal elaboration.

5. Works erroneously ascribed to Leo: Capitula s. praeteritorum sedis apostolicae episcoporum auctoritates (of a. 431); De vocatione omnium gentium; Epistola ad Demetriadem, s. de humilitate tractatus; Sacramentarium or codex sacramentorum vetus romanae ecclesiae; Breviarium adversus haereticos.

6. The chief editions of the works of Leo are by Paschasius Quesnellus (Paris 1675. 2 vols. 4. Lugd. 1700. 2 vols. fol.) and cur. P. et Hieron. fratr. Balleriniis (Venet. 1755 sqq. 3 vols. fol.). Hence in Migne's Patrol. LIV—LVI. The letters are also in the collections of the Councils.

7. Treatises on Leo chiefly by Quesnelle and Ballerini in their editions. A. Arendt, Leo the Great and his time, Mayence 1835.

453. A zealous adherent of Augustine in dogmatic questions was the Aquitanian Prosper, by whom we have both works against the Pelagians and Semipelagians and poems of similar contents, and especially Chronicles accurately joining those of Hieronymus, whose work was thus continued to A. D. 455. Prosper's Chronicles were both continued and abridged by later writers. The list of the Consuls from A. D. 29 is the only part derived from sources now inaccessible to us. Among other Christian writers we may especially mention the Scotchman Patricius.

1. Gennad. ill. 84: Prosper, homo aquitanicae regionis, sermone scholasticus et assertionibus nervosus, multa composuisse dicitur, ex quibus ego Chronica illius nomine praetitulata legi, continentia a primi hominis conditione . . usque ad obitum Valentiniani Aug. et captivitatem urbis Romae a Genserico Vandalorum rege factam (so also Cassiod. div. lect. 17). legi et librum adversus opuscula sub persona Cassiani (above 450). . . epistolae quoque papae Leonis adversus Eutychen de vera Christi incarnatione ad diversos datae et ab ipso dictatae dicuntur. A letter of Prosper to Augustine (ignotus quidem facie) a. 428 or 429, on the remainders of Pelagianism in Gaul, among Aug. Ep. 225; cf. ibid. the similar letter of Prosper's friend Hilarius, and Prosper's letter to Rufinus, opp. Augustini, append. X p. 109 sqq. In Augustine's works

(and Migne's patrol. LI) we have also Prosper's pro Augustino responsiones ad capitula obiectionum Gallorum calumniantium, ad cap. obiect. Vincentianarum (above 451, 3). ad excerpta quae de genuensi civitate sunt missa, and especially his work De gratia dei et libero arbitrio. Also an abridgment of Augustine's commentary on the Psalms and a collection of the principal dogmatic sentences in his works. Part of the latter were also put in elegiac metre by Prosper (106 epigrams).

2. Prosper's works edited by the Benedictines (Paris 1711. fol.) = Migne LI. A complete edition of his Chronicles by Labbé, nova bibl. ms. (Paris 1657. fol.) and in Goncalli's vetustorum latinorum scriptorum chronica (Padua 1787. 2 vols. 4) I p. 522. sqq. Cf. v. d. Hagen, observationes in Prosp. Aq. chronicon, Amsterd. 1733. 4. The list of the Consuls in Mommsen's Essay on the Chronicles of Cassiodorus (Trans. of the Saxon Soc. of Lit. VIII = philol. hist. Class III, Leipzig 1861) p. 661—674. See there p. 563 sq. note p. 660 (the Chronicles 'a bad piece of work'). 675 sq. ('On the whole, this late and pious Chronology appears to have been made up with a carelessness almost incomprehensible to us'.) An abridgment of the last piece of Prosper's Chronicles is the so-called Prosper Augustanus, edited by Canisius from an Augsburg ms. H. Fernow, in Ebert-Lembcke, Jahrb. f. rom. Lit. XI (1870) p. 257—280.

3. Just as Prosper copied and continued Hieronymus, he was himself employed in the Easter-table of Victorius Aquitanicus, of which Cassiodorus again availed himself in a similar manner. Mommsen l. l. p. 565. Prosperi Aquitani Chronici continuator Havniensis; nunc primum edidit G. Hille, Berlin 1866. 37 pp. On the Easter-table at Zeitz of a. 447 see Mommsen, Trans. of the Berlin Academy 1862 p. 539—566.

4. Prosper composed also a didactic poem de ingratis in four parts (1002 hexameters altogether). about a. 430, in Augustine's life-time (v. 90 sqq.) and directed against the dogma quod . . pestifero vomuit coluber sermone Britannus (Pelagius). Cf. 693. praef. 1 sqq.: unde voluntatis sanctae subsistat origo, unde animis pietas insit et unde fides Adversum ingratos (not recognising the mercy of God) falsa et virtute superbos centenis decies versibus exposui. The dry subject is treated with much life and spirit, and though the refined laws on caesura, synaloephe etc. are not observed, the author (except in a few instances, like aliud 239) does not violate the ordinary laws, and gives proofs of his familiarity with the pagan poets and of his rhetorical training. He uses archaisms like nascier (10) and mage (962) to suit his metre. There are also two epigrams (in elegiacs) against a literary adversary of Augustine and defender of the liberty of human volition, and also an epitaph on the (kindred) Nestorian and Pelagian heresies. The preface of the 106 dogmatic epigrams (see n. 1 extr.): Dum sacris mentem placet exercere loquelis quosdam ceu prato libuit decerpere flores distinctisque ipsos texere versiculis. On Pr. cf. F. Papencordt, the reign of the Vandals (1837) p. 355—358.

5. Among the works wrongly ascribed to Prosper Aquit. we may especially mention a poem in which the author exhorts his wife to devote herself entirely to God in company with himself. It begins with 16 neat Anacreontics in 4 strophes (also in Bede p. 2379 P. and Wernsdorf poetae lat. min. III p. 413 sq.) and then goes on in elegiacs (116 lines). Then a didactic poem de providentia divina (v. 97—972), with an introduction (v. 1—96) in elegiacs. Transition (95 sq.): at ne sermo moram patiatur ab impare versu, heroi numeris porrige pentametrum. That it is not by Prosper Aq. appears sufficiently from the Pelagian views of this poem. Cf. e. g. 238 sqq.: quia liber homo et sapiens discernere rectis prava potest, in se intus habens discrimina rerum iusque voluntatis, quo temperat arbitrium mens. 554 sqq. and elsewhere. The style is fluent and correct, but garrulous and often trivial.

6. Other Christian writers of this time by whom we possess works in Latin. Patricius (born near Glasgow, originally called Succath), the well-known apostle of the Irish (St. Patrick), the author of a confessio (in Migne LIII p. 801—814), letters and other compositions (ib. p. 814—838); also 31 hexameters (a list of miracles) are ascribed to him (Anth. lat. 791 R.). Turribius Asturicensis (bishop since 447), the author of a letter to the bishops Idacius and Ceponius against the apocryphal works and the Priscillianists, printed after Leo's epist. 15 (Migne LIV p. 693—695). Leo Bituricensis (bishop of Bourges) a letter by whom is likewise found among the Correspondence of Leo the Great, addressed to the bishops of the provincia III Lugd. (Turonica): Migne LIV.

7. Christian prose-writers of the West of about this time, whose works have been lost. Syagrius (Gennad. ill. 65); Paulinus (ib. 68); Asclepius Afer, in baiensi territorio episcopus (ib. 73); Paulus presbyter natione . . Pannonius (ib. 75); Pastor episcopus (ib. 76); Victor, Cartennae Mauritaniae civitatis episcopus (scripsit adversus Arianos librum unum longum; quem Genserico regi . . obtulit etc., ib. 77); Voconius, Castellani Mauritaniae oppidi episcopus (ib. 78); Musaeus, Massiliensis ecclesiae presbyter (moritur Leone et Maioriano regnantibus, ib. 79); Vincentius presbyter, et ipse natione Gallus (linguam habens usu loquendi et maiore lectione politam, ib. 80).

8. Dictinii tractatus quos secundum Priscilliani dogma conscripsit mentioned by Leo epist. 15, 16.

9. Gregor. Tur. hist. Franc. II 8: quid de Aetio . . Renati Frigeridi narrat Historia. . . cum in duodecimo Historiarum libro referat . . adicit. Cf. ib. 9: Renatus Profuturus Frigeridus, cum Romam refert a Gothis captam atque subversam, ait. Both mentions are followed by long quotations.

10. On the calendar of Polemius Silvius (a. 448 sq.) see above [Add. on § 64].

454. A. 438 the codex Theodosianus, which had been in preparation by a Committee during nine years, was finished. It is an official collection of the decrees made by the Emperors since Constantine (ius principale). It consists of sixteen books, arranged according to the subject-matters, the Imperial Edicts being mentioned in chronological order within each section. In the Eastern Empire this collection was law as well as its Supplements (novellae leges), until Justinian worked it up in his Digest; in the West it was soon abridged, and the first third has come down to us only in this abridged form.

1. From the law introductory to the Cod. Theod., given 15 Febr. 438: electis viris nobilibus exploratae fidei. famosae doctrinae, quibus delegata causa civilis officii, . . retro principum scita volgavimus, ne iurisperitorum ulterius severitate mentita, dissimulata scientia, velut ab ipsis adytis expectarentur formidanda responsa. (3.) quam ob rem detersa nube voluminum in quibus multorum nihil explicantium aetates attritae sunt compendiosam divalium constitutionum scientiam ex d. Constantini temporibus roboramus, nulli post kal. Ian. (439) concessa licentia ad forum et quotidianas advocationes ius principale deferre vel litis instrumenta componere nisi ex his videlicet libris, qui in nostri nominis vocabulum transierunt et sacris habentur in scriniis. (7.) longum est memorare quid in huius consummationem negotii contulerit vigiliis suis Antiochus . . expraef. et cos., quid Maximinus, . . Martyrius, quid etiam Sperantius, Apollodorus, Theodorus, . . quid Epigenes, . . Procopius. From the minutes of the Roman Senate, a. 438: cum . . hanc quoque orbi suo . . d. n. Theodosius adicere voluit dignitatem ut in unum collectis legum praeceptionibus sequenda per orbem XVI librorum compendio, quos sacratissimo suo nomine voluit consecrari, constitui iuberet. From the Decree of a. 429 (cod. Theod. I 1, 5): Ad similitudinem Gregoriani atque Hermogeniani codicis cunctas colligi constitutiones decernimus quas Constantinus inclitus et post eum divi principes nosque tulimus edictorum viribus aut sacra generalitate subnixas. . . sed cum simplicius iustiusque sit praetermissis iis quas posteriores infirmant explicari solas quas valere conveniet, hunc quidem codicem . . cognoscamus etc. ad tanti consummationem operis et contexendos codices (quorum primus omni generalium constitutione collecta nullaque extra se quam iam proferre liceat praetermissa inanem verborum copiam recusabit, alter omni iuris diversitate exclusa magisterium vitae suscipiet) deligendi viri sunt singularis fidei, limatioris ingenii. . . Antiochum v. i. exquaest. et praef. elegimus, Antiochum v. i. quaestorem s. pal., Theodorum, . . Eudicium et Eusebium, Ioannem, . . Comazontem atque Eubulum, . . et Apellem, virum disertissimum, scholasticum. hos a nostra perennitate electos eruditissimum quemque adhibituros esse confidimus etc. Cod. Th. I 1, 6 (a. 435): omnes edic-

tales generalesque constitutiones vel in certis provinciis seu locis valere aut proponi iussae quas divus Constantinus posterioresque principes ac nos tulimus indicibus rerum titulis distinguantur, ita ut non solum consulum dierumque supputatione sed etiam ordine compositionis apparere possint novissimae. . . .(1.) quod ut brevitate constrictum claritate luceat aggressuris hoc opus et demendi supervacanea verba et adiciendi necessaria et mutandi ambigua et emendandi incongrua tribuimus potestatem. (2.) contextores huius Theodosiani codicis Antiochus . . consularis, Eubulus, . . Maximinus, . . Sperantius, Martyrius, Alipius, Sebastianus, Apollodorus, Theodorus, Oron, . . Maximus, Epigenes, Diodorus, Procopius, . . Erotius, . . Neuterius.

2. Book 1—5 contain the ius ordinarium in the codex of the Edict, the following parts the ius extraordinarium and novum, b. 6—8 the new law on the administration of the state, b. 9 criminal law, b. 10 sq. fiscal law, b. 12—15 administration of communities; b. 16 ecclesiastical law.

3. The cod. Theod. was epitomized in the Visigothic lex romana and summaries of it were used as late as saec. VII, probably at the university of Ravenna. Antiqua summaria codicis Theod. ed. G. Haenel, Lips. 1834.

4. The earliest edition (by Sichard, Basil. 1528 fol.) contains only the cod. Th. epitomatus. It was completed in b. 1—8, books 9—16 being added for the first time, from a cod. Vat., by J. Dutillet (Io. Titius, Paris 1550). It was further augmented and VI 2 sqq. VII and VIII were first published by Cuiacius (Lugd. 1566. Paris 1586 fol.). Codicis Theod. fragmenta inedita ex cod. palimpsesto bibl. reg. Taurin. Athenaei (see above 399, 4) in lucem protulit atque ill. Am. Peyron, Turin 1823. 4. Theod. codicis genuini fragmenta ex membranis bibl. ambrosianae Mediol. nunc primum ed. W. F. Clossius, Tubing. 1824. Th. cod. genuina fragmenta ed. E. Puggé, Bonn. 1825. Codicis Th. libri V priores ed. C. F. C. Wenck, 1825. Fourteen rescribed leaves which Peyron had overlooked, were added by Carlo Baudi a Vesme, Turin 1839 sqq.

5. An edition with the full commentary of Jac. Gothofredus (opus postumum) in 6 vols. Lugd. 1655 fol. Ed. nova . . collata cum ms. Würceburg. cur. I. D. Ritter, 6 vols. Lips. 1736—1745 fol. Critical edition: codex Theod. ad LIV librorum mss. et priorum editionum fidem recogn. et annot. crit. instruxit G. Haenel, Bonn. 1837—1842. XLVIII and 1715 pp. 4.

6. On the cod. Th. see Zimmern, Hist. of Rom. private Law I 1. p. 165—172. Rudorff, Hist. of Rom. Law I p. 277—280.

7. Cod. Th. I 1, 6, 3 (a. 435): nullum extra se novellae constitutionis locum relicturi nisi quae post editionem huius fuerit promulgata. These subsequent laws were to be mutually communicated by each of the Courts (at Rome and Constantinople) and then published. A. 447

—472 Eastroman 'novellae' were actually sent to Rome and published there, but Westroman 'novellae' do not occur in the cod. Just. after a. 438. The novellae of Theodosius II, Valentinian III, (Maximus), Marcianus, Maiorianus, Severus and Anthemius, in six divisions with rubrics, partly in the Visigothic abridgment, partly in the original state: nunc primum ed. P. Pithoeus (Paris. 1571. 4. and elsewhere). They were augmented by Cuiacius, Zirardinus, Amadutius. A complete critical edition by G. Hänel, novellae constitutiones imperatorum Theodosii II etc. ad librorum mss. et editionum fidem recogn. et annot. crit. instr., Bonn. 1844 (in the Bonn corp. iur. anteiust.)

8. The 21 so-called Constitutions of Sirmond (J. Sirmond, appendix codicis Theod. novis constitutionibus cumulatior, Paris 1631 and elsewhere) are on canon law and were promulgated by Constantine and other Emperors saec. IV. They are derived from a chronological collection made in Gaul a. 581—720, and appended to the Decrees of the Councils there. They have been preserved in a ms. saec. VIII. G. Hänel, de constitutionibus quas Jac. Sirmondus edidit, Lips. 1840, and in the Bonn Corpus iur. anteiust. II p. 405—480.

455. After the promulgation of the codex Theodosianus, but perhaps still anterior to the death of Theodosius II (a. 450), the so-called Consultatio was composed in Gaul, being the replies of one or several Jurists to the queries of solicitors, the legal passages of the codex Gregorianus, Hermogenianus and Theodosianus being quoted *verbatim*.

1. It was first edited by J. Cuiacius (Paris 1577) from a copy of the sóle ms. (since then lost) belonging to A. Loisel. Subsequent editions by Schulting (Iurisprud. p. 813 sqq.), Biener (Ius civ. ant. p. 1477 sqq.), Puggé (in the Bonn Corp. iur. ant. p. 391—408) and Huschke (iurisprud. anteiust.[2] p. 725—747).

2. A. F. Rudorff, on the origin of the Consult., Journal of histor. Jurisprudence XIII p. 50—66. Cf. Huschke l. l. p. 722—725.

3. The work may be divided into three parts (c. 1—3, 4—6, 7—9), each of which contains several queries. Just as in the lex rom. Burg., the citations are merely taken from Paulus' sententiae (above 373, 3), previously to their being abridged. The lex romana Visigoth. and Burgund. are not mentioned. The author is unknown. That the work was composed in the life-time of Theodosius II appears (as Rudorff points out) from c. 7, 3 (Pauli iuridici, cuius sententias sacratissimorum principum scita semper valituras ac divalis constitutio declarant) the omission of any mention of his name (sacrat. princ.), whether it be that 'ac divalis constitutio' means that of Constantine (cod. Theod. I 4, 2; a. 327) or should be explained (with Huschke p. 739, not. 1) pe-

rinde ac div. const. (semper valet). The other reasons alleged by Huschke (p. 723 sq.) do not seem to agree with this.

4. The work is first quoted by Ivo of Chartres (a. 1090—1115) Decret. 16, 201.

5. On the libri coloniarum (perhaps c. 450) see above 339, 4.

6. On the subscriptio of Vegetius (c. 450) see above 424, 6. For other notices see above 372, 4. 416, 11.

456. In the fifth century many works on medical art and natural history were translated from Greek into Latin for the use of the German tribes, especially works of Dioscorides, Hippocrates and Galenus, but even Cassius Felix was translated, and the translator of Soranus, the head of the methodical School, the African Caelius Aurelianus, belongs also to this time. By him we possess, besides the works on chronic and acute diseases, also extensive pieces of his abridgment of medical science in questions and answers (medicinales responsiones).

1. Cassiod. de inst. div. litt. 31: quodsi vobis non fuerit graecarum litterarum nota facundia, inprimis habetis Herbarium Dioscoridis, qui herbas agrorum mirabili proprietate disseruit atque depinxit. post haec legite Hippocratem atque Galenum latina lingua conversos, i. e. Therapeutica Galeni ad philosophum Glauconem destinata et anonymum quendam qui ex diversis auctoribus probatur esse collectus. deinde Aurelii Caelii de medicina et Hippocratis de herbis et curis (cibis according to V. Rose) diversosque alios de medendi arte compositos quos vobis in bybliothecae nostrae sinibus reconditos . . dereliqui. See below 489.

2. The translator (de graeco in latinum liber translatus) of Cassius Felix (*ἰατροσοφιστής*, probably Cassius, ingeniosissimus saeculi nostri medicus, quem nuper vidimus, in Cels. I prooem. p. 11 extr. Dar. cf. ib. IV 21. V 25, 12. Cael. Aur. chron. IV 7, 99) wrote, according to cod. Paris. lat. 6114 sub ardebre et asclepio consulibus, i. e. a. 447 (V. Rose, Aristot. pseudepigr. p. 388). A ms. of this translation is also at Cambridge, see Daremberg's Oribase I p. XL.

3. On Caelius Aurelianus see above 348, 5. As he is chiefly translator (of Soranus), his omission of any mention of Galenus proves only the time of Soranus (above 339, 8), not his own. The diction of Cael. Aur., which inclines greatly to the Romance languages (e. g. quod after verbs of saying and declaring) assigns him to saec. V. The comparison of a fragment ex genecia (Gynaecia) celii aureliani methodici siccensis (Hermes IV p. 141 sqq.) with the extant original (*περὶ γυναικείων παθῶν*) shows that Cael. Aur. translates literally, but sometimes also

abridges. The quotations of other writings by himself (see Amman's Index s. v. Cael. Aur.) apply merely to his translations of other works of Soranus. V. Rose, Anecd. II p. 167.

4. Cael. Aur. acut. I praef.: placet itaque, Bellice discipulorum summe, celerum passionum libros scribere. . . nam interrogationum ac responsionum libros, quibus omnem medicinam breviter dixi, iamdudum ad Suaretium nostrum perscriptos aptissime destinavi. is enim, ut nosti, ex omni parte graecarum scientia praeditus est litterarum. In the monastery at Lorsch existed Caelii Aureliani methodici siccensis medicinalium responsionum libri III in uno codice. This ms. (saec. IX at the latest) is now lost, but Valentin Rose discovered in a Carlsruhe (saec. X) (originally Reichenau) and a London ms. saec. XII considerable parts of the work, in the latter beginning Incipit liber Sorani de digestionibus, which he edited in his Anecd. gr. et graecol. II p. 183—202. Cf. ibid. p. 168—172. It begins: Cum nobis saepius, meus Lucreti, de medicina fuerit sermo etc. . . hoc dabit occasionem meis interrogationibus (p. 183. 196). This piece contains rules on health (salutaria praecepta, cf. Cael. Aur. p. 76. 341. Amman). From the same Reichenau ms. a further piece has been published ibid. (p. 206—225. 226—240, cf. p. 174—179), beginning: Duobus me libris diaeticarum partem traditurum promisi, ex quibus superiore libro respondens de curatione, de passionibus, de temporibus et inspectione et de pulsu et de generali significatione et de typis et de diatritis et de adiutoriis . . ordinavi. nunc de speciali significatione diaeticarum passionum et de generali curatione respondeamus, ut isto volumine omnis diaeticarum cura compleatur. This third book would have embraced surgery and gynaecology, if it was indeed the last. Lib. III Responsionum medicinalium is quoted by Cael. Aur. p. 206. 274. 436. cf. 207 ed. Amm. 1757. This work was likewise translated from Soranus; cf. Soran. gynaec. p. 27 and 37 (*ἐν τῷ ὑγιεινῷ*). Rose p. 172.

5. The diction of the Reichenau (n. 4) medic. resp. agrees with that of Cael. Aur. (cf. Rose p. 202—205). In his later works (chron. and acut.) C. A. made use of his former ones, and sometimes even inserted complete sections. The questions of C. A. were also used by by Ps. Pliny, Isidore (Origg. IV) and Aurelius-Esculapius. Rose p. 175 sq.

6. The name of Soranus is borne by two large Latin fragments at Carlsruhe (Reichenau ms. saec. IX—X) and London (Cotton. saec. XIII), both with the heading Suranus filio karissimo salutem, the Carlsruhe fragment (printed by Rose p. 275—280, cf. ibid. p. 170 sq.) also Peri sfigmon (*περὶ σφυγμῶν*, de pulsibus), at the end in the form of questions. The London fragment (printed ibid. p. 243—274) contains an introduction ad medicinam, composed in interrogationum et responsionum modus (p. 247, 6 sq.), after a long preface (printed also in the collection of Albanus Torinus De re medica; Basil. 1528 fol., fol. 1 and 2 = c. 1—4). The first question is quid est horus (*ὅρος*)? This is a

Latin version of the Ὅρος attributed to Galenus. The section de pulsibus (p. 263—266) shows a liberal use of the extensive treatise on this subject in the Reichenau ms. The pieces given by Alb. Torinus l. l. as c. 5—23 are unconnected fragments from unknown sources. Rose p. 169—171.

457. Among the Christian poets of the time, the Spanish rhetorician Merobaudes, who had also served in the army and by whom we formerly knew only a brief poem on Christ, has recently gained in importance by some newly discovered historical poems, especially on Aëtius. The tone of these poems is pretentious, the form correct. The orthodoxy and prosody of Marius Victor's versification of the Genesis are blameless, but his letter to the abbot Salomo is more interesting, containing, as it does, a satirical description of the morals of the time among either sex. The commonitorium of Orientius is perhaps of the same time, being two books in elegiacs, and recommending a Christian mode of life.

1. A Roman inscription (Orelli 1183) of a. 435: Fl. Merobaudi v. s. com. SC. Then: Fl. Merobaudi aeque forti et docto viro, tam facere laudanda quam aliorum facta laudare praecipuo, castrensi experientia claro, facundia vel otiosorum studia supergresso, cui a crepundiis par virtutis et eloquentiae cura ingenium ita fortitudini ut doctrinae natum stilo et gladio pariter exercuit, nec in umbra vel latebris mentis vigorem scholari tantum otio torpere passus inter arma litteris militabat et in Alpibus acuebat eloquium. ideo illi cessit in praemium . . imago aere formata. . . quod huic quoque cum Augustissimis Roma principibus Theodosio et Placido Valentiniano rerum dominis in foro Ulpio detulerunt, remunerantes in viro antiquae nobilitatis novae gloriae vel industriam militarem vel carmen, cuius praeconio gloria triumfali crevit imperio. Cf. Sidon. carm. IX (ad Felic.), 293 sqq.: sed nunc tertius ille non legetur Baetin qui, patrium solum, relinquens undosae petiit sitim Ravennae, plosores cui fulgidam Quirites et carus popularitate princeps Traiano statuam foro locarunt. These expressions betray jealousy and bad temper. Merobaud. carm. 5 praef.: pro his me laudibus tuis (of Aëtius) Roma cum principe victuro aere formavit, pro his denique nuper ad honoris maximi (Consulate) nomen . . Imperator evexit. . . vel ego vel alii qui in hac dicendi professione sunt. . . delatus ego in . . sinum qua Salonas usque pelagus illabitur nactus sum quendam qui etc.

2. Merobaudis Hispani scholastici carmen de Christo (30 hexameters) e. g. in Migne patrol. LXI p. 972 sq. and in the editions of Claudian (nr. XCVIII in Gesner), hence Niebuhr also attributes to Merobaudes ib. XCV (carmen paschale, generally ascribed to Damasus) and XCIX (miracula Christi).

3. A. 1823, B. G. Niebuhr discovered in a palimpsest of the St. Gall Library some fragmentary pieces of poems which he recognised to be by Merobaudes and edited as such (St. Gall 1823, Bonn 1824; then W. E. Weber, corpus poett. latt. p. 1367—1370). Subsequently by I. Bekker (with Corippus) in the Corp. script. byzant. (Bonn 1836), cf. C. F. Heinrich, Rhein. Mus. II p. 532 543. The writing of the eight leaves resembles that of the Verona palimpsest of Gaius. The first fragment consists of 23 elegiac lines and praises the Imperial family (of Valentinian III) assembled at dinner; fr. 2 (7 distichs) the same at a villa; fr. 3 (4 incomplete distichs) bears the title (Vi)ridiaris viri inl. Fausti (Cos. 438?). Of c. 46 only 46 hendecasyllabics are extant on the second birthday of Aëtius' little son. Carm. 5 is a Panegyric on the third Consulate of Aëtius (a. 446), with a long preface in prose. Of the Panegyric 197 hexameters could be made out.

4. Merobaudes greatly exaggerates his praise. His diction possesses the correctness and elegance, but not the ease, of Claudian. On the subject-matter comp. A. Hansen, de vita Aëtii (Dorpat 1840) II p. 24 sqq. G. Wurm, de rebus gestis Aëtii (Bonn 1844).

5. The identity of Claudius Marius Victor with Victorinus (above 450, 4) is doubtful. We have neither a dedication to Aetherius nor is the narrative carried down to the death of Abraham, nor does the Semipelagianism which might be expected of a Massiliote of this time appear very strongly (arbitriumque sui largitus es omnibus, I praef.). The three books on Genesis closely follow its contents, in a lengthy rhetorical description. Pars prima (I 28) narrates the history of Creation down to the fall, b. II its consequences to the Flood, b. III the end of it, the building of the Tower, Abraham, the destruction of Sodom. The author himself speaks of his orthodoxy. See praef. 9 fin.: quod si lege metri quidquam peccaverit ordo, peccavit sermo improprius sensusque vacillans, hinc nullum fidei subeat mensura periclum. II 1 sq.: hac tenus . . primordia mundi, ut sincera fides docuit, sine fraude cucurri. The work was written with a pedagogic purpose; praef.: te, deus alme, precor, . . linguas nobis infunde disertas, dum teneros formare animos et corda paramus ad verae virtutis iter puerilibus annis.

6. The letter to the abbot Salomon consists of 105 hexameters. Chronological allusions: agris . . barbarus incumbit (10 sqq.). . . si quid vastavit Sarmata, si quid Vandalus incendit veloxque abducit Alanus (18 sq.). si falcem verbi cordi imprimeremus, . . nec nos riphaei prosterneret arcus Alani nec servile etiam subverteret omnia bellum et qui nunc nostra grassantur clade superbi. The male sex are especially accused of material tendencies (nil sanctum est nobis nisi quaestus etc. 34), the female of a desire to dress immoderately (si gravis ignotis processit Lesbia gemmis, . . confestim ornatum sibi quaeque exposcit eundem, 60 sqq.), but the men are held responsible for their faults. Paulo et Salomone relicto quod Maro cantatur Phoenissae (Dido) et

Naso Corinnae, quod plausum accipiunt lyra Flacci aut scena Terenti, nos horum, nos causa sumus (72 sqq.). cur infelix in culpa est femina tantum, cum placeat stolido coniux vitiosa marito? (79 sq.) The author finds the only chance of salvation in the increase of a Christian mind, such as the abbot e. g. possesses.

7. Edition of Victor by Jo. Gagneius (Lugd. 1536. Paris. 1545) and hence in G. Fabricius' (p. 307 sqq.) and Maittaire's (II p. 1567 sqq.) corpus poetarum latt., and in the patristic collections (e. g. Migne LXI p. 937—971).

8. The conclusion (subscriptio) of the commonitorium: ut peccatores vincens Orientius omnes sanctorum veniam promerear precibus. Venant. Fort. de vit. Mart. I 17: paucaque perstrinxit florente Orientius ore. It was therefore, no doubt written before the sixth century. Cf. also the description of the time in the commonit. II 165 sqq., e. g.: respice quam raptim totum mors presserit orbem, quantos vis belli perculerit populos. . . (171 sq.) non cava, non etiam metuendis sub rupibus antra ludere barbaricas praevaluere manus. (181 sqq.) per vicos, villas, per rura et compita . . mors, dolor, excidium, strages, incendia, luctus uno fumavit Gallia tota rogo. The confession I 405 sq.: non ignarus enim miseris succurrere quaero, omnia perpessus quae fugienda loquor. Hence the statement of the Acta sanctorum of the Bollandists is credible: b. Orientium, mundanae lubricitatis squalore deposito, se totum casta mente divinae maiestati devovisse et . . pontificalis Auxio civitate cathedrae dignitatem ascendisse. It is further stated that in his great old age he was entrusted with a mission to Aëtius and Litorius (about a. 439) by king Theodoric who resided at Tolosa.

9. The first book of the commonit. consists of 618, the second of 418 elegiac lines. The ideas are not developed very clearly. The single faults (e. g. Envy, avarice, vanity) are discussed, especially in a lively manner the allurements of love (I 407 sqq.), ebrietas (II 51 sqq.), the thoughts of death and of reward in the next world described (II 185 sqq. 273 sqq.) In the latter the monks (II 333) are specially mentioned. Prosodiacal licences (e. g. ibi as a spondee, possĕs, erĕmo, millĕsimus) are not rare, some pieces even corrupt (e. g. II 227: cumque tua hodie stringat assidua sitis). Cf. n. 10.

10. In the editions the comm. is followed by 7 hexameters de nativitate domini, 5 distichs on the names of Christ (e. g. hostia, lex, ratio, virga, pīscēs, aquila), 179 hexameters de trinitate (v. 1: quod fuit a saeclis quodque est in saecla sĕclorum); 181: crucifixe, paraclĭte, Christe). Then incipiunt orationes Orientii XXIV in (spondees with numerous) iambic Senarii, of which, however, only the first and last are extant, the first in 35 lines divided into 7 stanzas by the burden Amen sonamus, alleluia dicimus, the second beginning: postremo dico deprecandi canticum. id facio quantum per viginti cantica. sed ne quis audax interpellet quidpiam: anguem magistrum falsitatis increpo ut non adiciat sive demat litteram. The last two lines serve as the burden of the

poem, the text of which is greatly corrupt; it terminates with the trochaeic tetrameters: Deus sancte, te rogamus patrem unigeniti; Christe deus, te precamur vivum dei filium; Sancte Christe, te obsecramus indicem verum dei.

11. Editions of Or. by M. A. Delrio (Antverp. 1600), A. Rivinus (Lips. 1651), E. Martene (Rotomag. 1700. 4.), H. L. Schurtzfleisch (Vitemberg. 1706. 4.) and in the patristic collections e. g. in Migne LXI, p. 974—1006.

12. Ap. Sidon. carm. 9, 274—285: nec (hic tibi legetur) qui iam patribus fuere nostris primo tempore maximi sodales. quorum unus Bonifacium secutus nec non praecipitem Sebastianum natales puer horruit Badurcos, plus Pandionias amans Athenas. cuius si varium legas poema (perhaps in Greek), tum Phoebum . . sonare collato modulamine arbitreris.

13. Ap. Sidon. carm. 9, 286—292: non tu hic nunc legeris tuumque fulmen, o dignissime Quintianus alter, spernens qui Ligurum solum et penates mutato lare Gallias amasti, inter classica, signa, pila, turmas, laudans Aëtium vacansque libro, in castris hedera ter aureatus.

458. In the first half of this century the Gallic Presbyter Salvianus composed those works which we still possess: four books against avarice, a work in eight books in which the misfortunes of the time are proved to be well-merited punishments, and nine letters. These works are valuable as lively and well-written portraits of the period, though they are not free from rhetorical exaggeration and garrulousness.

1. Gennad. vir. ill. 67: Salvianus, Massiliensis ecclesiae presbyter, humana et divina litteratura instructus et . . episcoporum magister, scripsit scholastico et aperto sermone multa. ex quibus ista legi: De virginitatis bono ad Marcellum presbyterum libros III, Adversum avaritiam libros IV, De praesenti iudicio libros V (= de gub. VIII) et pro eorum merito satisfactionis ad Salonium episcopum librum I et Expositionis extremae partis libri Ecclesiastis ad Claudium episcopum Viennensem librum I; librum Epistolarum I; et in morem Graecorum a principio Genesis usque ad conditionem hominis composuit versu Hexaemeron librum I, Homilias episcopis factas multas, sacramentorum vero quantas nec recordor. vivit usque hodie (c. a. 495) in senectute bona. Salvian, gub. VI 13: cum sciam etiam in solo patrio atque in civitatibus gallicanis omnes ferme praecelsiores viros . . factos fuisse peiores, vidi siquidem ego ipse Treveros domi nobiles etc. . . vidi ego illic res lacrimabiles etc. ib. 15: iacebant passim, quod ipse vidi atque sustinui, . . cadavera nuda (at the late capture of Treves). VII 6: terrae vel Aquitanorum vel nostrorum omnium a deo barbaris datae sunt. ib. 10: ille dux nostrae partis (Litorius) qui eandem urbem hostium (Tolosa)

quam eodem die victorem se intraturum esse praesumpsit captivus intravit (a. 439). But Attila's invasion and the battle on the Catalaunian fields (a. 451) are unknown to Salv. His sojourn in Africa appears from de gub. VII 16 (video scaturientem vitiis civitatem etc.). Cf. VIII 4 sq. Epist. 1: adolescens quem ad vos misi Agrippinae (Cologne) . . captus est, . . familia non obscurus, . . propinquus meus. Epist. 4 (ad socerum et socrum): Hypatio et Quietae parentibus Salvianus, Palladia (wife) et Auspiciola (daughter) salutem. . . septimus iam ferme annus est ex quo nulla ad nos tam longe a vobis sitos scripta misistis. . . tu quid succenses qui ex quo christianus factus es etiam falsas (irascendi filiis causas) habere desiisti. esto enim, conversiunculam nostram paganus quondam non aequanimiter acceperis. . . nunc longe aliud est. His parents-in-law were angry because Salv. had converted his wife to Christianity and himself soon afterwards become a priest (he calls his wife carissima etc. soror).

2. Besides his rhetorical training Salv. shows also some legal knowledge; cf. de gub. V 8 (genus venditionis et emtionis). VII 16 (Gaius-Seius) and 20 (in iura migrare). VIII 5 (XII tabularum decreta). His philosophical knowledge is very scanty, and he actually believes de gub. VII 23 Socrates to be the author of Plato's Republic. The refutation of the Epicureans, de gub. I, is borrowed from Cicero, who is with Virgil (de gub. I 1) the only writer mentioned and to whom ib. III 1 (= Cic. p. Mur. 6, 14) is an allusion.

3. The work adversus avaritiam is quoted by Salvian. de gub. IV 1: sicut ait quidam in scriptis suis = adv. av. II 9. Salvian epist. 9 (domino ac beatissimo discipulo, . . per institutionem discipulo, per amorem filio, . . Salonio episcopo): quaeris a me . . cur libellis nuper a quodam huius temporis homine (Salvianus himself) ad ecclesiam factis Timothei nomen inscriptum sit. . . tria sunt quae in libellis istis . . quaeri possunt: cur is qui scripsit ad ecclesiam scripserit, et utrum alieno nomine an suo; . . si alieno, cur Timothei potissimum nomen . . elegerit. These three questions are carefully answered, e. g. the second: idcirco scriptor ille abscondi et latitare omnibus modis voluit ne scripta quae in se habent plurimum salubritatis minora forsitan fierent per nomen auctoris.

4. The work de gubernatione dei (or de providentia) is dedicated to bishop Salonius (below 462, 11). From it: nos, qui rerum magis quam verborum amatores, utilia potius quam plausibilia sectamur; . . in scriptiunculis nostris non lenocinia esse volumus, sed remedia etc. It is true, the author really tells his contemporaries the truth. All misfortunes that have come over them are, as he says, well-merited by them (patimur quod meremur). The victories of the barbarians over the Romans are deduced from their moral value (both of the pagans and heretics) and the depravation of the Romans. Cf. IV 13: ego . . Romanorum . . paene omnes maioris reatus dico et criminosioris vitae esse quam barbaros. VII 6: inter pudicos barbaros impudici

sumus. plus adhuc dico: offenduntur barbari ipsi impuritatibus nostris. 13: et quod Vandali ad Africam transierunt non est divinae severitati, sed Afrorum sceleri deputandum. 23: quae esse, rogo, romano statui spes potest quando castiores ac puriores barbari quam Romani sunt? . . pudeat vos, romani ubique populi, pudeat vitae vestrae. . . et miramur si miseri qui tam impuri sumus, miramur si ab hoste viribus vincimur qui honestate superamur? . . sola nos morum nostrorum vitia vicerunt. This depravation of morals is extensively proved in the case of the Aquitanians (VII 2 sqq.) and Africans (VII 14 sqq. VIII 2 sqq.); the others being chiefly accused of an undue fondness for circenses ac theatra. VI 8: non hoc agitur iam in Moguntiacensium civitate, — sed quia excisa atque deleta est. non agitur Agrippinae, — sed quia hostibus plena. non agitur in Treverorum urbe excellentissima, — sed quia quadruplici est eversione prostrata (cf. ib. 13. 15 extr.) . . ludicra ipsa ideo non aguntur quia agi iam prae miseria temporis atque egestate non possunt. 12: vastata est Italia tot iam cladibus: ergo Italorum vitia destiterunt? obsessa est urbs Roma et expugnata: ergo desierunt blasphemi ac furiosi esse Romani? inundarunt Gallias gentes barbarae: ergo . . non eadem sunt Gallorum crimina quae fuerunt? transcenderunt in Hispaniae terras populi Vandalorum: mutata quidem est sors Hispanorum, sed non mutata vitiositas. . . circumsonabant armis muros Cirtae atque Carthaginis populi barbarorum; et ecclesia carthaginiensis insaniebat in circis, luxuriabat in theatris. The description of manners and morals is always emphatic. The author employs all kinds of rhetorical figures, but tires his readers by his want of moderation, his prolixity (stili prolixitas VIII 1) and the too frequent recurrence of the same thoughts (cum de ludicris ac foeditatibus publicis diutissime dixerimus, VII 2), phrases and expressions, nay even of the same puns (e. g. divitiis — vitiis). The eighth book is evidently incomplete. There is also wanting the demonstration promised VII 1 that the old Romans were better than those of the writer's own time (VII 1: scio . . hinc maxime probari quod non respiciat res humanas deus quia, cum Romani quondam pagani et vicerint et regnaverint, nunc christiani et vincantur et serviant. . . sed tamen . . cum ad eam negotii partem accesserimus ut de veteribus Romanis aliqua dicantur . . approbabimus tam iustum tunc erga illos fuisse domini favorem quam nunc erga nos iustam severitatem. The division into books is by the author himself; cf. VII 1: cum in conclusione libelli huius qui nunc finitus est etc.

5. Salviani opera ed. P. Pithoeus (Paris. 1580. 1594), C. Rittershusius (Norimberg. 1623), and especially Steph. Baluzius (Paris. 1663. 1669. 1684); hence in Gallandi bibl. patr. X, the bibl. patr. max. (1677) VIII p. 339 sq. and in Migne's patrol. LIII. Also cum comm. varr., Bremae 1688. 4.

6. C. G. Heyne, censura ingenii et doctrinae Salviani librique de gub. d., in his Opusc. acad. VI, nr. VII p. 119—140. G. Kaufmann in Raumer's hist. Taschenbuch 1869, p. 47—54.

The second half of the century.

459. The existence of literature lasted longest in Gaul, where the art of correct expression both in prose and poetry prospered as on a favourable soil. The contents were, indeed, chaotic, moving on in the usual tracks without serious aims, merely to satisfy the authors and to provoke the admiration of their friends. Versification soon became mere trifling. Hendecasyllabics were a favourite metre in this time. In the pages of Apollinaris Sidonius we find the names of numerous orators, writers and poets, e. g. Consentius, Lampridius, Leo, Petrus, Sapaudus, Secundinus, Tonantius Ferreolus, Thaumastus, and many others. Some circles were fond of displaying their erudition, but the amount of their actual knowledge being but scanty, some ingenious spirits like the author of the origo gentis romanae, Fulgentius and the grammarian Vergilius hit upon the expedient of inventing their quotations.

1. Sidon. ep. V 10: pauci studia nunc honorant. ib. II 10: tantum increbuit multitudo desidiosorum ut, nisi vel paucissimi quique meram latiaris linguae proprietatem de trivialium barbarismorum robigine vindicaveritis eam brevi abolitam defleamus interitamque. IV 17: sermonis pompa romani, si qua adhuc uspiam est, belgicis olim sive rhenanis abolita terris.

2. Teaching and literary activity in Gaul embraced principally grammar and rhetoric, the latter including also metrical composition. Ap. Sid. c. 23, 210 sq.: quidquid rhetoricae institutionis, quidquid grammaticalis aut palaestrae est, . . vorasti. ib. ep. IV 21: te imbuendum liberalibus disciplinis grammatici rhetorisque studia florentia . . foverunt. Greek had been forgotten in Gaul, except at Massilia; the Celtic and Germanic speech of the common people were strangely despised. ib. carm. 14 praef.: quae si quispiam ut graeca . . et peregrina verba contempserit. ep. III 3: tuae personae debitum quod sermonis celtici squamam depositura nobilitas nunc oratorio stilo, nunc etiam camenalibus modis imbuebatur. ib. V 5: cum sis (Syagrius) consulis pronepos . . immane narratu est quantum stupeam sermonis te germanici notitiam tanta facilitate rapuisse, a few stupid jokes being added to this remark. Venant. Fort. misc. VII 8, 63: plaudat tibi barbarus harpa. ib. 69: nos tibi versiculos, dent barbara carmina leudos ('Lieder'). I 1 prol.: barbaros leudos harpa (Harp) relidebat. G. Kaufmann, in Raumer's hist. Taschenbuch 1869, p. 3—94. On the West-Roman Empire a. 455—480 cf. G. R. Sievers, Studies on the History of the Roman Emperors (1870) p. 515—556. See also above 446, 2.

3. In the churches in Gaul the congregation listened standing and applauded the preacher (as they also did in the East, Hieron. ep. 52, 8 ad Nepot.). Ap. Sidon. carm. 16, 126: contionaturum plebs sedula circumsistit. ep. IX 3: licet praedicationes tuas . . raucus plosor audierim, tunc praecipue cum in Lugdunensis ecclesiae dedicatae festis etc. See also below 462, 7.

4. Ap. Sidon. carm. 9, 299—314: ne tu mihi comparare tentes quos multo minor ipse plus adoro, Paulinum Ampeliumque Symmachumque (see above 418, 2), Messalam (above 447, 6) . . et nulli modo Martium secundum, dicendi arte nova parem vetustis, Petrum (see n. 8) et cum loquitur nimis stupendum, vel quem municipalibus poetis praeponit bene Villicum senatus, nostrum aut quos retinet solum (Gaul) disertos, dulcem Anthedion (in Vesontio, see ep. VIII 11 cf. carm. 22 praef.) et mihi magistri Musas sat venerabiles Hoēni; acrem Lampridium (see n. 6), catum Leonem (see n. 7), praestantemque tuba Severianum (see n. 8) et sic scribere non minus valentem Marcus Quintilianus ut solebat.

5. Ap. Sidon. ep. VIII 4 (to Consentius): tu . . citos iambos, elegos acutos ac rotundatos hendecasyllabos et cetera carmina . . nunc Narbonensibus cantitanda, nunc Biterrensibus, ambigendum celerius an pulchrius elucubrasti. Cf. ib. IX 15 (cf. n. 7): Consentiorum qui superstes est patri (who had also been an author, see ib. carm. 23, 97—176) . . cecinisse dictus omniforme canticum. To him ib. carm. 23 (ad Consentium v. c. civem Narbonensem), in which v. 20 sqq.: misisti mihi multiplex poëma. . . ibant hexametri superbientes et . . per quinos elegi pedes ferebant; misisti et triplicis metrum trochaei, spondeo comitante dactyloque, dulces hendecasyllabos.

6. Sidon. ep. VIII 11: Lampridius orator (at Burdigala) modo primum mihi occisum agnoscitur. . . hic me quondam, ut inter amicos ioca, Phoebum vocabat, ipse a nobis vatis edrysii (i. e. Orpheus) nomine accepto. . . si orationes illius metiaris, acer, rotundus, compositus, excussus, si poëmata, tener, multimeter, argutus, artifex erat. faciebat siquidem versus oppido exactos tam pedum mira quam figurarum varietate: hendecasyllabos lubricos et enodes, hexametros crepantes et cothurnatos, elegos vero nunc echoicos, nunc recurrentes (cf. n. 13), nunc per anadiplosin fine principiisque conexos. . . in materia controversiali fortis et lacertosus, in satirica sollicitus et mordax, in tragica saevus et flebilis, in comica urbanus multiformisque, in fescennia vernans verbis, aestuans votis, in bucolica vigilax, . . in georgica rusticans. . . praeterea quod ad epigrammata spectat, . . acumine placens, . . in lyricis autem Flaccum secutus etc. Hence ib. in a poem addressed to him: Arpinas modo quem tonante lingua ditat, nunc stilus aut Maronianus aut quo tu Latium beas, Horati, Alcaeo potior lyristes ipso. et nunc inflat epos tragoediarum, nunc comoedia temperat iocosa, nunc flammant satirae et tyrannicarum declamatio controversiarum. Cf. ib. IX 13: istud vix Leo (n. 7), rex castalii chori, vix hunc qui sequitur Lam-

pridius queat, declamans gemini pondere sub stili (prose and verse?) coram discipulis Burdigalensibus.

7. Sidon. ep. IX 13 (see n. 6). 15: epos sed istud aptius paraverit Leo, Leonis aut secutus orbitas cantu in latino . . Consentiorum qui etc. (n. 5). Cf. ep. VIII 3 (Leoni): sepone tantisper pythicas lauros Hippocrenenque et illos carminum modos etc. suspende perorandi illud quoque celeberrimum flumen quod . . in tuum pectus . . ab atavo Frontone (above 351) transfunditur. sepone pauxillulum conclamatissimas declamationes quas oris regii vice conficis. He was private secretary to Euric, the king of the Visigoths; cf. ib. IV 22. carm. 9, 311 (n. 4). 14 praef. (spectabili viro Leone). 23, 448—456: ad doctiloqui Leonis aedes, quo bis sex tabulas docente iuris ultro Claudius Appius taceret. . . at si dicat epos metrumque rhythmis flectat commaticis . . faciat silere Flaccum.

8. Sidon. ep. IX 13: quod temporibus Aug. Maioriani . . in Petri librum magistri epistolarum . . effudi, meis quoque contubernalibus . . Domnulo, Severiano atque Lampridio (n. 6) paria pangentibus. In it: Petrus est tibi legendus, in utraque disciplina satis institutus auctor. . . opus editum tenemus bimetra quod arte texens etc. ib. 15: Severianus ista rhetor altius, Afer vaferque Domnulus (see below 461, 1 sq.) politius, scholasticusque sub rotundioribus Petrus Camenis dictitasset acrius. . . humo atque gente cretus in Ligustide Proculus melodis insonare pulsibus etc. ib. carm. 3: mihi Petrus erit Maecenas temporis huius.

9. Doctissimo viro Sapaudo (cf. Sidon. ep. V 10) rhetori Claudianus (below 461, 3—6). . . declamationum tuarum suavitas. They are praised in an exaggerated manner. ib.: fac memineris docendi munus tibi a proavis et citra hereditarium fore (= esse). . . admonitus quoque sis oportet Viennensis urbis nobilitatis antiquae, cuius tu civis et doctor etc.

10. Sidon. ep. V 8 (to Secundinus): diu quidem est quod te hexametris familiarius inservientem stupentes praedicantesque lectitabamus. erat siquidem materia iocunda, seu nuptiales tibi thalamorum faces sive perfossae regiis ictibus ferae describerentur. sed triplicibus trochaeis nuper in metrum hendecasyllabum compaginatis nihil . . simile fecisti. deus bone, quid illic inesse fellis, leporis piperataeque facundiae . . inspexi! . . operam facetis satirarum coloribus intrepidus impende. nam tua scripta nostrorum vitiis proficientibus tyrannopolitarum locupletabuntur. Cf. ib. II 10: ab hexametris eminentium poetarum Constantii (to him ep. I 1. VII 18) et Secundini vicinantia altari basilicae (at Lugdunum) latera clarescunt.

11. Sidon. ep. I 7: legati provinciae Galliae Tonantius Ferreolus praefectorius, Afranii Syagrii consulis (under Gratianus) e filia nepos, Thaumastus quoque et Petronius, maxima rerum verborumque scientia praediti et inter principalia patriae nostrae decora ponendi. (They accused at Rome Arvandus, praef. praet. Galliarum. The latter

was defended by Sidonius and Auxanius.). II 9 (Tonantium cum fratribus). carm. 24, 34 sqq.: hic docti invenies patrem Tonanti, rectorem columenque Galliarum, Prisci Ferreolum parem Syagri. ib. 84 sqq.: exin tende gradum Tribusque villis Thaumastum expete, quem libet duorum; quorum iunior est mihi sodalis et collega simul graduque frater.

12. Other speakers of the time: Pragmatius (Sidon. ep. V 10); Flavius Nicetius (ib. VIII 6); bishop Remigius at Rheims (ib. IX 7: declamationum tuarum schedio . . tot voluminibus). Professors of eloquence were Lupus (ib. VIII 11), and Ioannes (ib. VIII 2).

13. Other versifiers of the time: Heronius at Lugdunum (Sidon. ep. I 9: Clius tuae hexametris); Victorius (potentissime condidit versus, ib. V 21). An anonymous satire (temporibus Aug. Maioriani) on affairs and persons of Arelate is mentioned by Sidon. ep. I 11.

14. Other scholars of the time: Paulus at Rome (Sidon. ep. I 9) Probus (ib. carm. 9. 330. 24, 94). Marcellinus (ib. 23, 446 sqq.) and Tetradius (ib. 24, 81 cf. ep. III 10) are mentioned as Jurists.

15. The following are mentioned as philosophers aud writers on philosophy: Claudianus Mamertus (below 461, 3 sqq.), Domitius (Sidon., ep. II 2 cf. carm. 24, 10 sqq.), Eusebius (Sid. ep. IV 1), Eutropius (ib. III 6: consectanei vestri Plotini dogmatibus), Faustus (below 461, 7 sqq.), Polemius (Sidon. ep. IV 14 cf. carm. 14 praef.: complatonicis tuis; 15, 187 sqq.: stoica pone supercilia etc.). Among the membra philosophiae astrology is mentioned by Sid. carm. 22 praef.

16. Just as Sidonius likes to accumulate the names of ancient authors generally with an epithet which he means to be charasteristic, though it is generally only a phrase, so also Mamertus Claudianus in his letter to Sapaudus (see n. 9).

17. Quotations were invented even in the novels of the time, e. g. in Antonius Diogenes and others. R. Herscher, on Ptol. Chennus p. 270 sqq. 279 sq. E. Zeller, Lectures p. 279 sqq. E. Rohde, on Lucian's *Λούκιος* p. 21. 23. See below 472, 7. 474. 6. Fantastical inventions above 396, 9. 416, 1.

460. The aspirations and polish, but also the poverty of thought and phrases of the Gallo-Roman literature of this time are eminently conspicuous in C. Sollius Apollinaris Sidonius (c. 430—458) the descendant of a noble family at Lugdunum, and (since about 472) bishop of Clermont (Arverni). We possess by him a collection of twenty-four poems and nine books of letters, which likewise contain many poems. The longest poems are epics in praise of his father-in-law Avitus (c. 7), his victorious adversary Maiorianus (c. 5) and the Emperor Anthemius (c. 2), all artificially dressed up with

the help of mythology and erudition, and composed according to a rhetorical scheme in conventional phraseology. Next to epic metre, the author uses elegiacs and hendecasyllabics in many places. His letters are in imitation of those of Pliny and Symmachus and contain a faithful portrait of the tender, kind and vain character of the author, as well as of his ornate and confused style.

1. The praenomen was C. according to the dedication of Claudian, below 461, 4, the headings of the letters and the poems. In the first we generally read Sidonius Constantio s. s.; comes Sidoni Ep. I 11. Domine Solli, Solli meus etc. ep. V 17. I 9. IX 15. Sollius Ap. Sid. carm. 9 in and 22 praef. (Soll. Ap. Sid. Pontio Leontio s.).

2. His birthday non. novembr. (c. 20) about 430 (a. 449 adolescens, ep. VIII 6). familia praefectoria (ep. V 16); his grandfather praef. Apollinaris already baptized (ep. III 12. V 9); his father praef. praet. Gall. (ep. V 9. VIII 6). He composed verse a parvo (ep. V 21), married (c. 452) Papianilla (ep. V 16), the daughter of Avitus who usurped the Imperial title at Tolosa (and Arelate) about the close of 455. His son was Apollinaris, his daughter Roscia (ep. V 11. 16). Through his father-in-law Ap. was honoured with a statue at Rome. A. 456 Avitus was overthrown by Ricimer and Maiorianus. Sidonius submitted to the latter (457 or 458) with the rest of the Gallic nobility. Majorianus was overthrown 461, and Theoderic II, king of the Visigoths, became the actual ruler of Gaul. A. 467 Anthemius was raised to the Western throne by the Eastern Emperor Leo. Under him Sidonius became at Rome praef. urbi 467, see n. 3 and c. 8, 9 sq. ep. I 99. About 472 he became bishop of Clermont (ep. III 1. VI 1) and as such the head of resistance against the Goths. After the capture of Clermont (a. 474) Sid. was during some time the prisoner of king Euric (ep. VIII 9. IX 3). As bishop he lived at least tres olympiadas (ep. IX 12), † c. 487 (Greg. Tur.), XII kal. sept. (21 Aug.) according to his epitaph, but according to the martyrolog. on 23 Aug., and was canonized. Cf. Gregor. Tur. hist. Franc. II 22 sq.

3. Gennad. ill. 92: Sidonius, Arvernorum episcopus, scripsit varia et grata opuscula et sanae doctrinae. homo si quidem tam divinis quam humanis ad integrum imbutus : cerque ingenio, scripsit ad diversos diverso metro vel prosa compositum Epistularum insigne volumen, in quo quid in litteris posset ostendit. verum in christiano vigore pollens, etiam inter barbarae ferocitatis duritiem quae eo tempore Gallos oppresserat, catholicus pater et doctor habetur insignis. floruit ea tempestate qua Leo et Zeno Romanis imperabant. Sidonius himself gives a sketch of his life and literary activity in the poem ep. IX 16, v. 20 sqq.: coronae quam mihi indulsit populus Quirini, blattifer vel quam tribuit senatus, . . cum meis poni statuam perennem Nerva Traianus (his forum) titulis videret inter auctores utriusque fixam bybliothecae; quamque post visus prope post bilustre tempus accepi capiens honorem

(of praef. urb.). (33 sqq.) praeter heroos ioca multa multis texui pannis, elegos frequenter subditos senis pedibus rotavi commate bino; nunc per undenas equitare suetus syllabas lusi celer, atque metro sapphico creber cecini, citato rarus iambo. (45 sqq.) iam senectutis propiore meta . . plus pudet si quid leve lusit aetas nunc reminisci. quod perhorrescens ad epistolarum transtuli cultum genus omne curae, ... clerici ne quid maculet rigorem fama poetae. . . nullum cito cogar exhinc promere carmen. persecutorum nisi quaestiones forsitan dicam meritosque caelum martyres etc. This was not carried out.

4. The first half of the literary activity of Sid. is in metrical form. The collection of the poems embraces 24 pieces. The three panegyric pieces with accompanying poems in elegiac metre occupy the first place, though in an arrangement deviating from history. The earliest (a. 456) is that on Avitus (c. 7), 603 hexameters (G. Kaufmann, the Works of Sid., p. 20—28), then a. 458, when Majorianus was at Lugdunum, the panegyric on him (c. 5), 599 hexameters (G. Kaufmann, ibid. p. 28—32); a. 468 that on the Emperor Anthemius (c. 2), 549 hexameters (ibid. p. 33—38). The second half of the collection begins with c. 9 (343 hendecasyllabics) v. 6 sqq.: nugas . . quas sparsit tenerae iocus iuventae in formam redigi iubes libelli; a poetical epistle (excusatorium ad v. c. Felicem) in which v. 13—314 contain a monotonous account of what one ought not to expect from the collection. Epithalamia Ruricio et Iberiae (c. 11, in 133 hexameters) and Polemio et Araneolae (c. 15, in 201 hexameters), with a preface to each, c. 10 in elegiacs, c. 14 in hendecasyllabics and prose. C. 12 (22 hendecasyllabics), 13 to Majorianus (request for remission of taxes for Lugdunum, 20 elegiacs and 20 hendecasyllabics), 16 (thanking Faustus, episcopus Reiensis, 129 hexam.), also c. 22 (with an address in prose), the description of an estate of Pontius Leontius (237 hexameters) and 23 (513 hexameters addressed to Consentius) are poetical epistles. Nr. 17—21 are occasional pieces is a few distichs, c. 24 the epilogue (propempticon ad libellum, 101 hendecasyllabics). When c. 23 was written, Narbo was still in the possession of the Goths (v. 68 sqq. te . . decus Getarum . . Theudericus amat), who had taken it a. 462.

5. After his election to the episcopal see Sid. renounced versifying, but had many a relapse. Epist. IX 12: ab exordio religiosae professionis huic principaliter exercitio renuntiavi (cf. n. 3). But ep. IX 13 an admirer of his muse receives a poem composed 20 years ago and a new one, the latter (in Asclepiadean metre) even for recitation inter bibendum; so also ep. IX 15 (in iambics) and 16 (Sapphic). He is always ready to send poetry when requested. E. g. ep. II 10 (Hendecas. for the consecration of a church at Lugdunum). IV 8 (on a concha to be presented to Queen Ragnahilda). VII 17 (nenia sepulcralis on an Abraham). Other poems in the collection of the Letters: II 8 (nenia funebris . . per hendecasyllabos, on Philematia, . . quam . . ceteris epigrammatum meorum voluminibus applicandam mercenarius bybliopola suscipiet). III 12 (Hendecas. on the tomb of his grandfather). IV 11 (on Claudianus).

18 (consecration of a church at Tours). VIII 9 (Hendecasyllabics to Lampridius). Early poems VIII 11 (Hendecas.) and IX 13 (Anacreontics) He mentions his poetical improvisations ep. I 11. V 17. IX 13. His promise Attilae bellum stilo me posteris intimaturum subsequently appeared impossible to execute (ep. VIII 15), and Sid. was also right in refusing to compose a historical work (ep. IV 22). Epist. VII 3: contestatiunculas quas ipse dictavi . . tibi transmisi. ib. 9: orationem quam videor ad plebem Biturigis in ecclesia sermocinatus, . . quam (headds) duabus vigiliis unius noctis aestivae, Christo teste, dictatam. III 14: meas nugas, sive confectas opere prosario, seu poetarum stilo cantilenosas. I 1: contenti versuum . . editorum opinione, de qua mihi iam pridem in portu iudicii publici . . sufficientis gloriae ancora sedet.

6. The nine books of Letters embrace 147 pieces, among which IV 2 is by Mam. Claudianus (461, 3 sqq.). The receivers of these letters were senatores et pontifices (ep. VII 12); to bishops he writes B. VI VII 1—11. VIII 13—15. IX 2—11. The dedication is to Constantius (presbyter Lugdunensis); ep. I 1: diu praecipis . . ut si quae litterae paulo politiores varia occasione fluxerunt . . omnes retractatis exemplaribus enucleatisque uno volumine includam (in imitation of Cicero, Pliny, Titianus and Symmachus). In case of a favourable reception actutum tibi a nobis volumina numerosiora . . multiplicabuntur. IV 2 the complaint of Claudian because he was not mentioned in the collection. IV 10: post terminatum libellum qui parum (paulo?) cultior est reliquas denuo litteras usuali . . sermone contexo. non enim tanti est poliri formulas editione carituras. IV 22: ut epistolarum curam iam terminatis libris earum converteremus ad stilum historiae. The first three books seem, therefore, to have been published conjointly, and books IV—VII were subsequently appended; see ep. VII 18 (to Constantius): a te principium, tibi desinet (Vergil. ecl. VIII 11): nam petitum misimus opus, raptim relectis exemplaribus, quae ob hoc in manus pauca venerunt quia mihi nihil de libelli huiusce conscriptione meditanti hactenus incustodita nequeunt inveniri. The eighth book was subsequently added in compliance with a request of Petronius (at Arelate): ep. VIII 1: scrinia Arverna petis eventilari, cui sufficere suspicabamur si quid superiore vulgatu protulissemus. itaque morem geremus iniunctis, . . ut epistolarum seriem . . in extimo fine parvi adhuc numeri summa protendat. Cf. ib. 16: spoponderam Petronio . , praesens opusculum paucis me epistolis expediturum. . . malui ut illum correctionis labor, te (Constantius) honor editionis aspiceret. . . peracta promissio est. Finally the ninth book was added; see IX 1 (Firmino): exigis ut epistolarum priorum limite irrupto stilus noster in ulteriora procurrat. . . addis et causas quibus hic liber nonus octo superiorum voluminibus adcrescat: eo quod C. Secundus, cuius nos orbitas sequi hoc opere pronuntias, paribus titulis opus epistolare determinet (above 355, 5 sq.). . . nos vero si quod exemplar (of b. I—VIII) manibus occurrerit libri marginibus octavi celeriter addemus. The collection has, therefore, tripli:es epilogos (IX 1).

7. Sid. ep. VII 18: ita mens patet in libro veluti vultus in speculo. dictavi enim quaepiam hortando, laudando plurima, aliqua suadendo, maerendo pauca iocandoque nonnulla. . . singulae causae singulis ferme epistolis finiuntur. Many letters had arisen accidentally to serve real purposes (letters of introduction or congratulation, deaths, business etc.), but in course of time the collection increased in intentional imitation of Pliny and Symmachus, and by the desire of friends and acquaintances to become immortal by such letters (ep. VII 12. VIII 5. IX 11. 15.). Many letters are real panegyrics (e. g. ep. I 2 on Theoderic; ib. III 3 on Ecdicius; IV 11 on Claudianus; IV 20 on Sigismer regius iuvenis), generally on the receiver himself (IV 9. 13. 21. VI 1. 12. VII 1. 12—14. IX 7 and elsewhere). The extent of the composition is frequently out of keeping with the subject (sunt omnes loquacissimae IX 11, cf. II 9. III 7. 11. IV 3. VII 2. IX 15 and elsewhere). The letters addressed to bishops (n. 6) are in a more solemn tone and terminate with a formula resembling a litany (memor nostri esse dignare, domine papa). The author is scarcely in earnest when he assures us (ep. VIII 16): nos opuscula sermone edidimus arido, exili, certe maxima ex parte vulgato.

8. Sidonius greatly resembles those men who were his models in literature, Pliny the younger and Symmachus (see n. 6 and ep. IV 22: ego Plinio ut discipulus assurgo): kind and ready to help others, of unquestionable purity of morals in a savage period, devoted to refinement and culture, a faithful friend (tenues nobis esse amicitias nec inimici fingere queunt, ep. IX 9) and a good father; but at the same time immensely vain, always thirsting for praise and thinking too much of himself and of others (see the judgments above 459, 4 sqq. and below 461, 1—5. 8), a crouching flatterer to the great, a mere phrase-turner, full of the prejudices of his nation (see above 459, 2) and noble family (e. g. ep. IX 6). His Christianity appears strongest in his letters to his fellow bishops (e. g. ep. IX 2 he calls himself a novus clericus, peccator antiquus), but is always sincere and correct (ep. VIII 4: tempus est . . de perpetua vita potius quam memoria cogitari; IX 8: iudicii dies, resurrectio; VIII 11: quisque praesumpserit . . vetita rimari, vereor huiusmodi a catholicae fidei regulis exorbitaturum), though free from dogmatic harshness (for spiritales quaestiones he refers ep. IV 17 to sacerdotes fide clari, and is humane even to the Jews, though their 'secta' is 'despectui' to him, ib. III 4, cf. VI 11. VIII 13) and allowing him to admire classical literature. Cf. ep. II 9: similis scientiae viri, hinc Augustinus, hinc Varro, hinc Horatius, hinc Prudentius lectitabantur. He is indeed perfectly clear as to the difference of the two views (ep. IX 13: procul hinc et Hippocrenen . . et Apollinem canorum . abigamus, et Minervam. . . removete ficta fatu: deus ista praestat unus; cf. VIII 4: talibus studiis anterior aetate iuste . . occupabatur; modo tempus est seria legi, seria scribi etc.); but he uses the figures and ideas of antiquity without embarrassment, and is well-versed in ancient literature (see especially c. 9). But that he was not originally at home

in it, but merely accustomed to it by scholastic training and continued study, may be inferred from the many strange, confused, and irregular words and constructions of his Latin style (ex asse gaudeo etc., granditer anxius sis meminens, ilicet = nam, phthisiscere, crepusculascens, combinans, bonuscula, complices, spontaliter, trebaciter, ducalius, sternax, incursax etc.), a curious mixture of reminiscences of all periods and styles. Except some arbitrary licences in proper names and foreign words e. g. Euripîdis (c. 9, 231. 23, 126), Ctēsiphon (c. 23, 139), cātholicam (ep. IV 11), phîlosophi (c. 15, 182. 187), his prosody is correct.

9. Editions by El. Vinetus (Lugd. 1552), J. Wower (cum notis P. Colvii, Paris. et Lugd. 1598), J. Savaro (Paris. 1599. 1609. 4.), G. Elmenhorst (Hannover 1617 and especially J. Sirmond (Paris. 1614. 1652. 4. in Sirmondi epp. I p. 464 sqq.). In the Bibl. patr. max. VI p. 1075 sqq., Gallandi bibl. patr. X p. 463 sqq., Migne's patrol. LVIII. There is still a great field for learned exertion in the works of this author.

10. A. Germain, essai littéraire et historique sur Ap. Sid., Montpellier 1840. M. Fertig, C. S. A. S. and his time, according to his works, 3 parts, Würzburg 1845. 1846. Passau 1848. 4. G. Kaufmann, the works of A. S. as a source of the history of his time, Gött. 1864. 44 pp.; C. S. A. S. in the New Swiss Museum V (Basle 1865) p. 1—28. C. A. Chaix, St. Sidoine Ap. et son siècle, 2 vols. (462 and 408 pp.) Clermont-Ferrand 1867; cf. G. Kaufmann, Götting. gel. Anz. 1868, p. 1001—1020.

461. With regard to the friends of Sidonius we still have writings by Rusticius Elpidius Domnulus, Mamertus Claudianus and Faustus. There are some Christian poems in existence by Domnulus, and three books de statu animae by the Presbyter Mamertus (Ecdicius) Claudianus, dedicated to Sidonius a. 470. The subject of this work is scholastic, the style sometimes dry, sometimes pompous. We have also by him a Christian hymn in a prosaic tone. Another friend of Sidonius was Faustus, bishop of Reii (Riez), against whom Claudianus' work is directed, and by whom we have a work de gratia dei, letters, sermons, and similar compositions.

1. Subscription of Vat. 4229 of Pomponius Mela: Fl. Rusticius Helpidius Domnulus v. c. et spectab. com. consistor. emendavi Rabennae. Similarly in Iulius Paris (above 274, 9 fin.). Cf. Elpidio viro spect. comiti sacri consistorii in the Acta concil. ephes. of Harduin II p. 77. The next degree after the comites cons. was that of quaestor. The Domnulus of whom Sidonius ep. IX 13 relates that he wrote poetry at Arles under Majorianus (a. 457—461) and to whom Sid. ep. IV 25 is addressed, is called ib. carm. 14 praef.: vir quaestorius; and the Christian poems (see n. 2) are entitled: Rustici Helpidi v. c. et inl. ex quaestore. It is

therefore, highly probable that we have here to deal with the same person. O. Jahn, Trans. of the Saxon Society of Lit. 1851, p. 345 —347.

2. Rustici Elpidii carmen de Christi beneficiis (ed. Herm. Müller, Göttingen 1868. 4.) in hexameters and Historiarum testamenti veteris et novi tristicha, 24 strophes in three hexameters each. Both printed in G. Fabricius, corpus poett. christ. p. 754 sqq. and in patristic collections, (e. g. Bibl. patr. max. IX p. 462 sqq.).

3. Gennad. vir. ill. 83: Claudianus Viennensis ecclesiae presbyter, vir ad loquendum artifex et ad disputandum subtilis, composuit tres quasi de statu vel de substantia animae libros, in quibus agit . . ut ostendat aliquid esse incorporeum praeter deum. scripsit et alia nonnulla, inter quae et hymnum de passione domini cuius principium est: 'Pange lingua gloriosi'. fuit autem frater Mamerti Viennensis episcopi. His death (nuper ereptus) is bewailed by Sidon. epist. IV 11, where he is praised, e. g.: vir providus, prudens, doctus, eloquens, acer et hominum aevi, loci, populi sui ingeniosissimus quique indesinenter salva religione philosopharetur et . . a collegio complatonicorum solo habitu ac fide dissociabatur. . . episcopum fratrem maiorem natu affectuosissime observans etc. sed et ille suspiciebat hunc granditer, habens in eo consiliarium in iudiciis, vicarium in ecclesiis etc. In the nenia attached: Claudianus, triplex bybliotheca quo magistro — romana, attica, christiana — fulsit. . . orator, dialecticus, poeta, tractator, geometra musicusque, doctus solvere vincla quaestionum et verbi gladio secare sectas, si quae catholicam fidem lacessunt. psalmorum hic modulator et phonascus etc. A letter of Claudianus to Sidonius in his epist. IV 2. For another to the Rhetorician Sapaudus see above 459, 9.

4. The work de statu animae is dedicated: praefectorio (i. e. after a. 467, see above 400, 2), patricio, doctissimo et optimo viro C. Sollio Sidonio Claudianus sal. and the epilogue: Claudianus C. Sollio Apollinari. It begins: editionem libellorum quos de animae statu condidi . . mihi imperasti; it contains also a short statement on the Contents. B. I begins: magnum in genere humano, Solli Sidoni, frater amantissime, multorum vitium est etc. In the epilogue: libellorum a me transmissorum, quos philosophicae artis subtilissima disputatione disposui etc. This work is praised in an exaggerated manner by Sidon. epist. IV 3, cf. V 2: librum de st. an. tribus voluminibus illustrem Mamertus Claudianus, peritissimus christianorum philosophus, . . excolere curavit etc. He inveighs against chartula quaedam (I 1), an opusculum (I 2) published anonymously (ib.), but which had been composed by Faustus; see n. 7.

5. The hymn Pange etc. consists of 30 trochaeic tetrameters. On it Sidon. epist. IV 3: de hymno tuo si percontere quid sentiam, commaticus est, copiosus, dulcis, elatus et quoslibet lyricos dithyrambos amoenitate poetica et historica veritate supereminet etc. in the same style. But other compositions also in a metrical form bear his name, some of them having also got among the works of the elder Claudia-

nus (above 433). E. g. in epic metre contra poetas vanos, on carmen paschale, laus Christi, εἰς τὸν σωτῆρα, εἰς τὸν δεσπότην Χριστόν; in elegiacs in Iacobum mag. eq. and miracula Christi. As Sidonius (ep. IV 11; see n. 3) attributes to him poems in Greek, it is possible that he was the author of these works.

6. The extant works of Mam. Claudianus are printed e. g. in Gallandi bibl. patr. X and in Migne's patrol. LIII (p. 693—790); the poems also in G. Fabricius' Corp. poett. christ. p. 775 sqq. and in other collections.

7. Gennad. vir. ill. 85: Faustus, ex abbate Lerinensis monasterii apud Regium (rather at Reii) Galliae episcopus factus (c. 462), vir in divinis scripturis satis intentus, . . composuit librum de spiritu sancto. . . edidit quoque opus egregium de gratia dei (see n. 8). . . legi eius et Adversus Arianos et Macedonianos parvum libellum . . et alium Adversus eos qui dicunt esse in creaturis aliquid incorporeum, in quo divinis testimoniis et patrum confirmat sententiis nihil credendum incorporeum praeter deum (against this Claudianus, see n. 3 and 4). est et eius Epistola in modum libelli ad diaconum quendam Gratum nomine edita, qui a fide catholica discedens ad Nestorianam abiit impietatem. . . sunt vero et alia eius scripta, quae quia necdum legi nominare nolui. . . scripsit postea ad Felicem praef. praet. et patriciae dignitatis virum, filium Magni consulis, iam religiosum, epistolam ad timorem dei hortatoriam. Cf. ib. 86: floruit hic (Caesarius, episc. Arelatensis) eo tempore quo et Faustus, Anastasio remp. administrante. Sidon. carm. 16 epist. IX 3. 9. See above 460, 4.

8. Faustus' work De gratia Dei in two books, attacked as Pelagian by Gelasius, Fulgentius (below 472, 1) and others, is extant. The letters of F. (to Leontius, Paulinus, Felix, Ruricius and others) which have come down to us are of dogmatic contents and generally lengthy. E. g. the one to Leontius contra eos qui dum per solam dei voluntatem alios dicunt ad vitam attrahi . . liberum arbitrium cum Manichaeis negant; his Correspondence against Praedestination with the presbyter Lucidus, the letter against Arianism etc. The latter drew upon him the displeasure of Euric (a. 481). Also sermons and other works. Cf. Sidon. epist. IX 3 to Faustus: immane suspicio dictandi istud in vobis tropologicum genus ac figuratum limatisque plurifariam verbis eminentissimum. ib. 9: legi volumina tua etc. legimus opus operosissimum, multiplex, acre, sublime, digestum titulis exemplisque congestum, bipartitum sub dialogi schemate, sub causarum themate quadripartitum. . . mulierem pulchram . . tibi iugasti, . . philosophiam scilicet. . . huic copulatum te matrimonio qui lacessiverit sentiet ecclesiae Christi Platonis academiam militare teque nobilius philosophari.

9. The works of Faustus in P. Pithoeus, collectio vett. Galliae theolog. (Paris. 1586. 4.), in the Bibl. patr. max. (Lugd. 1677) VIII, in Migne's patrol. LVIII (p. 783—889 cf. LIII p. 681—685). Cf. Wiggers, Pelag. II p. 228 sqq.

462. Just as in Claudian and Faustus, we observe also that the works of other theologians of this time which are still extant turn chiefly on the relation of liberty of will and mercy, sometimes also on the old disputes concerning the person of Christ. Others wrote commentaries on biblical works, sermons etc. Theological authors of this kind were Arnobius (iunior), Cerealis, Gelasius, Honoratus, Ruricius, Salonius and others. Of chief importance is Gennadius' continuation of Hieronymus' list of Ecclesiastical writers (viri illustres) down to himself (c. 495).

1. Arnobius' Commentarius in psalmos is dedicated Leontio et Rustico episcopis, who lived c. 460. There are also extant Arnobii catholici et Serapionis conflictus de deo trino et uno etc., in the form of a process before a Court of arbitration, in such manner ut Arnobius a parte sedis apostolicae defensor fieret et Serapion a synedrio Aegyptiorum altercator existeret, iudices vero essent a parte catholica Decius Constantius et a parte Aegyptiorum Ammonius. Edited in the Bibl. patr. max. VIII, in Migne's patrol. LIII (p. 238—569).

2. Gennad. vir. ill. 86: Caesarius, Arelatensis urbis episcopus, scripsit egregia et grata et valde monachis necessaria opuscula. de gratia quoque et libero arbitrio edidit testimonia. . . quod opus etiam papa Felix per suam epistolam roboravit et in latius promulgavit. floruit hic . . Anastasio remp. administrante (a. 491—518). Cf. Greg. Tur. hist. Franc. IX 39.

3. Gennad. ill. 96: Cerealis episcopus natione Afer, interrogatus a Maximino Arianorum episcopo, si paucis posset . . fidem catholicam assignare, . . copiosis tam veteris quam novi testamenti indiciis approbavit et libello edidit. This work is printed e. g. in Migne's patrol. LVIII p. 757—767.

4. Gennad. ill. 97: Eugenius, Carthaginis . . episcopus et confessor publicus, admonitus ab Hunerico Vandalorum rege catholicae fidei expositionem et maxime verbi homousii proprietatem disserere (a. 484) . . composuit librum fidei (printed e. g. in Migne patrol. LVIII p. 219—234). . . iam vero asportandus pro fidelis linguae remuneratione in exilium epistolas velut commonitorias fidei . . dereliquit (e. g. in Migne LVIII p. 770—775). altercationes quoque quas cum Arianorum praesulibus per internuntios habuit conscripsit et relegendas per maiorem domus Hunerico transmisit. similiter et preces pro quiete christianorem eidem velut apologias obtulit. vivere adhuc (c. 495) . . dicitur. He died a. 505. Cf. Greg. Tur. hist. Franc. II 3. mirac. I 58.

5. Gennad. ill. 94: Gelasius, urbis Romae episcopus (a. 492—496), scripsit adversus Eutychen et Nestorium grande et praeclarum volumen et tractatus diversarum scripturarum et sacramentorum elimato

sermone et adversus Petrum et Acacium scripsit epistolas. . . fecit et hymnos in similitudinem Ambrosii episcopi. obiit sub Anastasio Aug. His extant works (among which de lupercalium intermissione) in the Collections of Councils, in the Bibl. patr. max. VIII, in Migne's patrol. LIX. Letters of his predecessors, the Popes Hilarius (a. 461—467), Simplicius (a. 467—483), Felix III (a. 483—492), in Migne LVIII.

6. Gennad. ill. 95: (Antonius) Honoratus, Constantinae (Africae civitatis) episcopus, scripsit ad Arcadium quendam qui pro confessione fidei catholicae in partibus Africae a Genserico rege missus exulabat epistolam . . hortatoriam. In Migne's patrol. L. p. 567—570.

7. Gennad. ill. 99: Honoratus, Massiliensis ecclesiae episcopus, vir eloquens et absque ullo linguae impedimento ex tempore in ecclesia declamator . . in homiliarum modum . . multa componit. He also preached during his travels. . . sanctus quoque papa Gelasius (n. 5) per scripturam agnoscens eius fidei integritatem rescripto suo probatam iudicavit. sanctorum quoque patrum vitas . . coaptat ipse legendas, praecipue nutritoris sui Hilarii (above 450, 7). litanias ad supplicandam dei clementiam cum plebe sibi credita pro viribus agit. His vita Hilarii e. g. in Migne's patrol. L. p. 1220—1246.

8. Maximus, Taurinensis ecclesiae episcopus (as which he is mentioned a. 451 and 465) moritur Honorio et Theodosio iun. regnantibus (Gennad. vir ill. 40). We possess by him 118 homilies, 116 sermons and six tractatus (especially de baptismo, contra paganos, contra Judaeos), edited by Br. Bruni, Rome 1784. fol. and in Migne's Patrol. LVII.

9. Gennad. ill. 98: Pomerius natione Maurus, in Gallia presbyter ordinatus, interrogantibus Iuliano episcopo et Vero presbytero dialecticorum more respondens arte dialectica . . composuit De natura animae et qualitate eius et De resurrectione . . libros VIII (e. g. in Migne LIX). . . memini legisse me olim eius dictatum ad quendam nomine Principium de contemtu mundi ac rerum transiturarum hortatorium et alium De vitiis et virtutibus praetitulatum. scripsisse dicitur et alia et adhuc scribere, quae ad meam notitiam non venerunt. vivit usque hodie (c. 495). Isid. ill. 12 calls him Iulianus cognomento Pomerius.

10. By Ruricius, episcopus Lemovicensis (Limoges) a. 484—507, we possess 82 letters in two books, chiefly addressed to bishops, e. g. Sidonius, Faustus, Aeonius, Euphrasius, Caesarius, Sedatus, Apruncullus, Volusianus and others. It is evident that he imitates Sidonius. (II 18 R. attempts even hendecasyllabics), but his letters cannot bear comparison with those of Sid. in point of contents. Edited e. g. in Migne's Patrol. LVIII p. 68—124. See above 460, 4. There is an epitaph extant by Venant. Fort. (IV 5) on the two Ruricii Anicii, grandfather and grandson.

11. Salonius, the son of Eucherius (above 450, 6) and author of an Expositio mystica on the Proverbs of Salomo in the form of a dialogue (e. g. Migne LIII p. 967—993) and a similar one on Ecclesiastes (ib. p. 993—1011). A letter by him, Ceretius and Veranius to Leo M. in Migne LIV p. 887 sqq. Letters and writings of Salvianus were addressed to him, above 458, 1. 3. 4, and also letters of Sidonius.

12. Vigilius, bishop of Thapsus (Africa), exiled a. 484; the author of Adversus Nestorium et Eutychem libri V pro defensione synodi Chalcedonensis (edited Tubing. 1528 fol. Colon. 1555). Under the name of Athanasius he wrote his Altercatio adversus Arium. The authorship of the libri XII de trinitate is doubtful. Edited in Chifflet's edit. of Victor Vit. (Divion. 1664. 4).

13. Gennad. ill. 100: ego Gennadius, Massiliae presbyter, scripsi adversus omnes haereses libros VIII et adversus Nestorium libros VI, Adversus Pelagium libros III et tractatus de mille annis et de apocalypsi b. Ioannis, et hoc opus, et epistolam de fide mea (= de ecclesiasticis dogmatibus, in Migne LVIII p. 979—1000) misi ad b. Gelasium, urbis Romae episcopum. Cf. ib. 72 extr.: hunc ipsum libellum (Timothei ad Leonem imp.) noscendi gratia ego rogatus a fratribus in latinum transtuli. In the Verona ms. the principal work bears the following title: catalogus virorum illustrium quos b. Hieronymum sequens commemorat. Edited after the work of Hieronymus (e. g. ed. Vallars. II 2 p. 967—1016), in Migne's patrol. LVIII p. 1053—1120 and elsewhere. It was subsequently continued by Isidore. All these and the mediaeval continuations are found together in the works De illustribus ecclesiae scriptoribus by Suffridus Petrus Leovardiensis Frisius (Colon. 1580) and by Aub. Miraeus (Antverp. 1639 fol.).

463. Historical works of the second half of the fifth century are Victor Vitensis' history of the persecution of the orthodox church by the Arian Vandals, and the Chronicles of the Spaniard Idacius which embrace the years 379—469 and contain a special account of his native country. A List of the Consuls from the beginning of the Republic until A. D. 468, derived from the old Fasti and an abridgment of Livy, has also been ascribed to Idacius, though without sufficient reason.

1. Victor, episcopus Vitensis (in Byzacene), no doubt a native of Africa (historia persecutionis africanae a s. Victore patriae Vitensis episcopo in a ms.). From the preface: ego iubentis imperio oboedientiae cervicem submittens quae obvenerunt in partibus Africae debacchantibus Arianis sensim breviterque indicare tentabo. Chronological statement I 1: sexagesimus nunc, ut clarum est, agitur annus ex quo populus ille crudelis ac saevus vandalicae gentis Africae attigit fines

(a. 428 + 59 = 486; according to Papencordt 429 + 59 = 488). The first book (according to Chifflet's division) contains the persecutions by Geiserich (+ 477); the second, fourth and fifth those by his son and successor Huneric (a. 477— end of 484); the third book the confession presented to the latter by the orthodox bishops (see above 462, 4). Under the fresh impressions of the events the account is onesided and highly coloured, the diction rude. F. Papencordt, the Hist. of the Vandal reign in Africa (Berl. 1837) p. 366—370.

2. Printed Colon. 1517. 1538 (cura R. Lorichii); cum notis Fr. Balduini (with Optatus Milev.) Paris. 1569) cum notis P. Fr. Chiffletii (with Vigil. Thaps.), Divion. 1664. 4. c. n. et obss. Th. Ruiart, Paris. 1694. 8. Veron. 1732. 4. In the patristic collections, e. g. Migne (LVIII. p. 180—260. Prolegg. p. 125—179. Appendices p. 260—434).

3. Idac. praef.: Idacius, provinciae Gallaeciae natus in Lemica civitate (Lamego), . . summi praesul creatus officii (cf. c. 4: capto Idacio episcopo VII kal. aug. — a. 464 — in Aquaeflaviensi ecclesia), . . perexiguum informatus studio saeculari, . . sanctorum eruditissimorum patrum in praecedenti opere suo . . ostensum ab his secutus exemplar. quorum primus Eusebius etc. post hunc Hieronymus presbyter etc. quem quodam tempore propriae peregrinationis (in Palestine) . . adhuc infantulus vidisse me certus sum. . . partim ex studio scriptorum, partim ex certo aliquantorum relatu, partim ex cognitione quam iam lacrimabile propriae vitae tempus ostendit quae subsequuntur adiecimus. . . ab anno primo Theodosii Aug. in annum III Valentiniani Aug., Placidiae reginae filii, . . a nobis conscripta sunt studio vel ex scriptorum stilo vel ex relationibus indicantum. exin immerito allectus ad episcopatus officium . . subdidimus etc. posteris in temporibus quibus offenderint reliquimus consummanda. The author evidently endeavours to relate the truth, and unless prevented by his credulity, he is a valuable witness. Cf. F. Papencordt, Hist. of the Vandals (1837) p. 352—355.

4. Sirmond edited this work from a ms. belonging to himself. Paris. 1619 and in his Opp. (Paris. 1696. II. p. 291 sqq. Venet. 1728. II. p. 228 sqq.); edited by Bouquet (recueil des hist. de la France I. p. 612 sqq.), Florez (Esp. sagr. IV p. 345 sqq.), Roncalli (vetust. latt. scr. chron. II p. 337 sqq.). Also in Migne patrol. LI. p. 873—890.

5. The list of Consuls ascribed to Idacius by Sirmond contains also historical notices, at first but few and more in the last two centuries. It is no doubt of the same time as Idacius, and also preserved in the same mss. Edited by Sirmond and Roncalli (see n. 4), in Graevius' Thesaur. antiqq. rom. XI. p. 246 sqq., Migne's patr. LI. p. 891—894 and elsewhere.

464. The history of the destruction of Troy by the pretended Phrygian Dares belongs to the forgeries composed in the fifth and sixth centuries. This Dares became the source of the Trojan romances of the Middle Ages

1. The earliest mention of the pretended work of Dares occurs in the forger Ptolemaeus Chennus (the son of Hephaestion, c. 70—100) I (in Phot. Bibl. cod. 120): Ἀντίπατρος δέ φησιν ὁ Ἀκάνθιος (one of the numerous writers invented by Ptol. Chenn., see Hercher p. 269 sqq.) Δάρητα πρὸ Ὁμήρου γράψαντα τὴν Ἰλιάδα, μνήμονα γενέσθαι Ἕκτορος ὑπὲρ τοῦ πῆ ἀνελεῖν Πάτροκλον. The name of Dares was derived from Iliad V 9 sqq. Aelian (c. A. D. 170) probably derived his knowledge from Ptol. Chennus; see Var. hist. XI 2: καὶ τὸν Φρύγα δὲ Δάρητα, οὗ φρυγίαν Ἰλιάδα ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἀποσωζομένην οἶδα, πρὸ Ὁμήρου καὶ τοῦτον γενέσθαι λέγουσι. So also Eustath. ad Odyss. XI p. 1697 whose statement (Δάρητα Φρύγα . . . αὐτομολήσαντα ὑπ' Ὀδυσσέως ἀναιρεθῆναι) does not agree with the extant Dares. Dunger has proved that a Greek version of Dares probably never existed (p. 12—17).

2. The author of the historia de excidio Troiae assumes the mask of Cornelius Nepos, who is here made to dedicate his pretended translation to Sallust (a trait rather characteristic of the author's knowledge of history). He says: Cum multa Athenis studiosissime agerem, inveni historiam Daretis Phrygis ipsius manu scriptam, ut titulus indicat, quae de Graecis et Troianis memoriam mandat. quam ego summo amore complexus continuo transtuli. cui nihil adiciendum rei formandae causa putavi, alioqui mea posset videri. optimum ergo duxi ut ita ut fuit vere et simpliciter perscripta sic eam in latinitatem ad verbum transverterem, ut legentes cognoscere possent . . utrum magis vera esse existiment quae Dares Phrygius memoriae commendarit . . anne Homero credendum . . de qua re Athenis iugiter fuit mentio, cum pro insano Homerus haberetur quod (which shows that we have to deal with a Christian writer) deos cum hominibus belligerasse descripserit. The assertion with regard to a faithful rendering of the Greek original cannot, however, be right, as the advice given in the original by Dares to Hector (n. 1) deos not occur in the Latin version. The existence of the Greek work would appear to be a myth altogether. Cf. n. 1.

3. The author pretends to have been an eyewitness of the events, an assertion which gave him great importance in the Middle Ages. Cf. c. 12: Dares Phrygius qui hanc historiam conscripsit, ait se militasse usque dum Troia capta est. hos se vidisse etc. c. 44: Hactenus Dares Phr. graecis litteris mandavit. . . hucusque historia Daretis. At the end he sums up the number of the slain on both sides, according to his acta diurna: those of the Trojans he calculates at 676000, those of the Greeks at 886000. He is very much on the side of the Trojans, and even this was in his favour in the Middle Ages, which were entirely under the influence of Virgil. He gives c. 12 sq. accurate descriptions of the principal persons, e. g. Helenam . . cruribus optimis, notam inter duo supercilia habentem. The wooden horse he transforms into a horse's head painted at the Scaean gate (c. 40). In reality the author is a Roman, as he mentions Valerius by the brief appellation of Argonautae (c. 1: qui volunt eos cognoscere, Argonautas legant, cf. ib. 15. Dunger p. 8. 15); he wrote in the Christian period (see n. 2), before Isidore

(see n. 4), perhaps in the fifth century, as may be inferred from the diction (15: audivit quia; 31: mittit indutias petere) and from the dryness and poverty of the style of the work, in nothing but brief monotonous sentences. His sources (next to his own invention) were Dictys and perhaps also the so-called Pindarus Thebanus (cf. Dunger, p. 15—17).

4. Isidore is acquainted with, and believes in, the book; see Orig. I 41: historiam primus apud nos Moyses . . conscripsit; apud gentiles vero primus Dares Phr. de Graecis et Troianis historiam edidit, quam in foliis palmarum ab eo conscriptam esse ferunt. post Daretem autem in Graecia Herodotus primus historiographus habitus est. The oldest ms. is the Florentine (saec. IX—X), after it (saec. X) the St. Gall, Berne and Bamberg mss., and (saec. XII) the Vienna ms., see F. Meister p. 1—23. The Middle Ages knew (as Dunger has proved) Dares merely in the present shape of the work, not in a longer version. The first mention of him (as Daires) is by the Norm. French Trouvère Benoît de Ste More (about 1150) in his Destruction de Troyes (Dunger p. 32 34—36. 37), and (as vates phrygius I 25) in Joseph of Exeter (Iscanus) in his six books De bello troiano (between a. 1184—1191; cf. Dunger p. 23—26), then in Albert of Stade (Dunger p. 26 sq.) about 1230, in the Trojumanna saga (Dunger p. 75—80) and in Konrad of Würzburg (c. 1280). Cf. F. Meister p. 25—36. In mss. is also extant a Historia Daretis Frigii de origine Francorum (derived from the Trojans), but it still waits for publication. It is possible that the Historia excidii Troiae was composed in Gaul.

5. Editions generally together with Dictys-Septimius; see above 416, 1—5. The last edition by Dederich, Bonn 1835, and appended to his ed. of Dictys 1837.

6. A poor treatise de Darete Phrygio by J. G. Eccius (Lips. 1768), an excellent one by H. Dunger, the Legend of the Trojan war in the versions of the Middle Ages etc., Dresden 1869 (Progr. of the Vitzthum Gymn.). F. Meister, on Dares of Phrygia, de exc. Tr. hist., Breslau 1871. 36 pp. 4. Critical contributions by J. Schmid, Journal of the Austrian Colleges XX (1869) p. 819—830.

465. In about this time lived the grammarians **Cledonius** of Rome, professor at Constantinople, and **Pompeius** from Mauretania, both commentators on the Ars of Donatus. Of the grammatical work of the Gallic writer **Consentius** we possess two sections de nomine et verbo and de barbarismis et metaplasmis; by the grammaticus urbis Romae **Phocas** an Ars de nomine et verbo and a vita Vergilii in hexameters. By **Rufinus** of Antioch we possess a commentarius in metra Terentiana, and a treatise on the metres of the orators, both

partly in metrical form. Priscian's master Theoctistus and the glossographer Placidus belong also to this time.

1. Ars Cledonii romani senatoris, Constantinopolitani grammatici in Putsche p. 1861—1936 and Keil V p. 9—79. It has come down to us in a cod. Bernensis saec. VI, which is however greatly confused and corrupt. It forms a continuous commentary on Donatus, derived from the authorities current in school-use (e. g. commentaries on Virgil), the same as are also used in the more extensive works of Sergius (above 404, 2) and Pompeius (see n. 2); he mentions Varro, Pliny, Probus, Terentianus, Sabinus. Besides the ordinary information the work contains also some of a higher character. It arose from school-lectures; cf. p. 14, 4 sqq. K.: quodam tempore, dum Ars in Capitolio die competenti tractaretur, unus e florentibus discipulis Iohannes a grammatico venia postulata . . sciscitatus est etc. F. Osann, Contributions II p. 314—316. Keil V p. 3—8.

2. Pompei commentum Artis Donati edited by Lindemann (Lips. 1820) p. 3—480, in Keil gramm. latt. V p. 95—312. On the mss. see Keil p. 83—88. That this work was intended to form a text-book in schools, appears from more than one peculiarity, e. g. from the questions, addresses etc. verbosa et puerilis tractandi ratio, molestissima rerum tritissimarum repetitione fastidium creans, hac sola re quodam modo vel excusatur vel intellegitur quod scholarum consuetudinem grammaticus scribendo imitatus est (Keil p. 90). The principal works used are Donatus' longer Ars and Servius' commentary on Donatus in its original shape, with arbitrary alterations. Probus and Pliny are very frequently mentioned; besides them also Claudius Sacerdos, Caper, Iuba, Terentianus, and many earlier ones (Lucilius, Cato, Varro, Caesar, Verrius Flaccus and others), no doubt only from later sources. P. designates himself as Maurus p. 205, 5 sq. K., cf. p. 287, 5. In the Middle Ages his book was often mentioned and quoted beside Priscian, Donatus and Servius, the first time by Julian of Toledo (towards the end of saec. VII). There are also Excerpts extant from it (Keil V p. 88). Osann, Contributions II p. 311—313. Gräfenhan, Hist. of class. Philol. IV p. 108 sq. n. 45. Keil gramm. lat. V p. 89—94, cf. the Progr. of Erlangen 1868, p. 3: eo tempore quo primum cum vetere eruditione misceri nova barbaries coepta est, id quod inde a sexto fere saec. vel exeunte quinto factum esse suspicor, Pompeius . . scripsit. qui quamvis rudi sermone et molestissimis verborum ambagibus usus pleraque inepte et pueriliter disputet, tamen multa melioris doctrinae vestigia ex antiquioribus . . retinuit.

3. Ars Consentii v. c. de duabus partibus orationis, nomine et verbo in Putsche p. 2017—2074; Ars Cons. v. c. de barb. et metapl., edited at Regensburg by A. Cramer and published by Buttmann both together in Keil gramm. latt. V p. 338—404. From the choice of the instances given of local names the author appears to be a Gaul (F.

Osann, Contributions II p. 346 sq.) and probably belonged to the family of Sidonius' poetical friend Consentius at Narbo (see above 459, 5), though it is improbable to identify him with him. dicendi genus exquisitum et artificiosum et a vulgari grammaticorum consuetudine diversum gallico homine studio rhetoricae artis . . exculto non videtur esse indignum (H. Keil p. 333). References to non-extant earlier (p. 353, 17. 398, 35 sq. 399, 30 K.) and later (p. 377, 26. 393, 30 sqq. K.) parts of the work tend to show that the two treatises are remains of a complete grammar accidentally preserved. Consentius rarely mentions the names of any of his predecessors, though we meet with those of Varro, Probus, (Aruntius) Celsus, Palaemo, Pansa and Asper. The extensive agreement with Donatus, Charisius and Diomede (which does not, however, look like direct use) seems to prove that Consentius used the same sources as they did, i. e. Palaemo, Probus and Cominianus. H. Keil l. l. p. 334—336.

4. Prefixed to the Ars of Phocas are two prefaces, one in metrical form (6 distichs beginning: Ars mea multorum es) and one in prose. From the latter: praecipue discipulis nostris . . nominum regulas et verborum in unum congessi, quoniam . . super ceteris abunde dictum a summis auctoribus aestimo. quo in opere nihil mihi sumam nec a me novi quidquam repertum adfirmabo. multa namque ex multorum libris decerpta concinna brevitate conclusi. The work is based on the same sources as Charisius, especially on Palaemon and (the Catholica of) Probus. Ph. is quoted by Priscian (X 23 p. 515, 16 H.) and Cassiodorus (de orthogr. p. 2279 P. cf. p. 2321 inst. div. 30); and Phocas' vita Vergilii is chiefly derived from Donatus. There are numerous mss. of the ars (Keil V p. 405—407). It is found in Putsche (p. 1688—1722), Lindemann (p. 321—353) and especially Keil, gramm. latt. V p. 410—439. Cf. ib. p. 407 sq. Wernsdorf, poetae latt. min. III p. 347 sq.

5. The name of Phocas is also prefixed to the treatise de aspiratione (in Keil V p. 439—441), probably wrongly. nam et dicendi genus quaedam quae ab illius sermone aliena sunt continet et rerum tractandarum ratio tam diversa est ab iis quae de eodem argumento a veteribus grammaticis composita sunt ut recentiore aetate haec ex antiquorum commentariis congesta et veteris grammatici nomine inscripta esse videantur. Keil l. l. p. 409.

6. Rufinus', grammaticus Antiochensis, comm. in metra Ter. is printed in Putsche p. 2706 sqq. and Gaisford (script. rei metr.) p. 378 sqq. The similar treatise of Priscian (below 473, 56) is not used in it; but R. quotes, besides many other grammarians, also Donatus, Victorinus and Servius (Osann, Contributions II p. 307 sq.).

7. Rufini v. c. litteratoris versus (hexameters and Sapphic stanzas) et excerpta de compositione et de metris oratorum in the Collections of Pithoeus, Capperonnier, Gaisford (script. rei metr. p. 388 sqq.), in Orelli's Schol. Cic. I p. 183 sqq. The best edition in Halm's Rhetores latt. p. 575—584. Among the later writers he mentions Charisius, Dio-

medes, Victorinus, Terentianus; also a certain Pompeius Messalinus (de numeris et pedibus oratorum sic dicit, p. 582, 22).

8. That the 22 lines on Pasiphae in all the Horatian metres (in Wernsdorf, poetae latt. min. III p. 393—395, in Riese's Anth. lat. 732) are the composition of Rufinus, is a conjecture by Dousa, approved of by Wernsdorf (l. l. p. 339—342) and others.

9. On the pupil of Rufinus, Remius Favinus, see above 444, 2. Cf. Riese, Anth. lat. II p. IX.

10. Cassiod. divin. lect. 30: orthographos antiquos legant Velium Longum (above 398, 2), Curtium Valerianum, Papirianum (above 439, 11), Adamantium Martyrium de v et b, eiusdem de primis, mediis atque ultimis syllabis, eiusdem de b littera trifariam in nomine posita. An abridgment of the first work of Adamantius in Cassiod. de orthogr. 5 and hence in Putsche p. 2295 sqq. The προοemium of it also in Mai's edition of Fronto p. 548 sqq. F. Osann, Contributions II p. 288—294. An extract of Curtius Val. (cf. Symmach. ep. VIII 69) in Cassiod. de orthogr. 3.

11. On Lactantius Placidus see above 316, 3.

12. Priscian. inst. VI 51 (p. 238, 5 sqq. H.): quod . . doctissime attendit noster praeceptor Theoctistus, omnis eloquentiae decus, cui quidquid in me sit doctrinae post deum imputo. Cf. XVIII 56 (II p. 231, 24 sq. H.): teste sapientissimo domino et doctore meo Theoctisto, quod in institutione artis grammaticae docet etc. Cassiod. divin. lect. 30: Theoctistum quoque aliqua de tali arte (orthogr.) conscripsisse comperimus. Ps. Acro on Hor. S. I 5, 97: (Barium) civitas est quae Atharis dicitur hodieque, ut dixit grammaticus Theoctistus.

13. Schol. Bern. on Virgil. Ecl. X fin. (p. 839 H.): haec omnia de commentariis Romanorum congregavi, i. e. Titi Galli et Gaudentii et maxime Iunilii Flagrii Mediolanensis. The author himself is not a Roman, but, as it seems, a Scot (Adananus), perhaps of the eighth century. With regard to his three sources he mentions T. (Titius?) Gallus only on Georg. I 1—149 eleven times, and then never again, perhaps because the work of Gaudentius whose commentary embraced the Eclogues and Georgics, (both Gallus and Gaudentius having used Servius) was better adapted for this purpose. The attempt of H. Hagen, Jahrb. f. class. Phil. Suppl. IV p. 697—703, to prove that Servius had rather used these two, has not been successful, Hagen moreover not taking into account that Servius' Latin is in general more correct, and that such deviations as p. 701: omnis terra, ut etiam Varro docet, quadrifariam dividitur, Servius — compared with Gaudentius omnis terra quadrifaria — evidently show that Servius was the predecessor. Iunius Philargyrius (in the Schol. Bern. depraved into Iunilius Flagrius) had neither used Servius in his commentary on Virgil's Ecl. and Georg., nor was he used by him (in spite of H. Hagen l. l. p. 704—708); his statements exhibit good information and are trustworthy

(Ribbeck prolegg. p. 193 sq.). Ph. Wagner, de Iunio Philargyr. (Dresden 1846. 1847) especially I p. 25—30 considered Ph. a contemporary of Servius, while G. Thilo (Rh. Mus. XV p. 134) assigns him to saec. VI or perhaps even to an earlier time.

466. Among the Christian poets of this time Sedulius, who died at an early age, is remarkable for simplicity and vivacity of diction and a treatment of technicalities not greatly deviating from classical usage. He composed a poetical version of the history of the New Testament under the title of Paschale carmen, at first in epic metre in four or five books, and then wrote an enlarged account in prose. Both versions have come down to us. The poetical version is more natural and interesting than the one in prose. We also possess by Sedulius an artificial elegy with parallels between the Old and the New Testament, and a hymn on Christ in iambic dimeters in alphabetical succession of stanzas in four lines each which are frequently rhymed.

1. . . Macedonio presbytero Sedulius Caelius . . salutem. . . cum saecularibus studiis occupatus vim impatientis ingenii . . inani vitae dependerem et litterariae sollertia disciplinae lusibus infructuosi operis . . serviret, tandem deus . . ingenium caelestis (prudentiae) sale condivit. . . quattuor ergo Mirabilium divinorum (because the work treated of the miracles of Christ) libellos, quos ex pluribus pauca complexus usque ad passionem et resurrectionem ascensionemque . . Christi quattuor evangelistarum dicta congregans ordinavi, . . tuae defensioni commendo. huic autem operi . . Paschalis carminis nomen imposui, quia pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus. From the dedication of the prose version to the same Macedonius: praecepisti . . paschalis carminis textum . . in rhetoricum me transferre sermonem. . . iniunctam suscepi provinciam. . . tradita multa pro metricae necessitatis angustia priori commentario nequaquam videntur inserta quae postmodum linguae resolutio magis est assecuta. . . quae defuerant primis addita sunt secundis (libellis). . . priores libri, quia versu digesti sunt, nomen Paschalis carminis acceperunt; sequentes autem in prosa . . conversi Paschalis designantur operis vocabulo nuncupati. The time of Sedulius is fixed by the fact that he seems to have been a friend of Asterius, Cons. 494 (see n. 5), and that he is not mentioned by Gennadius, though referred to by Venantius Fortunatus (vita Mart. I 16 misc. VIII 1, 59: Sed. dulcis), Isidore (ill. 7) and Cassiodorus. There is not much reliance on the (perhaps forged) decree of Pope Gelasius de libris recipiendis: item venerabilis viri Sedulii paschale opus, quod heroicis descripsit versibus, insigni laude praeferimus. item Iuvenci (above 379) nihilominus laboriosum opus non spernimus, sed miramur. Cf. Arevali's

prolegg. 150 sqq. In the absence of further confirmation, we cannot rely on the statements quoted by Arevali 23 from some (though we do not know, which) codd.: libros suos scripsit tempore Valentiniani et Theodosii (the younger) and similar statements.

2. Sedul. I 23 sqq.: cur ego davidicis assuetus cantibus odas chordarum resonare decem sanctoque verenter stare choro et placidis caelestia psallere verbis clara salutiferi taceam miracula Christi? As such he considers the miracles contained in the Old Testament, and in the first book he describes them (after a preface in elegiacs). The second book begins with the birth of Christ, the third with the wedding of Canaan. The fifth book (in some of the mss. the work is divided into only four books) terminates with the ascension and an epilogue. Speeches of Christ are also put in verse. The poet does not bestow much attention upon transitions of the narrative and the connexion of the single parts. His diction attests rhetorical training and familiarity with Virgil. The prose version is very artificial in the expressions and the order of words.

3. Sedulius' prosodiacal and metrical deviations from classical usage consist in the lengthening of short syllables by arsis (e. g. I 35 V 162. Eleg. 69 sq.: pĕr hominem), the shortening of long syllables in thesi (e. g. haec spŭta V 102; īdŏla V 146; fulget ĕous V 191; also sperandŏ I 350 etc.) and hiatus (e. g. II 77 ducēm hoc; el. 6 and 62 between the two parts of the pentameters; hymn. 17: enixă ĕst?). The use of caesura is limited to *πενθημιμερὴς* and the combination of *τριθημιμερὴς* with (*τρίτος τροχαῖος* and) *ἑφθημιμερής*. In his elegies the same words form both the *πενθημιμερὴς* of the hexameter and the second half of the pentameter, the arrangement being epanaleptic. In the hymn, X is represented by Xristo, Y by Ymnis. That final m, s, t, were not pronounced then, appears from the rhymes pectoris — dei; inpie — times; viderant — praeviam; personat — pignora; millia — victimam; fundere — originem; plurimus — febrium; vinculis — sibi; torridi — obstruit etc. See above 415, 2 and below 467, 2. 468, 4 extr.

4. A cento virgilianus De verbi incarnatione has been ascribed to Sedulius merely because in a ms. of the monastery of Corvey it is inserted in the carmen paschale without break and heading. This cento was first edited by Martene and Durand (Collectio ampl. IX p. 125), then in Arevali's edition of Sed. (see n. 6) = Migne XIX p. 773—780. It is far beneath the art of Sedulius. E. g. v. 72 the two Virgilian passages ore favete omnes and et ad hoc advertite mentem are thoughlessly united in one line. See also above 430, 15. 446, 9.

5. From a Rheims ms. of Sedulius, Sirmond on Ennod. epp. I 24 published the subscription: Hoc opus Sedulius inter chartulas dispersum reliquit. quod recollectum adornatumque ad omnem elegantiam divulgatum est a Turcio Rufio Asterio v. c., consule ordinario (a. 494) atque patricio. This is followed by an epigram in 4 distichs addressed to Macedonius presbyter (v. 6: Asteriique tui, . . cuius ope et cura edita

sunt populis). O. Jahn, Trans. of the Saxon Soc. of Lit. 1851, p. 350 sq. Riese, Anthol. lat. 491. This same Asterius is also in the famous subscription in the Medicean ms. of Virgil: Turcius Rufius Apronianus Asterius v. c. et inl., ex comite domest. protect., ex com. priv. largit., ex praef. urbi, patricius et consul ordin. legi et distincxi codicem fratris Macharii v. c. . . XI kal. mai. Romae. To this are again subjoined eight distichs (v. 4: scenam euripo extulimus subitam) of similar contents. Cf. Riese's Anth. lat. I p. 11 sq. Acro(- and tele-)stichs on Sedulius antistes by a Belisarius scholasticus and a Liberius in Migne XIX p. 782—786 (from Arevalus), and in Riese's Anth. lat. 492 sq. (cf. II p. 44 sq.).

6. Editions of Sed. partly with Iuvencus (Venet. 1502. 4 apud Aldum; Basil. 1541) partly in the collections of the Christian poets by Fabricius and by Maittaire (II. p. 1660 sqq.), and of the Christian fathers (e. g. Bibl. patr. max. VI. p. 558 sqq.). Separate editions by Chr. Cellarius (Halle 1704. 1739), H. J. Arntzen (Leovard. 1761) anp especially recogn. et ill. a Faustino Arevalo, Rom. 1794. 4. A reprint of the latter in Migne's Patrol. XIX (Paris 1846) p. 433—772.

7. On Sedulius cf. R. Ceillier, hist. gén. X. p. 631—635 and Arevali's Prolegg. J. Kayser, Contributions to the history of hymns II (Paderborn 1868) p. 212—229.

8. In the Scotch monk Dicuil (a. 825), de mens. p. 13: auctoritate . . Virgilii, quem in talibus causis noster simulavit (= imitatus est) Sedulius etc. the reference is to the compatriot of Dicuil, the Scotch grammarian Sedulius, a writer of poetry and of an expositio in primam artem Donati, of commentarii in artem Eutychii, and in maius volumen Prisciani, in secundam editionem Donati. Cf. Arntzen's ed. (n. 6) praef. p. 2—6. L. Müller, Rhein. Mus. XX p. 358 sq. Sedulii Scoti carmina edita ab Aem. Grosse (Königsberg 1868. 16 pp. 4.) and Sed Sc. carmina XL ex cod. Bruxell. ed. E. Dümmler, Halle 1868. 36 pp. 4 His commentum in Eutychis Artem de discernendis coniugationibus edited from a Zurich ms. saec. IX in H. Hagen's Anecd. Helv. p. 1—38, cf. ib. p. LXXII—LXXIX, where the work is placed before the time of Charlemagne on account of its sound information (especially with regard to Greek). As it does not show traces of Christianity, Hagen distinguishes this grammarian Sedulius from the author of the work De rectoribus christianis edited by A. Mai, spicileg. rom. VIII p. 1—69.

467. The other writers who composed in metrical form in this time either correctly observed the traditional rules, some times even adding to their difficulties by new artificial inventions, or they made their verse according to accentual rhythm. In the latter class we mention **Auspicius**, bishop of Toul about a. 470, in his letter to Arbogast, and also the Gallic writer Amoenus. Among the first we have **Paulinus** of

Perigueux (c. 470) with an epic poem in six books on the life of St. Martin of Tours, and Dracontius by whom we possess a didactic poem de deo in three books, and an elegiac poem (satisfactio) in which the author asks pardon of the Vandal king Gunthar or Guthamund (a. 484—496) for having made a poem in praise of his enemy instead of himself. Both poems are very rhetorical and show some knowledge of biblical and classical literature. The poems of Alcimus Ecdidius Avitus, bishop of Vienne († 523) are remarkable for correct and careful versification.

1. Auspicii episcopi ecclesiae Tullensis ad Arbogastem comitem Treverorum epistola, printed e. g. in Migne patrol. LXI p. 1006—1008. The lines run like Alexandrines without caring in the least for quantity or hiatus. Instances: praecelso ét spectabilí his Arbogasto cómiti Auspícius, qui diligo, salutem dico plurimam (1 sq.), quod te Tullensi proxime magnúm in urbe vidimus (4). clarús eténim génere, clarús et vitae moribus (15). patér in cunctis nobilis fuit tibí Arigius (17). fuít in armis álacer illé antiquus, verum ést (33). tamen non géneraliter istá de cunctis dixerim etc.

2. Amoeni enchiridion veteris et novi testamenti, discussing detailed points of it in always 4 hexameters (see above 461, 2); fragments of an epic poem on Martinus; 22 hexameters on an Egyptian who was saved in a tempest by calling upon Martini deus; in the last place a poem in iambic dimeters in Leontium episcopum redditum Burdegalensi ecclesiae in 23 acrostichic strophes at 4 lines each and generally rhymed. Strophe 1: Agnoscat omne saeculum antistitem Leontium, Burdégalense praemium, dono superno redditum. 10: Karus sacerdos ordinem Hilarius non ambiit, Martinus illud effugit, Gregórius vix sustulit. 21: Xus sereno lumine etc. 22: Ymnum canendo concrepet. 23: Zelante fido pectore tam vera dici non pudet. haec parva nobilissimo papae damus Leontio. Just as here pectore — and pudet are considered rhymes, we have before tempore — conscriberet; pectore — praesumeret; desiderat — improba: defleverat — anxia, see above 466, 3. Edited in Migne LXI p. 1076—1082; but also (ib. LXXXVIII. p. 81 sq.) in Venant. Fort. misc. I 16.

3. The work of b. Paulinus Petricordiensis is dedicated to Bishop Perpetuus of Tours, who had himself been a pupil of St. Martin. Cf. VI 13: quinque prius recolens signavi gesta libellis etc. 27 sq.: tanti revehens praecepta magistri Perpetuus, and at the end: Perpetuum urbs Tŭrŏnum Martino antistite gaudet. The subject is derived from Sulpicius Severus, the legend being merely more detailed. The form is on the whole correct, though there are the usual arbitrary licences in erĕmo, mŭnerante and such convenient archaisms as mage. Paulinus' versus quos pagina in pariete reserata (in St. Martin's Church at Tours)

susciperet, and those de visitatione nepotuli mei, whom Perpetuus had cured, are likewise dedicated domino sancto ac beatissimo patrono Perpetuo episcopo. Edition: cum notis Iureti all. cura et studio Chr. Daumii, Lips. 1681. In the patristic Collections, e. g. Migne LXI. p. 1009—1075.

4. By another Paulinus (Pellaeus) of Burdigala, the grandson of Ausonius, we possess a thanksgiving in more than 600 hexameters (eucharisticon de vita sua), of a. 457. The metrical form is not very correct, but the general tone of the poem is more elevated than in Paul. Petric. Printed e. g. in the Appendix of the bibl. patr. (Paris 1579). T. VIII.

5. Isid. ill. 24: Dracontius composuit heroicis versibus hexaëmeron creationis mundi etc. These three books de deo consist of 754, 808 and 682 hexameters. The first book contains especially the Mosaic account of the Creation; the second chiefly the Flood; the third confirms the dogmas with numerous instances of biblical and Roman history (Abraham and Isaac, the three men in the burning furnace, Daniel in the lions' pit; Paulus; Brutus, Curtius, Regulus, Saguntum; Judith, Dido and other ladies), the dry didactic tone frequently disappears. Ildefons. vir. ill. 14: Eugenius (bishop of Toledo about a. 650) . . libellos Dracontii de creatione mundi conscriptos, quos antiquitas protulerat vitiatos, ea quae inconvenientia repperit subtrahendo, immutando vel meliora coniciendo ita in pulchritudinis formam coegit ut pulchriores de artificio corrigentis quam de manu processisse videantur auctoris. et quia de die septimo idem Dracontius omnino reticendo semiplenum opus visus est reliquisse, iste et sex dierum recapitulationem singulis versiculis renotavit et de die septimo quae illi visa sunt eleganter dicta subiecit. clarus habitus fuit temporibus Chindasvinthi et Reccesvinthi regum etc. The poem de philomela, Anth. lat. 658 R., is perhaps by him, see Riese in the Heidelb. Jahrb. 1871, p. 587. Carmen de deo quod Dr. scripsit libr. II emend. ac suppl. C. E. Glaeser, Bresl. 1847. 4., libr. III ib. 1848. 4.

6. The satisfactio (316 lines) seems to be a hasty composition in which the preceding didactic poem was much used. The author overdoes the accumulation of instances of legends and history. The occasion: mea corda deus . . pellit ad illicita, ut qui facta ducum possem narrare meorum, nominis asdingi bella triumphigera, . . praemia despicerem . . et peterem subito certa pericla miser (19—26). culpa mihi fuerat dominos reticere modestos ignotumque mihi scribere, nec dominum (93 sq.). te coram (God) . . me carminis illius, ausus quod male disposui, paenitet et fateor (105 sq.). For this he has suffered verbera, vincla, fames (312) and now asks the king's pardon, avi ut laudes dicam patriasque suasque (51). The king's terrae pelagique triumphos Ansila testatur, Maurus ubique iacet (213 sq.). Cf. Papencordt, Hist. of the Vandal kingdom p. 374—379.

7. Dracontius is well-versed in ancient mythology (Cynthia = luna II 339. satisf. 239; Phrixus II 449; Hecate II 539; Iph. Taur. III 212

sqq.; Oedipus III 265 sqq.) and quotes (III 257) Statius (Theb. X). But sat. 188 he confounds Commodus and M. Aurelius and makes prosodiacal mistakes in several proper names. E. g. Menĕcēa (III 256), Stĕphanus (sat. 171), Tĭtus (ib. 183). We may especially observe II 660 and sat. 161: ex eadem mulĭere. Especially idŏla (II 579) and the frequent lengthening of short syllables by means of rhythmical accent, which peculiarity Dracontius shares with many preceding Christian poets.

8. Editions of Dracont. especially by J. Sirmond (Paris 1619 and elsewhere), Faust. Arevalus (Rome 1791. 4), J. B. Carpzov (Helmstedt 1794). The edit. of Arevalus is reprinted in Migne, patrol. LX p. 595—932.

9. Isid. ill. 23: Avitus episcopus (for his epitaph see Rhein. Mus. XXI p. 271 sq.) scientia saecularium litterarum doctissimus edidit quinque libellos heroico metro compositos. quorum primus est de origine mundi, II de originali peccato, III de sententia dei, IV de diluvio mundi, V de transitu maris rubri. scripsit et ad Fuscinam sororem de laude virginitatis librum unum, pulcherrimo compositum carmine et eleganti epigrammate coaptatum. Principal edition by J. Sirmond (Paris 1643; in Sirmondi opera, Paris. 1696, II p. 185 sqq. and elsewhere). Hence in the collections of the Christian poets, e. g. by Maittaire (II p. 1673 sqq.), the patristic Collections (e. g. Migne LIX). The Homilies of Av. (St. Avit) e. g. in the Études paléographiques et hist. sur des papyrus du VI^{e} siècle by Delisle, Rilliet and Bordier (Paris 1866. 4.), that concerning the basilica of Annemasse in a facsimile.

10. On an epic version of the Jewish History see above 21, 3 (Add.)

468. In the codex Salmasianus are preserved the poems of Flavius Felix, Florentinus and Luxorius, all three poets living under the Vandal kings Thrasamund (a. 496—523) and Hilderic (a. 523—530) in Africa (at Carthage) and who also resemble one another in the poverty of their situation and the wretchedness of their manner. The latest and most fertile of them was Luxorius who imitated Martial in jocular poems in various metres (especially elegiacs and hendecasyllabics). A countryman and friend of Luxorius' was the grammarian Coronatus, a few poems by whom have been preserved in the same ms.

1. Fl. Felicis v. cl. postulatio honoris apud Victori(ni)anum v. inl. et primiscriniarium in cod. Salm. (Riese's anthol. lat. 254, p. 177 sq.) with the prosodies stŏlida, mĕroris, eccl̆esiae and the termination: adnue poscenti, miserum sustolle ruinae: clericus ut fiam, dum velis, ipse potes. He is no doubt that Felix by whom we read ibid. 210—214 five

epigrams de thermis Alianarum, the last (214) with the acrostich Thrasamundus, the mesostich cunta innovat, and the telestich vota serenans. Each line consists, moreover, of 37 letters. Cf. L. Müller in Fleckeisen's Jahrbb. 95, p. 796—798. Riese, anth. lat. p. XXIV. XXVII.

2. Florentinus' 39 hexameters in praise of king Thrasamund in Riese's anthol. lat. 376 (p. 243 sq.).

3. By Luxorius we have in the anthol. lat. of Riese nr. 18 (p. 66—68). 203 (p. 148 sq.) and 287—375 (p. 208—243). Nr. 18 a somewhat rude epithalamium Fridi (68 hexameters); 203 relates to Hildericus rex (a. 523—530). Nr. 287 sqq. form a connected series of juvenile poems (quos olim puer in foro paravi versus ex variis locis deductos, 287 cf. 288: paginam . . quam tenello tiro lusi viscere), dedicated to his friend Faustus, grammaticae magister artis (287). The heading in the cod. Salmas. is: incipit liber epigrammaton viri clariss. Luxori et spectabilis (cf. ib. 18). They are epigrams both on persons and things, especially ludi circenses and works of art (374 even: de Diogene picto, ubi lascivienti meretrix barbam vellit et Cupido mingit in podice eius). Obscenity is conspicuous throughout (e. g. 297. 301 sq. 308 sq. 317. 322 sq. 340. 358. 363. 368). The author seems to be a heathen; at all events there is no allusion to Christianity by the side of so many allusions to ancient mythology. For his personal affairs cf. nostri defugiens pauperiem laris (289).

4. Most pieces of Lux. are in elegiacs, next to which we have many hendecasyllabics. There are also hexameters, iambic poems (288. 315. 360. 309), trochaeics (291), anapaestic Dimeters (299. 322. 357), Glyconeans (295), Anacreontics (298) and Asclepiadeans (314. 316. 323. 356. 361), also Asynarteti (292. 305). Foreign words are often used so as to suit the verse (Sōlon 351; mĕthodicis 302; phĭlosophum 374; sōphismate 365). Short syllables are lengthened (ut, pes), long syllables shortened (vivăs 318; nēgŏtii 340) though comparatively in rare instances. The anapaests coniugis carae (322), cui dedit plures (357) follow the plebeian pronunciation (see above 466, 3).

5. On Lux. see L. Müller in Fleckeisen's Jahrbb. 95, p. 783—786. Riese, anthol. I p. XXIV sq. XXVII.

6. By Coronatus in Riese's Anthol. lat. Nr. 223 (a variation on a Virgilian theme, 29 hexameters) and the two epigrams 226. 228 always designating C. as vir clarissimus. Fragments of Coronati scholastici de ultimis syllabis partium orationis with the dedication: Domino eruditissimo peritissimorum atque inlustri fratri Luxorio Coronatus. H. Keil gramm. lat. IV p. L. cf. De gramm. inf. aetat. (Erlang. 1868. 4.) p. 4 with note. Riese anthol. p. XXIV. XXVI.

7. As the codex Salmas. contains, among the poems of a later period, mostly the works of African poets, we may assign to the same period and country the versifiers only known though it: Calbulus grammaticus (a Christian poem on a spring, Anth. lat. 378 R.), Petrus re-

ferendarius (ib. nr. 380, p. 247), Octavianus vir illustris ann. XVI, filius Crescentini viri magnifici (ib. 20 p. 70), Cato (ib. 387) under Huneric (a. 477—484), and altogether the carmina de singulis causis (ib. nr. 383—388, cf. p. XXV). Cf. Riese, Anth. I p. XXVI—XXVIII.

8. To a certain presbyter Parthenius in Africa we have a barbarous and affected letter by the comes Sigisteces, with an answer from Parth., and verses the flattery and prosody of which are evidently calculated for a barbarian's stomach, in Reifferscheid's Analecta Casinensia (Bresl. 1871. 4.) nr. 2 sq. (p. 3 sq.), e. g. te clipeo lŏrĭcaque et gāleă caelitus armet omnipotens, or credo equidem quod docta tălem nec Graecia misit nēque Larissa potens similem prŏcreavit Achillem, nostrĭs quălem armipotens tam fertilis Africa frugum vexit ad astra virum.

9. From a collection similar to that of Luxorius are the epigrams in Riese's Anth. lat. 90 sqq. (I p. 102 sqq.)

F. The sixth Century.

469. After the German soldier Odoacer, who had overthrown a. 476 the last Westroman Emperor, was himself conquered by Theoderic, the king of the Eastern Goths (a. 493), who then made himself king of Italy with the sanction of the Eastroman Emperor, that country enjoyed during thirty years the blessings of peace and order. Under Theoderic wrote Boetius, Ennodius and partly Cassiodorus, while Priscian lived at Constantinople about the same time. Under his weak successors the kingdom was again shaken, and the country was exposed to continual devastations which destroyed the last remnants of intellectual life. In the other countries of the West, Roman civilisation could hardly weather the storms that threatened to destroy it. It survived longest in Gaul, where Gregory of Tours and Venantius Fortunatus, Arator and others may be mentioned among its literary representatives. Historical composition was most studied; Africa possessed bishop Victor, Britain Gildas, and even the Goth Jordanis wrote a historical work. The East produced under Justinian Procopius of Caesarea. The numerous attempts to compose comprehensive works on Roman law for the use of the different countries were at last terminated under Justinian by the Corpus iuris. In general, literature was chiefly cultivated by the clergy; at the close of the century literature received the special attention of the Roman bishop Gregory I, and as early as 529 the Benedictine order was founded.

1. Theoderic, born 454, invaded Italy at the request of the Eastern Emperor Zeno a. 489, and was victorious after a war of four years. After Zeno's death (491) he was actual ruler and acknowledged as such by Anastasius a. 498. He kept court at Ravenna and Verona (Dietrich of Bern). He visited Rome a. 500, and died 26 August 526. A panegyric on him by Ennodius, see below 471, 2. C. Cless in Pauly's Enc. VI 1. p. 1799—1815. R. Köpke, German Investigations p. 148—184.

2. Iustinianus, born 11 May 482, Emperor after 1 April 527, died 11 November 565; see W. Teuffel in Pauly's Enc. IV (1845) p. 664—677. Isambert, histoire de Justinien, Paris 1856. 2 vols. On his historian Procopius see W. Teuffel in Pauly's Encycl. VI 1 p. 84—86, and Studies and Charact. p. 191—236. F. Dahn, Procop. of Caes., Berlin 1865. 502 pp.

3. Vettius Agorius Basilius Mavortius, Cos. 527, and his assistant in emending mss., Felix orator urbis Romae; see above 235, 4 cf. 445, 7. The name of Mavortius (but probably a different person) is prefixed to the cento vergilianus in the cod. Salm. on the judgment of Paris (Riese's anth. lat. 10 p. 28—30), and also the one de ecclesia (ib. 16. p. 44—49) professes to be by some Mavortius; see Riese I p. XXVIII. W. H. D. Suringar, Anonymi cento vergilianus de ecclesia, Utrecht 1867. F. Latendorf in Fleckeisen's Jahrb. 103 p. 861 sq.

4. At the end of Macrob. somn. Scip. I the mss. read: Aurelius Memmius Symmachus v. c. emendabam vel (= et) disting. meum Ravennae cum Macrobio Plotino Eudoxio v. c. This is no doubt Q. Aur. Mémm. Symm., Cons. 485, who was executed a short time after his son-in-law Boëtius (below 470) a. 526; O. Jahn, Trans. of the Sax. Soc. of Lit. 1851, p. 347 sq. Cf. n. 6. 444, 2. 472, 5.

5. Deuterius, professor of grammar and rhetoric at Milan, to whom Ennodius (dict. 8 and 9) recommends his nephew Lupicinus and Arator as pupils, whom he praises in a jocular poem (II 104, verenda calvities) and consoles in a letter on account of the weakness of his eyes (tua lumina nube doloris hebetantur, cuius tam clara sunt carmina?). A poetical begging letter in his name in Ennod. carm. I 2 (Deut. v. s. grammatico). It is doubtful whether he be the Deut. scholasticus in the subscription of Capella (above 445, 7). Cf. O. Jahn, Trans. of the Saxon Soc. of Lit. 1851 p. 350 sq.

6. Ennod. paraenes. didasc. p. 253 sq. M. enumerates the Roman nobles who had received a rhetorical education: Faustus and Avienus, the patricii Festus, Symmachus, Probinus, Cethegus, Boëtius, Agapetus, Probus. To these we may add Olybrius (Ennod. carm. I 8), and outside Rome Parthenius (Arator ep. ad Parth. 19 sqq.). Faustus composed also poems in several books (Ennod. carm. I 7. II 3. 143). The custom of public recitations still existed in Italy in this period; see Ennod. carm. I 9 praef.: cur recitet publice quem laus nec decet publica nec delectat? See below 480, 2.

7. To the beginning of saec. VI we may assign the pretended Epistola Valerii ad Rufinum ne uxorem ducat, a kind of suasoria in which the subject is partly derived from Hieronymus and Augustine. Printed in Hieronym. Opp. XI. Cf. L. Müller in Fleckeisen's Jahrbb. 95 p. 790.

8. To the first half of saec. VI we may ascribe the mythographus vat. I; see above 41, 12 (Add.).

9. To this time we assign also the Roman senator Euclerius, who prays to God (= Christ) for enlightenment, Anth. lat. 789 R.

10. The prevailing views of the time on philosophy are explained by Gregor. Tur., Mirac. I praef.: philosophorum inimicam deo sapientiam. Cf. Ennod. euchar.: illa saecularis pompae philosophia. Venant. Fort. ep. V 1 confesses: Plato, Aristoteles, Chrisippus vel (et) Pittacus mihi vix opinione noti sunt.

11. Of the Frankish king Chilperic († 584) Gregory of Tours relates hist. Franc. VI 46: confecit duos libros quasi Sedulium meditatus, quorum versiculi debiles nullis pedibus subsistere possunt, in quibus, dum non intellegebat, pro longis syllabis breves posuit et pro brevibus longas statuebat; et alia opuscula, vel hymnos sive missas. King Charibert is praised by Venant. Fort. misc. VI 4 for his fluent command of the Latin language.

12. A specimen of the diction of the end of saec. VI, perhaps in Africa, may be found in the praefatio of the codex Salmasianus (Riese's Anth. lat. I p. 69 sq.), in which the manner of Tertullian, Apuleius and Martianus Capella is carried to a degree quite insane.

13. A specimen of the metre and prosody of the same time in Riese's Anth. lat. 481, with II p. LVI.

14. A ms. of saec. VI is the Vossianus Q 9 or Leidensis, see Riese's Anth. lat. I p. 18—20, cf. p. XII. See also below 479, 4. Of the same time we have mss. of Cyprian at Paris and Turin; see W. Hartel's edition, praef. p. II—IX. For other notices see above 418, 4. 424, 4. 430, 11. 465, 1.

470. The Roman patrician Anicius Manlius Torquatus Severinus Boetius, Cons. 510, executed by Theoderic a. 525, occupies a prominent position in this time both on account of his character and culture. The work de consolatione philosophiae in five books, which he composed in prison, is a splendid testimony of his noble mind and his familiarity with the spirit and form of the classical period. We possess also by him numerous translations of Greek works on philosophy, rhetoric and mathematics. By his translations from Aristotle he gained especially great influence on mediaeval scholasticism.

This as well as the halo which surrounds the end of his life caused many Christian theological works to be erroneously attributed to him.

1. Boetius, born about 475—480, married Rusticiana, the daughter of Symmachus (above 469, 4), received Theoderic with a well-set speech in the Senate and was employed by him in various business. But when the Eastern Emperor Justinus attempted to undermine Theoderic's throne by stirring up Italy against the Arian Goths, and when the national Roman party was suspected of entering into this scheme, B. was drawn into the affair, and his candid defence of the Senator Albinus, who had been accused of a clandestine correspondence with Justinus, was used by his enemies to accuse him. As his independent patriotic conduct during his whole life might render any such accusation likely enough, B. was imprisoned at Ticinum (Pavia), sentenced by the servile Senate without a hearing and executed in agro Calventino under torments (Anon. Val.). His death by the Arian king of the Goths, the confusion with others of the name of Severinus, and his supposed authorship of theological works procured B. at a later time the reputation of a martyr for the Catholic faith and the odour of sanctity. Cf. n. 2. 3. W. Teuffel in Pauly's Enc. I 2 p. 2415 sq.

2. Ennodius ep. VII 13 to Boëtius: tu, emendatissime hominum, . . quem in annis puerilibus . . industria fecit antiquum, qui per diligentiam imples omne quod cogitur, cui inter vitae exordia ludus est lectionis assiduitas, . . in cuius manibus duplicato igne rutilat qua veteres face fulserunt. Theoderic (Cassiod. Var. I 45) to B.: te multa eruditione saginatum. . . translationibus tuis Pythagoras musicus, Ptolemaeus astronomus leguntur Itali. Nicomachus arithmeticus, geometricus Euclides audiuntur Ausoniis. Plato theologus, Aristoteles logicus quirinali voce disceptant. mechanicum etiam Archimeden Latialem Siculis reddidisti. et quascunque disciplinas vel artes fecunda Graecia per singulos viros edidit te uno auctore patrio sermone Roma suscepit. quos tanta verborum luculentia reddidisti claros, tanta linguae proprietate conspicuos ut etc. Cf. Procop. Goth. I 1. p. 11 Bonn. This activity was the result of a genuine enthusiasm for ancient literature and the glorious past; cf. praef. to the comm. in praedicam. Aristot.: etsi nos curae officii consularis (a. 510) impediunt quo minus in his studiis omne otium plenamque curam consumamus, pertinere tamen videtur ad aliquam reip. curam elucubratae rei doctrina cives instruere etc. The convictions of B. were, therefore, scarcely different from those of his wife's ancestor (above 418, 13), though there is no doubt that he professed the Christian religion. Cf. K. Schenkl, Trans. of the Philol. Congress at Vienna, Vienna 1859, p. 79 sqq.

3. The work de consolatione begins with a complaint in elegiacs (Carmina qui quondam studio florente peregi flebilis, heus, maestos cogor inire modos) concerning the author's present situation. Then

Philosophy appears to him and consoles him about it in a kind of Theodicea. The arguments are merely philosophical, and scarcely leave room for specifically Christian views. (G. Arnold, impartial History of the Church and of Heresies p. 260 "not a single period of the work flows from Christian principles, but merely heathen arguments are alleged".) The mode of thought conspicuous in this work is a Platonic eclecticism. With regard to all religions, even the Christian, the author holds the cool position of a cultivated aristocrat; he abstains from impugning them, but keeps them at a distance and endeavours to find his mental support in other regions. There are everywhere proofs of the noblest thought, of aiming at the highest ends of humanity, sometimes even a true religious disposition, but always free from any specifically Christian colouring. Though the author would know the Christian works from his early training, he never appeals to them; but all the more frequently does he mention Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, and Seneca. Cf. F. Nitzsch p. 42—89. His mention of the heathen names of gods (especially Phoebus, the Muses, Ceres and others) is hardly more serious than in the pages of writers of the eighteenth century. The work is partly in the form of a dialogue, partly it resembles the satura Menippea, as the prose is frequently interrupted by metrical pieces in the manner of Seneca's tragedies and in the most varied metres offered by epic, melic, iambic and elegiac poetry, and in which the author exhibits great versatility, though not always great strictness. His diction is the ornate and mannered diction of his time, but moderated by a sober syllogistic element.

4. Ed. princeps of the work Nürnberg 1473 (per Ant. Coburger); later editions e. g. cum comment. Thome, Colon. 1504. 4.; in usum Delphini cum nott. P. Callyi, Lutet. 1680. 4.; cum nott. P. Bertii, Lugd. Bat. 1671; cur. J. A. Vulpio, Patav. 1721 and 1744; cum nott. varr., Glasgov. 1751. 4.; with a (German) translation and notes by Fr. C. Freitag, Riga 1794; ed. Helfrecht, Cur. Regn. 1796; especially by Th. Obbarius (ad opt. libr. mss. nondum collatorum fidem rec. et prolegg. instr.), Jena 1843; with LXIV pp. prolegg. Also by R. Peiper, with the opuscula sacra quae feruntur (see n. 8), Lips. 1869. It has been translated into ever so many languages. An Anglosaxon translation by Alfred the Great (a. 871—901) edited by Ch. Rawlinson (Oxford 1698) and J. S. Cardale (London 1828. 1835). A German transl., of the beginning of saec. XI, at St. Gall, published by E. G. Graff (Berlin 1837), H. Hattemer (Denkmäler des MAlters III 1).

P. Langen, quaestiones Boetianae, in the Symb. philol. Bonn. p. 261—268. R. Volkmann, in B. de cons. phil. libros commentariolum criticum, Jauer 1866. 8 pp. 4.

5. Other extant works of B. Dialogi II in Porphyrium a Victorino translatum, Commentariorum in Porph. a se translatum libri V, Translations and commentaries on Aristotle's Categoriae (libri IV), of the work de interpretatione (the first edition in 2, the second in 6

books), the Analytica (prior. and post.), the Elench. sophist., the Topics of Aristotle; a Commentary on the Topics of Cicero (above 169, 6, 2); de syllogismo categorico libri II; de syll. hypothetico libri II; de divisione, de definitione, de differentiis topicis (libri IV); de musica libri V; de arithmetica libri II, with a translation of Euclid's Geometry in two books.

6. The treatises which A. Mai (class. auctt. e vaticc. codd. ed. III p. 317 sqq., 327 sqq.) imagined that he was the first to publish from a Vatican ms. saec. XI, Communis speculatio de rhetoricae cognatione and: Locorum rhetoricorum distinctio, had previously been printed in the fourth book of B.'s differentiae topicae, p. 880 sqq. ed. Basil., and (with other pieces of the diff. top.) had passed over into the dialectics of Cassiodorus: see C. Halm, Rhein. Mus. XVIII p. 463 sq. The work following in Mai p. 331 sqq. and which was also attributed to B., is rather a production of the eleventh century: Franconis ex opere de quadratura circuli specimen.

7. Among the mathematical works, the Geometry ascribed to B. is of especial interest, being a contribution to the knowledge of ancient arithmetical methods (especially of division) and to the history of numerical symbols. M. Cantor, mathem. Contrib. (1863) p. 181—198. 199—230. G. Friedlein, Gerbert, the geometry of B. and the Indian numbers, Erlangen 1861 (cf. F. Hultsch in Fleckeisen's Jahrb. 87 p. 422—425), and On the question of the authenticity of B. Geometry (ib. 87 p. 425—427). Boetii de institutione arithmetica libri II, de instit. musica libri V. Accedit Geometria quae fertur Boetii. Ex libris mss. ed. G. Friedlein, Lips. (Teubner) 1867.

8. The earliest mention of works of B. concerning Christian theology occurs in Alcuin (c. 770). The titles of these works are quomodo trinitas unus deus ac non tres dii; utrum pater et filius ac spiritus sanctus de divinitate substantialiter praedicentur; brevis fidei christianae complexio; de persona et duabus naturis contra Eutychen et Nestorium. There is no doubt as to their spuriousness; see Nitzsch, on the system of B. and the theological works ascribed to him (Berlin 1860. 183 pp.) p. 93—174. There are no better grounds for ascribing to B. the works de unitate et uno, quomodo substantiae bonae sint, and de disciplina scholarium, the last being the production of a Brabant monk of the 13th century, Thomas (Brabantinus Cantipratanus).

9. Complete editions of the works of B. Venet. 1491. 1492 fol. (cum comm. s. Thomae). Basil. 1546. 1570 (ex rec. Glareani). fol. All is collected and mixed up in Migne's patrol. LXIII and LXIV.

10. C. G. Heyne, censura Boethii, Opusc. acad. VI p. 144—166. C. F. Bergstedt, de vita et scriptis B., Upsala 1842. J. G. Sutterer, B. the last Roman, his life etc. Eichstädt 1852. 4.

471. A rhetorician and versifier of the time of Theoderic is the bishop of Pavia, Magnus Felix Ennodius (a. 473—

521), a native of Gaul. Those of his writings which are interesting in regard to history are the biography of his predecessor Epiphanius and the Panegyric on Theoderic (about a. 507), the latter exaggerated in flattery, cautious in concealing, and unbearable in form. His nine books of Letters are weighed down with emptiness, and even more so his scholastic declamations. Ennodius was in his time considered an excellent stylist and thus was called upon to write speeches and letters for others, nay even sermons for bishops. The collection of the poems of Ennod. contains more lengthy compositions in the first book (description of journeys, an Epithalamium, several hymns), while the second is made up of short occasional pieces, and the third of some very insignificant poems both in praise and blame. The form is not rarely incorrect.

1. Ennodius of Gall (ep. I 2 cf. c. II 73), perhaps Arelate. Eucharist. (p. 248 M.): tempore quo Italiam optatissimus Theoderici regis resuscitavit ingressus (a. 489) . . ego annorum ferme XVI amitae quae me aluerat . . solatio privatus sum . remansi solus, inops etc. poposci in matrimonium cuiusdam nobilissimae . . parvulam filiolam, protinus . . exceptus, . . ut alimentis affluerem, . . ex mendico in regem mutatus. After having easily got through what he had gained, E. became a priest and his wife a nun. He became bishop of Ticinum (Pavia) 511. He was sent by Pope Hormisdas to the Byzantine Emperor Anastasius to bring about the union of the two churches. Former travels I 1 (to Briançon at the request of a vates, i. e. a bishop). 5 across the Po to a sister. 6 (from Rome by sea).

2. Panegyricus dictus clementissimo regi Theoderico, after a. 504 (when Sirmium had been retaken, see 12, 3) and before 508 (before Theoderic became governor of the Visigothic kingdom for his grandson Amalaric). Character: adeo omnia sunt plena argutiarum et ineptiarum, tot undique calamistri adhibiti, tot mira verborum et compositionis monstra ut nauseam moveat oratio turgida atque inflata, stomachum ambigua et obscura. verum etsi graviter cum rerum iudicio tum sententiarum delectu laborat Ennodius, he still remains an important source of history (cf. R. Köpke, German Investigations p. 165 sqq., especially p. 173. 175. 178), Manso p. 435, cf. M. Fertig III 4: "In spite of some good passages, there is much in this latest production of Roman eloquence that is awkward, stiff, distorted, empty, immoderate and barbaric". Printed in the collections of the Panegyrici (above 387), cum annotationibus in Manso's Hist. of the Visigothic reign p. 437—487, cf. p. 435 sq. 487—490.

3. Vita b. Epiphanii episcopi Ticinensis († 496); b. Antonii monachi Lerinensis (composed soon after his death). Libellus adversus eos qui contra synodum (of a. 502) scribere praesumpserunt (for Pope Symmachus). Eucharisticum de vita sua, a brief autobiography, in the form of a prayer in imitation of Augustine's Confessiones (Fertig I p. 7—11). Paraenesis didascalica ad Ambrosium et Beatum (students at Rome, being a recommendation of poetry, verecundia, castitas, fides, grammatica, rhetorica, always introduced by verse). Among the (ten) opuscula are also numbered praeceptum quando iussi sunt omnes episcopi cellulanos habere; petitorium quo absolutus est Gerontius puer Agapeti, and two benedictiones cerei.

4. The 28 dictiones contain speeches written for others, occasional speeches (e. g. in natali Laurentii Mediolanensis episcopi) and scholastic declamations, seven of which were actually delivered in schools (on introducing or advancing pupils), fifteen being model speeches (10 controversiae, 5 ethicae or suasoriae) remarkable for the choice of the subjects: in novercam quae cum marito privigni odia suadere non posset utrisque venena porrexit; in eum qui praemii nomine Vestalis virginis nuptias postulavit; in tyrannum qui praemii nomine parricidae statuam inter viros fortes dedit; in eum qui in lupanari statuam Minervae locavit; and as ethicae: verba Thetidis cum Achillem videret extinctum; verba Menelai cum Troiam videret exustam; verba Didonis cum abeuntem videret Aeneam etc.

5. The nine books of letters (the number in imitation of Sidonius), altogether 297, without chronological order, are partly addressed to men of high positions in the Church (e. g. Symmachus, Hormisdas) and the State (e. g. Boetius and Liberius); to Venantius V 22 and p. 364 M., 23 to eleven ladies, e. g. to his sister Euprepia. All seem to have been written by E. while deacon (at Milan) and previously to a. 510. Public affairs, least of all political ones, are scarcely ever mentioned. The diction ist greatly affected.

6. Enn. feels as much as Sidonius that versifying was not proper for a priest and excuses himself repeatedly (c. I 6 praef. and 9 praef.). Pagan mythology was considered a necessary part of verse and even Enn. repeatedly uses Phoebus, Apollo, Cynthia, Venus (especially I 4), Parcae (I 5. II 2. 109), Pierides, di (II 24, 1), though of course quite innocently, taking Olympus e. g. merely in the sense of the Christian heaven (cf. I 6 of Christ: ille per excelsum videat me dexter Olympum). But there were also moral objections to versifying, if ticklish subjects were so little avoided as by Enn. II 25 sqq. 51 sqq. 70 sqq. 97. 101 sqq. apparently because he like Luxorius, considered a little dirt inseparable from epigrams. But that versifying was only a way of practising style, appears from the frequent combination with a prose preface (in Enn. I 6. 7. 8. 9. II 150) or epilogue (II 107), the use of verse as dictiones (Enn. I 2. 6. 9) and such subjects as Ennod. II 23 sq. (de eo qui ut

filium matri reconciliaret furtum fecit; de eo qui dicebatur meretricis filius esse), cf. n. 4.

7. The poems of the first book contain, owing to their phraseological manner, less of material interest than one would expect from such headings as Itinerarium Brigantionis castelli, Itinerarium Padi, Dictio Ennodii diaconi quando Roma rediit (cf. n. 1). The Epithalamium dictum Maximo v. s. is, in imitation of the manner of Claudian, in a variety of forms (elegiac preface, 4 tetr. troch., 6 Sapphic Strophes, the principal part in epic metre, at the end 6 hendecasyllabics) and speaks freely of sensual pleasure. I 7 is an answer to Faustus' present (above 469, 6): a preface in prose, 16 distichs, 12 hexameters, again two distichs, 5 Sapphic stanzas, and at the end 12 anapaestic dimeters. I 9 is an epic poem on the birthday of Epiphanius (see n. 3), in annum XXX sacerdotii = a. 496. I 10—21 are hymns in dim. iamb. acat. chiefly on saints.

8. The second book consists of 151 poems (to it we should add epist. V 8), most in elegiac and epic metre (c. 107 Sapphic stanzas, 123 tetr. troch.), epitaphs, on the consecration of churches, on works of art, derisive epigrams, poems in praise especially of bishops (77 sqq.); cf. 150 praef.: qui miratur officii terminos in amicorum me laudibus egressum recolat quam imperiosa est semper affectio etc. De horto regis (Theoderici) 111. De eo quod Messala consul (a. 506) Ennodius in cognomine dictus est, 32 cf. 144—146. Much is so insignificant that it was scarcely worth while to preserve it; Enn. however expressly adds when he wrote some poem ex tempore (25. 57. 107) or subito (142). Comp. also 57, 6: carmina byblis sulcavi, tumulo ne tenear moriens.

9. Ennod. excuses carm. II 57, 8 sqq. and 146 his incorrect prosodies. They occur most frequently in proper names and foreign words (e. g. Mĕlĭssa, Sāturnĭus, cĕruchus, physica; also thyrambus instend of dith. I 7. II 109); but there also such errors as venerandum, rĕmisse, rēnuis, mulĭĕrem, (above 466, 7), rĭgent, lĭtamus and on the other hand ŏtii, nŏminasse, convĭvii, astŭtia, immŏbilis, pauperĕs, possidĕs.

10. Editions of the works of E. by J. Sirmond, Paris 1611 and in Sirmond's Opera I, Paris. 1696. p. 1353 sqq., Venet. 1728 p. 371 sqq., printed also in Gallandi bibl. patr. and Migne's patrol. LXIII (p. 13—364).

11. M. Fertig, Enn. and his time, I. II. Passau 1855. 4.

472. The vain grammarian Fabius Planciades Fulgentius probably lived in Africa about 480—550; we possess by him four works: Mythologiarum (or mythologicon) libri III dressed up in the manner of Martianus Capella and full of strange explanations of the legends and names; an allegorical

explanation of the subject of the Aeneid (Virgiliana continentia); a very peculiar kind of Universal History (de aetatibus mundi), and lastly an Expositio sermonum antiquorum, in which quotations are invented by the author, whenever he cannot lay his hand on any at once. His diction is conspicuous for peculiar bombastic and tasteless phrases. The bishop Fulgentius of Ruspe in Africa (a. 468—533; bishop since 508) has often been mistaken for him and was probably related to him; in the numerous theological works extant of the latter we observe a style just as sober and dry as that of his confused namesake is distorted.

1. Isidor. vir. ill. 14: Fulgentius Afer, ecclesiae Ruspensis episcopus, . . scripsit multa, ex quibus legimus De gratia dei et libero arbitrio libros responsionum VII, in quibus Fausto (above 461, 7) Galliae Regiensis urbis episcopo, pelagianae pravitati consentienti, respondens obnititur etc. legimus et eius librum de s. trinitate ad Felicem etc. extant et duo eius libri de veritate praedestinationis etc. est et liber altercationis eius quo de fide cum Thrasamundo rege . . disputavit, and others. . . claruit sub Thrasamundo (a. 496—523) rege Vandalorum, Anastasio imp. regnante (a. 491—518). Besides numerous writings of this F. (in Migne LXV) we possess also a Vita of him, probably by his pupil (Fulgentius) Ferrandus, deacon at Carthage (ed. P. Fr. Chifflet, Divion 1649. 4.; in Migne LXVII), a source of history respectable for its veracity.

2. From Fulg. praef. to the myth. ad Catum presbyterum. me discedentem a te, domine, dum quasi urbanis extorrem negotiis ruralis otii torpor astringeret, evitans aerumnosa calamitatum naufragia quibus publicae incessabiliter vexantur actiones (p. 5). . . sopitis in favilla silentii raucisonis iurgiorum classicis quibus me galagetici (Salmasius: gallogetici; L. Müller: galaecici) quassaverant impetus defaecatam silentio vitam agere creditabam (p. 6). . . tributaria in dies conventio compulsantium pedibus limen proprium triverat, nova indictionum ac momentanea proferens genera. . . addebatur his quod etiam bellici frequenter incursus pedum domo radicem infigere iusserant. . . tandem domini regis felicitas (p. 7) . . pavores extorsit, . . licuit tandem arva visere etc. (p. 8). In the headings the author is called Fabius (cf. p. 19 M.) Planciades Fulgentius (cf. p. 23. 27 M.) v. cl.; Goth. 55 he also bears the praenomen Gaius. The designation of Carthaginiensis is understood, by Lersch and L. Müller, of New Carthage in Spain. At all events, F. was not an Italian; see p. 142 M.: serva istaec tuis Romanis; . . nobis vero erit maximum si etc. Cf. M. Zink, p. 4—8. As he speaks of the pagani as foreign persons, (myth. I 23. II 9. III 7. Vergil. cont. p. 162 M.), he must have been a Christian. His time is certainly after Martianus Cap. (cf. expos. s. v. caelibatus); but all the

rest depends on the explanation of the confused statements of F. p. 5 sqq. Zink takes the dominus rex of the Vandal king Huneric (a. 477—484) and places F. before the mythogr. vat. I (Zink p. 13—15), perhaps a. 480 (cf. Jungmann p. 51 sq.); L. Müller (Fleckeisen's Jahrb. 95 p. 791—796) refers the chronological allusions to the victory of Theoderic the Goth over Rechiarius, king of the Suevians, in Gallaecia a. 456. A. Reifferscheid (see n. 10) thinks of the invasions of the Vandal territory in Africa by the Maurians who were beaten at Capsa by Hilderich, the successor of Thrasamund (a. 523—530), and similarly Jungmann (p. 53 sq.) of the contests subsequent to Thrasamund's death between his widow Amalafrida with her Gothic adherents and the Maurians on one side and Hilderich on the other, which ended with the annihilation of the Goths (at Capsa). Emil Jungmann, de Fulgentii aetate et scriptis, in Ritschl's Acta soc. phil. Lips. I (1871) p. 45—61.

3. Earlier works which have been lost. Fulg. verg. cont. p. 149 M.: saturanter haec in libro physiologo quem nuper edidimus de medicinalibus causis et de septenario ac de novenario numero etc. qui ista discere cupit nostrum physiologicum perlegat librum. The physiologus of which there are Vatican and Berne mss. saec. IX (edited by Mai, class. auct. VII p. 589—596) does not seem to be the work of Fulgentius. On the youthful poems of F. see praef. myth. p. 2 sq. M.: meas cachinnantes saepius nenias lepore satirico litas, . . dum ludicro Thalia ventilans epigrammate comoedia solita (est) vernulitate mulcere. Specimens of his poetical talent myth. praef. p. 11 sq. (trochaeic tetrameters, according to accentual rhythm, e. g.: Thespiádes Hippocrene; ferte grádum próperantes; úbi guttas florulentae; rupe pastor cécinit; quod cecínit pastorali Máro silva Mantuae etc.) and p. 23—25 (hexameters). Verg. cont. p. 140 (five hexameters).

4. Fulg. myth. praef. p. 3 M.: parumper ausculta dum tibi . . ordior fabulam quam nuper . . nocturna praesule lucerna commentus sum, the introductory dialogue with Calliope ib. p. 20: mihi non cornutus adulter arripitur (in the book) etc. (p. 21): certos rerum praestolamur effectus, quos repulsos mendacis Graeciae fabuloso commento quid mysticum in his sapere debeat cerebrum agnoscamus. Specimens of his explanation of names: Cybebe = *κῦδος βέβαιον* (III 5 p. 111); Alpheus = *ἀληθείας φῶς* (III 12). More in Zink p. 33—35.

5. The title of the second work is in the mss. e. g. moralis expositio Vergilianae continentiae, in the subscriptio: Vergilianae continentiae secundum philosophos moralis expositio. It is dedicated ad Chalcidium grammaticum (Levitarum sanctissimum, p. 137). p. 138: Vergilianae continentiae (subject) secreta physica tetigi. . . bucolicam georgicamque omisimus. The author is so much pleased with his work that he even puts his explanation in Virgil's own mouth. Towards the end he seems to become tired of the affair and breaks off suddenly, or else the end may be lost.

6. The mss. of the Myth. and Virg. cont. are all descended from the same archetypus. The earliest (and best) of the extant mss. is the Vaticano-Palatinus 1578 saec. IX. On their mutual relations see E. Jungmann (n. 2) p. 61—73.

7. The preface of the expositio de abstrusis sermonibus (to Chalcidius): . . libellum quem de abstr. serm. parari iussisti in quantum memoriae entheca subrogare potuit absolutum retribui, non tam phaleratis sermonum studentes spumis quam rerum manifestationibus dantes operam dilucidandis. The work contains explanations of 63 obsolete and rare words chosen at random, with numerous forged or fictitious citations from real or fictitious writers (e. g. Crispinus Heraclea, Q. Fabius Lucullus epico carmine, Lucilius comicus in Immolaria, Callimorphus Pitaeis, Antidamas in moralibus libris). L. Lersch, Fab. Pl. Fulg. de abstr. serm. edited and criticized from two Brussels ms., Bonn 1844. XXIV and 100 pp. and on it R. Klotz in Jahn's Jahrb. 43 p. 71—96. On a Berlin ms. see Rh. Mus. XIV p. 297—301. The work is also found in P. Daniel's Servius, Mercer's Nonius, and in Gerlach and Roth's edition of the same writer (p. 387—398) and elsewhere. As the anecdote of Metennia is fully related in the aetat. but merely briefly mentioned in the Expos., the latter would seem to have been written after the liber de aet. (Jungmann p. 55).

8. Fulgentius' models in style are Apuleius and Martianus Capella. But he also bears sufficient resemblance to Sidonius to keep away all thought of talking of a "special African latinity" of F. His sentences are so verbose that a reader has difficulty to get at the idea he wants to express (Zink p. 39). Irregularity is the rule with him, and espec. in the use of tenses and moods he is altogether confused and anomalous; see the proofs in Zink p. 37—52 (Grecisms, idiotisms, poetical constructions, inversions etc.). On the pretended and in reality very scanty erudition of F. in his quotations see ibid. p. 62—93.

9. The works of Fulgentius are found in the mythographi latini of Th. Muncker (II p. 1—184) and van Staveren (p. 595—783). M. Zink, the mythologer Fulgentius, Würzburg 1867. 94 pp. 4. E. Jungmann, quaestionum Fulgentianarum capita III (two until now, see n. 2 and 6), in Ritschl's Acta soc. phil. Lips. I (1871), and Coniectanea Fulgentiana, in the Begrüssungschr. der Leipz. Philologenvers. (Lips. 1872. 4.) p. 27—42.

10. Liber absque litteris de aetatibus mundi et hominis . . auctore Fabio Claudio Gordiano Fulgentio v. cl. eruit e mss. codd. (especially the Sorbonne) Jac. Hommey et notis illustravit, Pictav. 1694, Paris. 1696. (b. X and XI printed Rhein. Mus. XXIII p. 137—142). According to the preface the work was intended to consist of 23 books (in harmony with the number of letters), but in the mss. we find only b. 1—14. The historical contents are very poor; most space being devoted to biblical history. The tenth book contains the history of Alexander M., XI that of Rome until Caesar, XII the contents of the four gospels,

XIII the Acts of the Apostles, XIV the Imperial history. The execution is λειπογράμματος so that in the single books always one letter of the alphabet remains unemployed; in the first book the letter A, in the second B. etc., which is always stated at the end (e. g. decimo libro absque K finito undecimus absque L incipit). This idea is quite in keeping with the talent of the grammarian F., with whom the work shares also the mystic significance of numbers (cf. n. 3), style and diction, and that the model of the mirificum opus is said to be librorum bis duodenum volumen Xenophontis poetae, unless this should be put entirely to the account of F. That the author repeatedly calls himself an African, is likewise in agreement with this. Only the middle part of the name is different, but Claudius returns in the name of the father, and Gordianus in that of the grandfather of Fulg. Ruspensis (n. 1), so that it might have been transferred to the grammarian from the bishop. The bishop had received the name of Fulg. from his father quasi praescius qualis esset futurus (vita Fulg.), though it had not been a usual name in the family before. A. Reifferscheid, Rhein. Mus. XXIII p. 133—137. 142 sq. Jungmann p. 46—49.

473. About the time of the Emperor Anastasius, the grammarian Priscianus wrote at Constantinople in Latin. We owe to him the most complete and perfect work on the Latin language, being eighteen books Institutionum grammaticarum which abound in quotations from classical and early literature, and the terminology of which maintains its influence even in our own time. The work was most widely read in the Middle Ages and has been preserved in a great number of mss. Besides this great work we possess also some smaller works by Priscian, the most important of which are the three addressed to Symmachus; in metrical form also a Panegyric on Anastasius and a text-book on geography.

1. The time of Pr., a native of Caesarea in Mauretania, is fixed by his Panegyric on Anastasius (a. 491—518), the subscription of Theodorus (see n. 3) and the title of Cassiod. de orthogr. 13: ex Prisciano grammatico, qui nostro tempore Constantinopoli doctor fuit. He had lived at Rome, as appears from his dedication to Symmachus (n. 5). On his master Theoctistus see above 465, 12. A vita Prisciani inedita from a Berne ms. saec. XI in H. Hagen, Anecd. Helv. p. CLXVIII sq.

2. The dedication of the inst.: Iuliane consul ac patricie, cui summus dignitatis gradus summa adquisivit in omni studio ingenii claritudo, . . tibi hoc opus devoveo. The end of the preface contains a list of the contents. B. I—XVI contain the accidence, XVI and XVIII treat de constructione s. ordinatione partium orationis inter se. On

the sources ib.: cum eos (Apollonius Dysc. and Herodian) omnia fere vitia quaecumque antiquorum Graecorum commentariis sunt relicta artis grammaticae expurgasse comperio, . . nostrorum autem neminem post illos imitatorem eorum extitisse, . . conatus sum . . supra nominatorum praecepta virorum quae congrua sunt visa in latinum transferre sermonem, collectis etiam omnibus fere quaecumque necessaria nostrorum quoque inveniuntur artium commentariis grammaticorum. A great part of Pr. proves to be a translation of Apollonius' *περὶ συντάξεως, περὶ ἀντωνυμίας, περὶ συνδέσμων, περὶ ἐπιρρημάτων*, and of the Scholia on Dionysius Thrax. In accordance with these Greek sources Pr. deviates from the usual arrangement in details which he generally proclaims with much noise. He does so in omitting qualis, quantus, quot, unus, alter, alius, totus etc. among the pronouns, in taking a different view of nomina adiectiva and several technical expressions, also in a different division of the conjunctions (W. Christ, Philol. XVIII p. 140). All the more closely does he follow his Roman predecessors (especially Flavius Caper) in details and in quotations. In the last two books, in which Priscian could not avail himself of such ready made materials, the insufficiency of his studies and the narrowness of his circle of authors become very evident. His diction is very prolix and he seems to have but faint ideas of the Latin order of words.

3. Hertz I p. XIII calculates the number of the mss. of Priscian at about a thousand. quorum quidem libros XVIII omnes complectuntur pauci, libros postremos duos (XVII et XVIII, de constructione, sive Priscianum minorem) itidem satis pauci, libros XVI priores (de VIII partibus orationis s. Priscianum maiorem) plerique (l. l.) They are all descended from the recension of Flavius Theodorus (confounded by Aldhelmus with Theodosius) antiquarius (caligrapher) who subsequently held a charge at Court (below 474, 3) and says of himself: scripsi Artem Prisciani eloquentissimi grammatici, doctoris mei, manu mea in urbe Roma Constantinopoli in the course of a. 526 and 527; see O. Jahn, Trans. of the Sax. Soc. of Lit. 1851 p. 354—359. Hagen, Anecd. Helv. p. CLXIX 12 sqq. We possess, however, neither the recension of Theodorus nor a copy of it; on the contrary even our earliest mss. give a text interpolated and depraved in many places. The principal ms. is Paris. 7496 saec. IX (R in Hertz), chiefly important for the corrections of the second hand (r) which go back to a codex vetustus. Cf. M. Hertz, Reports of the Trans. of the Acad. at Berlin 1847, p. 417—421; ed. Prisc. I p. X—XXIII. W. Christ, Philol. XVIII p. 142—151. H. Hagen, Anecd. Helv. p. CLXX—CLXXIV.

4. On the editions of the Inst. see M. Hertz I p. XXIII—XXVII. In Putsche's gramm. (Hanau 1605. 4.) p. 533—1214. Ed. A. Krehl, Lips. 1819 sq. 2 vols. The principal edition ex recens. M. Hertzii, in Keil's gramm. lat. II and III, Lips. 1855. 1859.

5. Smaller writings. Three of them are dedicated to Symmachus (cons. 485?). The preface: Omni te, Symmache, nobilitatis splendore

celebratum, . . studiis etiam optimarum artium disciplinarumque florentem . . fama quidem antea nobis absentem venerabilem faciebat, nunc autem praesentem . . ostendit. . . itaque . . (a) de figuris, sicut iussisti, numerorum breviter collecta demonstrabo et de nummis vel (= et) ponderibus, praeterea (b) de Terentii metris, nec non etiam (c) de praeexercitamentis rhetoricis, quae Graeci *προγυμνάσματα* vocant, quoniam diligentius ea sophistae iuniores, quos sequimur, . . exposuisse videntur. The first treatise (on the numerical symbols usual on Latin and Greek coins, and the formation of Latin numbers) is derived from Dardanus (perhaps saec. IV) *περὶ σταθμῶν*; the second (printed also in Gaisford, script. rei metr. latt. p. 410 sqq.) is intended to prove that the plays of the palliata comedy were actually written in metre, though in an irregular kind, and is taken from Heliodorus, Hephaestion, Terentianus and Asmonius; the third is a translation of the *προγυμν.* of Hermogenes. Keil p. 395 sq.

d. Institutio de nomine et pronomine et verbo (entitled de declinationibus etc. in earlier editions), an abridgment of a larger work for school-use. Keil p. 395 sq.

e. Partitiones XII versuum Aeneidos, to which the scholastic exercise (*μεριτμός*, later *ἐπιμερ.*) is applied, which the Greeks usually practised with Homer, the metrical and grammatical parsing of lines, in the form of questions and answers. Keil p. 397 sq.

f. De accentibus; rules on accent, generally agreeing with Priscian, but not by himself. nam non solum omne dicendi genus ab hoc grammatico prorsus alienum, ne dicam rude et saepe etiam ineptum est, sed etiam res ipsae de quibus agitur speciem eius aetatis quae iam usum et scientiam latinae linguae non habebat prae se ferunt, in exemplis vero barbara quaedam vocabula hic scriptor posuit. Keil p. 400 sq.

6. Editions of the minor writings (except Putsche and Krehl, n. 4) by F. Lindemann (Lugd. B. 1818) and especially by H. Keil, gramm. latt. III. (Lips. 1860) p. 405—528; cf. his praef. p. 387 sqq. W. Christ, Philol. XVIII p. 153—158.

7. Prisciani grammatici de laude imp. Anastasii . . nunc primum . . ed. et illustr. St. L. Endlicher, Vienna 1828 (comment. p. 21—78). This panegyric (312 hexameters with a preface in 22 monotonous iambic senarii) seems to have been composed about a. 512. In spite of the author's efforts it remains prosaic throughout. The termination (in the Bobbio ms. now at Vienna): expl. laudes sapientissimi imp. An. . . dictae a Prisciano grammatico.

8. Prisciani periegesis e Dionysio, 1807 hexameters with the end: . . pelagi partes percurri carmine vastas et terrae pariter regiones finibus amplis. omnipotens pro quo genitor mihi praemia donet. Printed also in Wernsdorf, poetae lat. min. V p. 265—422 (cf. p. 225—234 and the notes p. 423—493), in G. Bernhardy's Geogr. gr. min. I p. 461 sqq., and in C. Müller's Geogr. gr. min. II (1861) p. 190 sqq.

9. In the some mss. saec. X and XI Priscian's name is prefixed to an epitome Phaenomenon s. versus (12 to 16 hexameters) de sideribus, e. g. in Wernsdorf, poetae lat. min. V p. 520—422, in Riese's Anth. lat. 679.

10. Probably in the sixth century was written the carmen de librae sive assis partibus, 20 hexameters, appended in the mss. to the poem de ponderibus (see above 444, 2). The best edition of it is in Hultsch, script. metrol. rom. p. 99 sq. cf. p. 31 sq. Schenkl, Reports of the Meetings of the Academy at Vienna, hist. phil. Class, XLIII. 1863. p. 58. n. In Riese's Anth. lat. 741.

474. Still during Priscian's life-time his pupil Eutyches wrote also grammatical works, of which an Ars de verbo has come down to us in two books. It shows that he used the works of his master, but also earlier authorities. The great superiority of the East in this department appears most clearly by comparing with the work of Priscian the wretched performances of Asper and Audax which are little later, or even the strange humbug of Vergilius.

1. Cassiod. de orthogr. 9 bears the heading: Eutychis de aspiratione. The mss. of E. generally give the form Euticii or Euticis. Eut. p. 456, 28 sqq. K.: de quibus . . quia romanae lumen facundiae, meus, immo communis omnium hominum praeceptor, in quarto de nomine libro summa cum subtilitate copiosissime grammaticus Priscianus disseruisse cognoscitur etc. From the prologus: tuis petitionibus satisfaciens, meorum dilectissime discipulorum Cratere, . . opusculum hoc ad discernendas pertinens coniugationes duobus libellis inclusi, quorum prior observationibus instruitur generalibus, alter . . speciales exequitur regulas.

2. Editions of the work of Eut. by Jo. Camerarius (Tubing. 1537, with Mar. Vict. and others), in Putsche (p. 2143—2189) and Lindemann (p. 153—198) and especially by H. Keil, gramm. lat. V p. 447—489, cf. p. 442—446. F. Osann, Contributions II p. 162—165.

3. On another pupil of Priscian, Fl. Theodorus Dionys. v. d., memorialis sacri scrinii epistolarum et adiutor v. m. quaestoris sacri palatii, see above 473, 3.

4. Under the name of a grammarian Asper we possess two different treatises, though both alike worthless. The one has been edited (from Berne mss. saec. VIII and IX) by H. Hagen, Anecd. Helv. p. 39—61, cf. praef. p. LXXX—LXXXIII. minorem Artem Donati secutus hic grammaticus de VIII partibus orationis disseruit et maximo exemplorum numero congesto . . praecepta illius illustravit. . . eruditionis autem nulla in hoc libro sunt vestigia, neque ulla veterum scriptorum

exempla adscripta sunt. H. Keil, gramm. latt. V p. 530. The other is printed in Putsche p. 1725—1736, Lindemann p. 309—316, Keil V p. 547—554, cf. p. 530—532; p. 531: tam multa in definitionibus et in divisionibus partium orationis et in verbis quibus praecepta artis efferuntur et in genere tractandi a more antiquorum grammaticorum dissentiunt ut recentis . . scriptoris manum prodant. Both works are independent of each other.

5. Audax, the author of a grammatical work de Scauri et Palladii libris excerpta per interrogationem et responsionem, not mentioned before saec. VII and preserved in Berne and Munich mss. saec. IX, and another version in a Karlsruhe ms. saec. IX: Volfuinus incipiunt artes Audaci de Sc. et P. libris exc. H. Keil, Hermes I p. 332 sq. *cf.* De gramm. quibusd. inf. aet. (Erlang. 1868. 4.) p. 4: plura sane (than Asper) ex antiquiore doctrina servavit, sed eorum maximam partem e Maximi Victorini libris qui feruntur recepit.

6. H. Keil, de gramm. inf. aet. (Erl. 1868) p. 5: omnium qui inferiore aetate de grammatica arte scripserunt longe ineptissimus fuit Vergilius a Maio (Class. auct. V p. 1 sqq.) editus, qui sexto septimove saeculo in Gallia vixisse videtur (the arguments for which assertion he gives in his note). is enim de grammatica arte ita disputavit ut potius insulsas fabulas quam veram artis tractationem exhiberet. neque omnino certam disciplinam et rationem disputandi secutus est, sed plerumque de controversiis quibusdam quas a grammaticis suae aetatis tractatas esse ait disseruit. in quibus omnia fictis fabulis contexuit. (Instances are subjoined here). . . de plurimis autem quaestionibus quas tractat se institutum esse scribit ab Aenea, praeceptore suo, quem saepe laudibus effert; de aliis praecepta ponit Mitterii cuiusdam Spaniensis, quem senem noctu . . interroganti sibi de rebus difficillimis respondisse scribit (p. 12 sqq.) See also H. Hagen l. l. p. CVI sq.

7. An adherent of Priscian and of importance in the criticism of his writings is the author of the Ars anonyma Bernensis, edited by H. Hagen, Anecd. Helv. p. 62—142, cf. p. LXXXIII - LXXXIX.

475. Next to Boetius, the most important man of this century, both as concerns his official position and his personal value, is Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus Senator, of a noble and rich family in Bruttia. His long life (about 480—575) extends from Theoderic to Justinian, but the acme of it was under Theoderic, when Cassiodorus was Consul (a. 514) and presided over the actual administration of affairs in his position as private secretary to the king. Independently of his speeches, his Chronicles were his first publication, a work embracing the history of the World from Adam to A. D. 519, a compilation from earlier sources, from a. 496 on the basis

of the author's personal knowledge, but in an inaccurate courtier-like manner. His history of the Goths is more valuable, though we possess it only in the barbaric version of Jordanis; and his twelve books Variarum, being a collection of the official documents, decrees in the name of the ruler, and other papers, composed by Cassiodorus. He retired into a monastery in his later years, and then wrote a series of theological and encyclopedian works, among which we mention a survey of the literature commendable to his brethren, in two books (lectiones divinae); a sketch of the seven liberal Arts, Institutiones divinarum et saecularium litterarum, also in two books, though only partly extant; also de anima, de amicitia and others, also grammatical treatises (de orthographia etc.). Cassiodorus shows throughout a respectable knowledge and appreciation of classical literature and a solid character. His diction is in the manner of his style and bombastic.

1. Concerning his ancestors in three generations C. himself informs us through king Theoderic in the two Edicts (Var. I 3 and 4) in which distinctions are granted to his father. From I 4: Cassiodoros praecedentes (previous to the father of our writer) fama concelebrat . . antiqua proles, . . cum togatis clari, inter viros fortes eximii, quando et valetudine membrorum et corporis proceritate floruerunt. pater enim candidati sub Valentiniano (III) principe (a. 425—455) gessit tribuni et notarii laudabiliter dignitatem. . . patricio Aëtio . . magna fuit caritate sociatus. He was sent to Attila, and then retired in amoenissima Bruttiorum. avus enim Cassiodorus . . a Vandalorum (under Genseric) incursione Siciliam Bruttiosque armorum defensione liberavit. . . vixit et ipse in provincia honore iudicis et securitate privati etc. tanta etiam patrimonii sui ubertate gloriatus est ut etc. On his father ib.: primus administrationis introitus comitivae privatarum mole fundatus est (Comes rer. privat.). . . qui mox deinde sacrarum largitionum honore suscepto crevit etc. his itaque sub praecedenti rege (Odoacer?) gymnasiis exercitatus emeritis laudibus ad palatia nostra pervenit. I 3: in ipso imperii nostri exordio . . Siculorum suspicantium mentes ab obstinatione praecipiti deviasti. . . ubi sub procinctu martio civilia iura custodiens publica privataque commoda inavarus arbiter aestimabas. . . Bruttiorum et Lucaniae tibi dedimus mores regendos (as corrector), ne bonum quod peregrina provincia (Sicily) meruisset genitalis soli (cf. Var. XII 15) fortuna nesciret. . . oblectat nos actus praefecturae (cf. Var. IX 24) recolere etc. . . patriciatus tibi apicem iusta remuneratione conferimus. The writer himself (Senator, cf. the Bishop Senator in Ennod. carm. II 87) as primaevus under Theoderic became quaestor, then magister officiorum, 514 Consul (Chronicles ad a.: Senator v. c

cons. me consule etc.), on Athalaric's accession still magister, sed implevit quaestoris officium (Var. IX 25 cf. I praef.: frequenter quaesturae vicibus ingravato), protected and governed for some time the maritime provinces (Var. IX 25) and became a. 534 praef. praet. (Var. IX 25). Cf. Var. I praef.: praefectum te praetorianae sedis omnes noverunt. IX 25: cumulavimus (Athalaric) beneficiis nostris copiosum virtutibus, divitem moribus, plenum magnis honoribus Senatorem. Four times he was prefect, and served four kings during at least forty years. Probably after the fall of Vitigis (a. 540) he retired into the monastery of Vivarium in Bruttium, which he himself had founded; there he wrote his theological and general writings, and died about the year 575. Cf. n. 2. R. Köpke, German Investigations p. 85—89.

2. The literary career of C. may be divided into two parts: a historical and political one (speeches, chronicles, Goth. hist. and Variae) during his official position, and a theological and grammatical one, beginning with his retreat to Vivarium. Cf. Var. I praef.: dixisti ad commendationem universitatis frequenter reginis (especially Amalasuntha) ac regibus (especially Theoderic, Var. IX 25) laudes (the fragments in C. Baudi di Vesme, frammenti di orazioni panegiriche di Magno Aur. Cass. Senatore raccolti, in the Memorie of the Turin Academy VIII p. 169 sqq.). duodecim libris Gothorum historiam defloratis prosperitatibus condidisti (see n. 4). The Chronicles which had been previously (a. 519) composed (see n. 3) are passed over as a work not political. His works written in the monastery are enumerated de orthogr. praef.: post commenta psalterii, ubi praestante domino conversionis meae (i. e. after his becoming a monk) tempore primum studium laboris impendi; deinde post institutiones quemadmodum divinae et humanae debeant intellegi lectiones duobus libris . . sufficienter impletis; . . post expositionem epistolae quae scribitur ad Romanos, unde pelagianae haereseos pravitates amovi; . . post codicem in quo artes Donati cum commentis suis et librum de etymologiis et alium librum Sacerdotis de schematibus dom. praest. collegi; . . post librum quoque titulorum, quem de divina scriptura collectum Memorialem volui nuncupari; . . post complexiones in epistolis apostolorum et Actibus apostolorum et apocalypsi, quasi brevissimas explanationes decursas ad amantissimos orthographos discutiendos anno aetatis meae nonagesimo tertio (perhaps a. 572) perveni. The computus paschalis, a method of computing the dates of the Christian calendar, composed a. 562, and which is found among his works, is not mentioned here, not so much because it was written after this 93rd year, but rather because it is not by C., but by a copyist of his chronicles; see Mommsen, on Cassiod. p. 572.

3. Chronica M. A. C. Senatoris, v. c. et inl., ex quaestore sacri palatii, ex cons. ord., ex mag. off., praef. po. atque patricii. It was composed at the request of Eutharic, the son-in-law of Theoderic. From Adam to Eutharic's Consulate, a. 519, 5271 years are assumed. The first five epochs (from Adam to the primi consules) are ex chroni-

cis Eusebii-Hieronymi. The sixth, a Bruto et Tarquinio usque ad consulatum vestrum, 1031 years, the longest ancient list of Consuls. The older part, until A. D. 31, ex Tito Livio (probably an abridgment) et ex Aufidio Basso, gives the Consuls always two names, the later one (from the Easter-table of Victorius Aquit.) only one. The Xviri and military tribunes are omitted and the decemvirate calculated at forty years, instead of three. The annals of the Imperial period with the historical notices are added from those of Hieronymus, and then from Prosper's List of Consuls (arranged according to the Emperors). A. 455—495 are probably taken from the Ravenna Chronicles in their original complete state. From 496, C. seems to have drawn upon his own knowledge, but in such poorest selection as a courtier would make. The errors are numerous and partly flagrant. The historical tradition is frequently made to suit party views. Special attention is due to the additions concerning Gothic history. Mommsen, Trans. of the Saxon. Soc. of Lit. VIII (philol. and hist. Class III.) Leipzig 1861. p. 549—570. On the mss. of the Chronicles ibid. p. 571—588. The editions (in the works of Cass. and the collections of the chronicles) give on the whole the text of Sichardus according to Panvinius; a critical edit. by Mommsen l. l. p. 589—659.

4. Cassiod. lets Athalaric say of himself a. 533 (Var. IX 25): tetendit se etiam in antiquam prosapiem nostram, lectione discens quod vix maiorum notitia cana retinebat. iste reges Gothorum . . latibulo vetustatis eduxit, iste Amalos cum generis sui claritate restituit, evidenter ostendens in XVII^am^ progeniem stirpem nos habere regalem. originem gothicam historiam fecit esse romanam, colligens . . quod per librorum campos passim fuerat ante dispersum. Cf. n. 2. Var. XII 20: in historia nostra . . retulimus. Jordan. Get. praef.: XII Senatoris volumina de origine actibusque Getarum ab olim usque nunc per generationes regesque descendentia. On the death of Athalaric (2 Oct. 534) Cassiod. seems to have broken off his work, which was probably finished as early as a. 533 and published a. 535. He used Orosius (Köpke, German Investigations p. 71), Trogus, Ammianus and Greek writers (Köpke, p. 79—82), also the traditions and heroic legends of the Goths (ibid. p. 84 sq. cf. p. 89—93). H. v. Sybel, de fontibus Jord. p. 12 sqq. The abridgment of Jordanis (below 477, 2 sq.) probably caused the loss of the original work.

5. Var. I praef.: dicta(ta) mea quae in honoribus saepe positus pro explicanda negotiorum qualitate profuderam in unum corpus redigere suadebant (diserti). . . ideo quod in quaesturae, magisterii ac praefecturae dignitatibus a me dictatum in diversis publicis actibus potui reperire bissena librorum ordinatione composui. . . cunctarum dignitatum sexto et VII^o^ libris formulas comprehendi. . . librorum vero titulum . . Variarum nomine praenotavi, quia necesse nobis fuit stilum non unum sumere qui personas varias suscepimus admonere. . . huc accedit quod modo regibus, modo potestatibus aulicis, modo loqui videamur humillimis, . . ut merito Variarum dicatur quod tanta

diversitate conficitur. The first five books contain the Edicts and Decrees under Theoderic, b. VIII—X those in the name of Athalaric, Theodat and Wittiges; b. XI and XII the letters and edicts of the time when Cass. was praef. praet. The latest date (and probably time of publication) is a. 538 (Var. XII 16). That these edicts were partly revised and altered for publication, is the conjecture of C. Schirren, de ratione p. 69. L. Tross, in Cass. Varr. libros sex priores symbolae criticae, Hamm 1853.

6. Cassiod. de anima praef.: cum iam suscepti operis optato fine gauderem meque XII voluminibus (Variarum) iactatum quietis portus exciperet, . . amicorum me suave collegium in salum rursus cogitationis repressit, postulans ut aliqua quae tam in sacris libris quam in saecularibus abstrusa compereram de animae substantia vel de eius virtutibus aperirem. This is carried out in the usual (see n. 12) twelve sections. Cf. c. 19: clausimus itaque nostrum munusculum numero duodenario, qui coelos signorum diversitate decoravit etc. The sources are not mentioned. The conclusion of the book is edifying.

7. Cassiod. de inst. div. litt. (= divin. lect.) I praef.: cum studia saecularium litterarum magno desiderio fervere cognoscerem, . . gravissimo sum dolore permotus quod scripturis divinis magistri publici deessent. . . nisus sum cum beat. Agapeto urbis Romae episcopo (a. 535—536) ut . . collatis expensis in urbe romana professos doctores scholae acciperent christianae. . . sed cum propter bella ferventia et turbulenta nimis in italico regno certamina desiderium meum nullatenus valuisset impleri, . . ad hoc divina caritate probor esse compulsus ut ad vicem magistri introductorios vobis libros istos . . confecerim, per quos . . et scripturarum divinarum series et saecularium litterarum compendiosa notitia . . panderetur. . . in quibus non propriam doctrinam, sed priscorum dicta commendo. . . nos potius latinos scriptores . . sectamur, ut quoniam Italis scribimus romanos quoque expositores commodissime indicasse videamur. Book II (c. 24 sqq.) treats also briefly of secular literature; c. 28 e. g. exhorts to study the scriptores rei rusticae: invitat siquidem vos locus Vivariensis monasterii ad multa peregrinis et egentibus praeparanda, quando habetis hortos irriguos et piscosi amnis Pellenae fluenta vicina. It terminates with a prayer.

8. Preface of the Encyclopedia: Superior liber (see n. 7) domino praestante completus institutionem divinarum continet lectionum. hic XXXIII titulis noscitur comprehensus. qui numerus aetati dominicae probatur adcommodus etc. nunc tempus est ut aliis septem titulis saecularium lectionum praesentis libri textum percurrere debeamus; qui tamen calculus per septimanas sibimet succedentes . . usque ad totius orbis finem semper extenditur. Dialectic receives the longest treatment. Subscription in the cod. Bamberg. saec. VIII: Cassiodori Senatoris institutionum div. e. human. rerum libri II expl. fel. Codex archetypus ad cuius exemplaria sunt reliqui corrigendi. Cf. A. Mai,

class. auctt. III p. 350 sqq. The portion concerning rhetoric is best printed in Halm, rhetores latt. min. p. 495—500. The 30 brief chapters preceding in later mss. (in Halm p. 501—504) are a selection of maxims chiefly from Quintilian which have no connexion with the work of Cassiodorus; see Halm l. l. p. XII sq.

9. C.'s interest in orthography of which he had given proofs in his div. lect. praef. and ch. 30 caused him at last (see n. 2) to write a special work about it: XII auctorum opuscula deducimus in medium, quae ab illis breviter et copiose dicta sunt (praef.). It is addressed to Aemilius amicus and forms an appendix to his encyclopedia; see praef.: iam tempus est ut totius operis nostri conclusionem facere debeamus, ut melius in animo recondantur quae septenaria conclusione distincta sunt. The favorite number of XII auctores is made up by Adamantius Martyrius being mentioned four times (5—8) and Caesellius Vindex twice (10. 11); the others are Annaeus Cornutus, Velius Longus, Curtius Valerianus, Papirianus, Eutyches and Priscianus. To these we should add Auctores anonymi de orthographia IV, see H. Hagen, Anecd. Helv. p. 291—301, cf. p. CXXXV—CXL.

10. Cassiodorus was merely editor of the Latin versions of the Ecclesiastical History of Theodoretus, Sozomenus and Socrates (Tripartita): quos nos per Epiphanium scholasticum latino condentes eloquio necessarium duximus eorum dicta deflorata in unius stili tractum deo iuvante perducere et de tribus auctoribus unam facere dictionem (praef.). Cf. divin. lect. 17: quos a viro Epiphanio disertissimo in uno corpore XII libris fecimus deo auxiliante transferri. This is so to say a synoptical version of the three works, also divided per XII libros (praef.).

11. The very verbose commentary on the Psalms (in Migne LXX p. 9—1056) begins: repulsis aliquando in Ravennate urbe sollicitudinibus dignitatum .. cum psalterii caelestis animarum mella gustassem .. avidus me perscrutator immensi etc. As there was much he did not understand, ad Augustini confugi lectionem. The work itself professes to be merely a set of extracts from Augustine. quem tamen codicem etiam per quinquagenos psalmos .. trina sum divisione partitus, ut claritas litterae senioribus oculis se pulchrius aperiret etc. The epilogue begins: explicitus est decorus et mirabilis ordo psalmorum, numero quidam mystico terminatus etc. At the conclusion of the preface to the complexiones in epist. apost.: Cass. Senatoris, iam domino praestante conversi, explicit praefatio.

12. Cassiod. Var. IX 25 on Cass.: numquid .. aliqua se elatione iactavit ..? .. benevolus cunctis, moderatus in prosperis, ignorans nisi graviter lacessitus irasci. qui cum iustitia sit rigidus ad remissiones irarum non perdurat austerus; suarum rerum distributor egregius et dum nescit aliena quaerere novit propria largus offerre. As a writer C. may be known by his peculiarities, his ever recurring phrases (espec. pious ones), his mystical views of numbers (especially 12, 7 and 3; cf. n. 5. 6. 8. 9. 10. 11), by which he pays his tribute to the superstition

of his time. His knowledge of books is unusual in his time and embraces also Greek works, though he preferred Latin translations: see lect. divin. 17 and n. 10. Among the Roman poets he is also familiar with Horace; see Var. I praef. A. Olleris, Cassiodore conservateur des livres de l'antiquité latine, Paris 1841.

13. Editions of his works. Cum notis Fornerii, Paris. 1584. 4. Ex fide mss. auctiora et locupletiora, Genevae 1656. 1663. 4. Studio Jo. Garetii cum notis, Rothomag. 1679. Venet. 1729. 2 vols fol.; reprinted in Migne's patrol. LXIX and LXX, augmented by the complexiones in epistolas Pauli, quas ed. et annot. Scipio Maffeius.

14. Vita Cassiodori in Garet's edition. Manso, Hist. of the Visigothic kingdom (1824) p. 85—92. 332—341. A. Thijm, jets over . . Cassiodorus en zijne eeuw, Amsterdam 1858. 152 pp. A. Thorbecke, Cass. Senator, a contribution to the history of the time of the migration of tribes, Heidelberg 1867. A. Franz, M. A. C. S., a contribution to the hist. of theological literature, Breslau 1872. 137 pp.

476. Before and after Cassiodorus' Chronicles were written by Marcellinus Comes on the years 379—354 (566), exclusively on the events in the Eastern Empire; by the African bishop Victor of Tunnuna from the Creation until a. 566, of which however only the last part, from a. 444, is extant, being a continuation of Prosper's work and specially intended for Africa. The Chronicles of Prosper were also continued by the bishop Marius of Avenches, in the years 455—581, and the abbot Johannes Biclariensis in his time, a. 565—590.

1. Cassiod. div. lect. 17: Marcellinus quattuor libros de temporum qualitate et positionibus locorum pulcherrima proprietate conficiens. . . chronica vero . . scripsit graece Eusebius, quem transtulit Hieronymus in latinum. . . hunc subsecutus est suprascriptus Marcellinus Illyricianus, qui adhuc patricii Iustiniani fertur rexisse cancellos, sed meliore condicione devotus a tempore Theodosii principis usque ad fores (Garet: finem, a. 565) imperii triumphalis Aug. Iustiniani opus suum domino iuvante perduxit. Marcell. chron. praet.: ego simplici dumtaxat computatione orientale tantum secutus imperium per indictiones perque consules infra scriptos CXL annos, . . a consulatu Ausonii et Olybrii (a. 379) . . enumerans et usque in consulatum Magni (a. 518) . . colligens eorundem auctorum (Eusebius-Hieronymus) operi subrogavi. itemque alios XVI annos, a consulatu Iustini Aug. primo (a. 519) usque in consulatum Iustiniani Aug. quartum (a. 534), suffeci. id sunt simul anni CLVI, et meum rusticum opus supposui. The extant work goes until a. 558, two continuations having been added to it (the first until 547 by a Frankish writer), and the dates (without the events) descend

to a. 566. Jordanis seems to have used an edition extending to 547; v. Sybel, font. Iord. p. 32. Title: Marcellini comitis v. c. chronicon.

2. Editions of Marc. by J. Sirmond (Paris 1619 = Opera II, Paris 1696, p. 309 sqq. Venet. 1728, p. 269 sqq.), in Roncalli (vetust. latt. scr. chronica) II p. 266 sqq.; in Gallandi bibl. patr. X = Migne's patr. LI p. 917—948.

3. Isid. ill. 38 (script. eccl. 25): Victor Tunnunensis ecclesiae africanae episcopus a principio mundi usque ad primum Iustini iunioris imperium (a. 566) brevem per consules annuos bellicarum. ecclesiasticarum rerum nobilissimam promulgavit historiam. He took part in the three-chapter-quarrel and was therefore imprisoned in a monastery by Justinian, first in Egypt, then at Constantinople, where he also died (a. 569). Cf. Victor ad a. 555. 556. Isid. chron. p. 419 Ronc.: Victor Tunnunensis ecclesiae episcopus recensitis praedictorum (Hieronymus and continuator) historiis gesta sequentium aetatum usque ad consulatum Iustini iunioris explevit. The extant part, however, begins: a XVIII consulatu Theodosii iunioris (a. 444) Victor episc. Tunn. ecclesiae Africae historiam prosequitur ubi Prosper reliquit. But as V. in a. 444—455 agrees with Prosper not only in the facts, but not rarely also in the expressions, Papencordt (Hist. of the Vandals p. 359—364) conjectured that Isidore's statement was right and that the contradictory statement of the mss. of Victor was merely due to a copyist who possessed Prosper's work only in the edition extending to a. 444 or in a mutilated ms., and that he added Victor's description of the later time as continuation, omitting the preceding parts from the Creation until a. 444, which were consequently lost.

4. The political events of the years 444—455 are treated more briefly by Vict., while Prosper dwells more on the ecclesiastical events. In the following parts he devotes his attention almost exclusively to the ecclesiastical history of Africa. His information bears the stamp of honesty, but there is much confusion in chronological details. Marginal additions to his Chronicle by anonymous authors contain some facts of no mean importance. Papencordt p. 364 sq. Edition in Roncalli II p. 337 sqq., and in the patristic Collections of Galland and of Migne (LXVIII p. 937—962).

5. Marii Aventicensis († a. 596) chronicon, first edited by Chifflet, then in the collections of Bouquet (Recueil des hist. de la France II p. 12 sqq.), Roncalli (II p. 399 sqq.), and Gallandi and Migne (T. LXXII p. 793—802).

6. Isid. ill. 31: Ioannes, Gerundensis ecclesiae episcopus, natione Gothus provinciae Lusitanae Scallabitanus. At Constantinople he studied Latin and Greek, and septimo demum anno in Hispanias reversus est. He was persecuted by the Arians. postea condidit monasterium quod nunc Biclaro dicitur (hence Ioa. Biclarensis). . . addit et in libro chronicorum ab anno primo Iustini iun. principatus usque ad annum octavum Mauritii principis Rom. et quartum Recaredi regis annum,

historico compositoque sermone. This chronicle is printed in H. Florez España sagrada VI (Madrid 1773) p. 382 sqq. 430 sqq., in Migne's patrol. LXXII (p. 863—870) and elsewhere. Cf. from the praef.: post Eusebium, . . Hieronymum, . . nec non et Prosperum . . atque Victorem Tunn. eccl. afr. episc. . . nos . . quae temporibus nostris acta sunt, ex parte quod oculata fide pervidimus et ex parte quae ex relatu fidelium didicimus, studuimus ad posteros notescenda brevi stilo transmittere.

7. On the Anonymus Valesii see above 421, 13: on Ianuarius Nepotianus above 274, 10.

477. Between the years 551 and 555, the Goth Jordanis composed the two extant works de rebus geticis and de origine mundi (or de breviatione chronicorum), the latter a compilation on Universal History from the usual sources, while the history of the Goths is important after the loss of the original work of Cassiodorus, which was merely excerpted by Jordanis in a superficial and awkward manner.

1. A letter by Pope Vigilius (sentence of condemnation against Theodorus of Caesarea, in the contest of the three chapters), of 14 August 551 (Migne patr. LXIX p. 62): nos . . cum Dacio Mediolanensi, . . atque Iordane Crotonensi, fratribus et coepiscopis nostris, . . decernimus. We cannot decide whether this J. was himself present at Constantinople or sent a written declaration of consent. Jord. is nowhere else styled bishop, and he may perhaps be rather identical with the one mentioned in the letter of Pelagius (the successor of Vigilius) 15. Febr. 556 (directam a vobis relationem, defensore ecclesiae nostrae Jordane deferente, suscipientes etc.). Köpke p. 58—60. Jord. get. 50: Scyri . . et ceteri Alanorum cum duce suo nomine Candax Scythiam minorem inferioremque Moesiam accepere cuius Candacis Alanowamuthis patris mei genitor Peria, i. e. meus avus, notarius . . fuit etc. ego item, quamvis agrammatus, Iordanis ante conversionem meam notarius fui. He is also styled Iordanus or Iordanis by the Geogr. Rav. Peutinger and Rhenanus were the first to adopt the name of Jornandes, for which J. Grimm, Minor Writings III p. 151—179. 234. pleads.

2. The title is Iordanis de rebus geticis or de Getarum s. Gothorum origine et rebus gestis (cf. n. 5). From the preface which is almost verbally copied from Rufinus' preface to his translation of Origenes' Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans (v. Sybel, comp. Köpke p. 65—67): me, . . frater Castali, laxare vela compellis relictoque opusculo quod intra manus habeo, i. e. de breviatione (Var.: abbrev.) chronicorum, suades ut nostris verbis XII Senatoris volumina de origine actibusque Getarum ab olim usque nunc per generationes regesque descendentia in uno et hoc parvo libello coartem. dura satis imperia etc. super omne autem pondus quod nec facultas eorundem librorum nobis datur, qua

tenus eius sensui inserviamus. sed, ut non mentiar, ad triduanam lectionem dispensatoris eius beneficio libros ipsos antehac legi. quorum quamvis non verba reqolo sensus tamen et res actas credo me integre tenere. ad quos nonnulla ex historiis graecis ac latinis addidi convenientia, initium finemque et plura in medio mea dictione permiscens. His initium is from Orosius and some other Cosmography. The conclusion is: haec qui legis scito me maiorum secutum scripta ex eorum spatiosis pratis paucos flores collegisse, unde inquirenti pro captu ingenii mei coronam contexam. nec me quis in favorem gentis praedictae, quasi ex ipsa trahentem originem, aliqua addidisse credat quam quae legi aut comperi. nec si tamen cuncta quae de ipsis scribuntur aut referuntur complexus sum etc. The work was written a. 552: see c. 14 (Amalorum regnum destructum est, under Totila and Teja, at the earliest Oct. 552). 19 (pestilens morbus . . ut nos ante hos novem annos, i. e. 543 in Italy, experti sumus). 58 (Agil, contra quem Athanagildus insurgens . . ubi et Liberius etc.). Köpke p. 55—57. Cf. n. 5.

3. That the work of J. is, on the whole, a mere abridgment of the work of Cassiodorus, was first said by S. Cassel (Magyar Antiqu. p. 299), and proved by C. Schirren (de ratione quae inter J. et Cassiod. intercedat commentatio, Dorpat 1858. 94 pp.) on linguistic grounds, and by R. Köpke (German Investig., Berlin 1859, p. 50—79) by real arguments. See A. v. Gutschmid in Fleckeisen's Jahrb. 85, p. 124—151. The learned citations with which J. decks out his work are mostly copied from Cass.; he himself speaks (e. g.) of (c. 9) of Dio historicus qui operi suo Getica titulum dedit (a mistake for Dio Chrysostomus, J. Grimm p. 189). J. amplified his abridgment of Cass. with numerous marginal glosses (Köpke p. 74- 76). Besides C., he used perhaps Mela, Orosius and especially Marcellinus Comes, the latter without mentioning his name (Köpke p. 52. 62. 63). The numerous bad errors may all be placed to J.'s account. His careless production is made up of isolated fragments and episodes, some merely sketched, others broadly executed, it is full of awkward repetitions and yet abounds in gaps, it offers numerous wrong transitions and arbitrary jumps from one subject to another. At the conclusion J. has apparently forgotten his promises at the beginning, and in another passage he refers to preceding statements he has never made. His work is altogether a *rudis indigestaque moles*, but in details the information is of much importance, and when the original colouring is not quite effaced, the matter is even highly interesting (Köpke p. 72). The safety of the remnants of his nation is laid by J. in its connexion with Rome, which he thinks to be entitled to Universal sway by the decree of Providence (Köpke p. 77).

4. A separate edition of the work by C. A. Closs (recogn., adn. crit. instr., Stuttgart 1861). c. 1—3 ed. C. Stahlberg, Hagen 1859. 24 pp. 4. A critical edition in Pertz's Monumenta Germ. has long been expected.

5. From the preface to the breviatio (or de regnorum ac temporum successione). Vigilantiae vestrae, nobilissime frater Vigili (the

Pope a. 537—555, see n. 1), gratias refero quod me perlongo tempore dormientem vestris tandem interrogationibus excitastis. . . vis enim praesentis mundi cognoscere aerumnas. addis praeterea ut tibi quomodo resp. coepit et tenuit totumque paene mundum subegit . . ex dictis maiorum flosculos carpens breviter referam, vel etiam quomodo regnum a Romulo . . in Aug. venerit Iustinianum, quamvis simpliciter, meo tamen pandam eloquio. . . quoquo modo valuimus late sparsa collegimus et prius ab auctoritate divinarum scripturarum . . incohantes . . devenimus ad regnum Nini etc. . . in XXIV° anno Iustiniari imp. (April 550—551; cf. p. 240), quamvis breviter, uno tamen in tuo nomine, et hoc parvissimo libello confeci, iungens ei aliud volumen de origine actuque geticae gentis, quod iam dudum communi amico Castalio edidissem etc. Comp. n. 2. A. 550 or at the beginning of 551, J. had carried the brev. down to a. 539 (end of Vitiges), when he received the request of Castalius (n. 2); 552 he completed the History of the Goths, which he had likewise brought down to a. 539; whereupon he reverted to his Chronicle and added to it statements down to 551. Vigilius died 7 June 555. Köpke p. 57 sq. cf. p. 53—55.

6. An abridgment of Jerome's Chron. (and its sources Florus, Eutrop. and Sext. Rufus) is in the brev. succeeded by excerpts from Orosius, and then it winds up with Marcellinus, who is extensively used down to a. 547 (see above 476, 1 fin.). The author has often inserted statements from Eutropius and Orosius in Jerome without observing that Jerome had himself employed Eutropius, and Orosius Eutropius and Jerome (Köpke p. 52 sq.). There is in some passages a literal agreement with the Getica, while in others he deviates from it (owing to Cassiod.): see Köpke p. 60—63. A separate edition by Fr. Lindenbrog, Hamburg 1611. 4.

7. Complete editions in Garet's Cassiodorus, Gruter's hist. aug. script. latt. min., Hanau 1611 fol., and in Muratori's Script. rer. ital. I.

8. Papencordt, on the Rule of the Vandals, p. 383—388. S. Freudensprung, de Iornande eiusque libr. natalibus, Münster 1837. 4. H. v. Sybel, de fontibus libri Iordani de or. act. Get., Berlin 1838. 45 pp. J. Jordan, Jordanes' Life and Writings, Ansbach 1843. 28 p. 3. Hansen in Pauly's Enc. IV p. 541 sq. J. Grimm on Jorn. and the Getae, Trans. of the Berl. Ac. of 1846 = Minor Writings III (Berlin 1866). p. 171—235. J. Stahlberg, Contributions on German Historiography in the middle ages; I. Jornandes; Mühlheim a. R. 1854. 24 pp. 4. R. Köpke and others (see n. 3). W. Wattenbach, on the sources of the History of Germany[2] p. 55—60.

478. Works on special parts of history were also composed by the Briton Gildas (Sapiens) of Bath, and Gregorius, bishop of Tours, a native of Auvergne. Gildas (about 493—573) described the sufferings of his native country sub-

sequent to the landing of the Saxons, in his liber querolus de calamitate, excidio et conquestu Britanniae; Gregorius of Tours (c. 540—594) composed miraculous legends of Saints and other theological works, and more especially ten books on the history of the Franks, in pursuit of truth and not without criticism, but with all the prejudices and drawbacks of his time, and in a fragmentary and awkward diction.

1. Gildas I 26: usque ad annum obsessionis Badonici montis (a. 449), . . quique quadragesimus quartus oritur annus, mense iam primo emenso, qui iam et meae nativitatis est. A. 449 + 44 = 493. Praefatio: in hoc libro quidquid deflendo potius quam declamando . . fuero prosecutus . . non tam fortissimorum militum enuntiare trucis belli pericula mihi statutum est quam desidiosorum. silui . . spatio bilustri temporis vel eo amplius praetereuntis. . . amicis imperantibus ut qualemcunque gentis britannicae historiolam sive admonitiunculam scriberem. . . nunc persolvo debitum multo tempore antea exactum, vile quidem stilo, sed fidele (ut puto) et amicale quibusque egregiis christianis etc. It was composed after a. 543. The first half (Historia) contains in 26 chapters an historical account, the second (Epistola) adds increpationes, first against the reges patriae (Constantinus, Aurelius Conanus, Vortiporius, Cuneglassus, Maglocunus), non minus prophetarum oraculis (citations from the Old Testament) quam nostris sermonibus (II 18), then (pars III) also against the Clergy. The tone is violent, and the diction sometimes almost unintelligible, owing also to the long and entangled sentences.

2. Editions of Gildas in Th. Gale's hist. brit. scriptores XV (Oxford 1691 fol.), in C. Bertram's britann. gentium hist. ant. scriptores III (Copenhagen 1759) and in the Monumenta historica britannica (London 1848. fol.) I. In Migne's patrol. LXIX (p. 328—391) from Gallandi bibl. patr.

3. Gregorius (originally Georgius Florentius), the descendant of a noble family in Auvergne (Venant. Fort. VIII 21, 3 sqq.), was born between 539 and 543, became bishop of Tours 573, † 17 Nov. 594. His vita (by Odo) is of small value. Greg. hist. Fr. IV 1: veniam precor si aut in litteris aut in syllabis grammaticam artem excessero, de qua adplene non sum imbutus. Cf. de glor. confess. praef. and vitae patr. pr.: non me artis grammaticae studium imbuit neque auctorum saecularium polita lectio erudivit. He appears to be acquainted with Sallust, Virgil, Pliny, Gellius, Prudentius, Orosius, Sidonius; but his knowledge of ancient history and geography is very scanty. Kries, de Gr. Tur. episc. vita et scriptis, Breslau 1839. J. W. Löbell, Gregory of Tours and his time (Bresl. 1839; sec. ed., Leipzig 1869), p. 5—12.

4. Greg. hist. Franc. X 31, 19: decem libros Historiarum, VII Miraculorum (l. de miraculis domini ac s. apostolorum reliquorumque

martyrum. 2. de virtutibus s. Iuliani martyris. 3—6. de virtutibus s. Martini. 7. de quorundam feliciosorum vita = vitae patrum; cf. de glor. conf. praef.), unum De vitis patrum scripsi; in psalteriis tractatum librum unum commentatus sum; De cursibus etiam ecclesiasticis unum librum condidi (see n. 7). quos libros licet stilo rusticiori conscripserim, tamen coniuro omnes sacerdotes domini . . ut numquam libros hos abolere faciatis aut rescribi quasi quaedam legentes et quasi quaedam praetermittentes. De gloria confessorum is in the pref. designated as the eighth book of de miraculis. These works were not written successively by Gregory, but in turns; he was engaged on the lives of the Saints during all his life (perhaps 575—594) and was always working at his history of the Franks, which was composed about 577 as far as perhaps the middle of the fifth book, a. 584 or 585 to the end of the eighth book, and a. 590 or 591 from there to the conclusion, the epilogue being of a still later date. The commentary on the Psalms is nearly completely lost. The works mentioned Hist. Franc. II 23 (in praefatione libri quem de missis ab eo — Sidonius — compositis coniunximus) and de glor. mart. I 95 extr. (passio eorum, quam Syro quodam interpretante in latinum transtulimus) are likewise lost.

5. Greg. hist. Franc. I praef.: scripturus bella regum cum gentibus adversis, martyrum cum paganis, ecclesiarum cum haereticis, prius fidem meam proferre cupio, ut qui legerit me non dubitet esse catholicum. . . illud tantum studens ut quod in ecclesia credi praedicatur sine aliquo fuco aut cordis haesitatione retineam. The church in its relations to the time forms the subject of the author's interest, he is very orthodox and shares the tendency of his time to believe in miracles. He speaks, however, with great candour of the vices of many ministers of the church, and is never intentionally partial. His political horizon is not large, especially with regard to foreign events; see n. 4. In general he accepts traditional accounts without much examination, but in important details he carefully balances his pro and con. Löbell[2] p. 320—354. Wattenbach, Sources of etc. [2] p. 70—75. A German translation of Gregory's history, by Wattenbach, Berlin 1851, in the Historians of German antiquity. Junghans, on the History of Childerich and Chlodewech, kings of the Franks, p. 121 sq.

6. An edition of the works of Gr. by Th. Ruinart, Paris 1699 fol., reprinted in Migne's patrol. LXXI. This contains also the other Legends attributed to Gr., (e. g. historia septem dormientium), but unjustly, as Gregorius' own list goes down to the last year of his life. Cf. Löbell p. 14 sq.

7. Gregorii Tur. episc. liber de cursu stellarum qualiter ad officium implendum debeat observari, sive de cursibus ecclesiasticis, nunc primum (from a cod. Bamberg. saec. VIII) ed. F. Haase, Breslau 1853. 4. (Adnot. p. 29—51.) The author's name is not given in the ms., but Haase has proved the authorship of Gregory p. 1—3 (cf. p. 24: ante pestilentiam Arvernae regionis = hist. Franc. IV 31: and priusquam Sigi-

bertus rex obiit = hist Fr. IV 52) and p. 3—5 the identity of this treatise with the one briefly styled above, n. 4, de curs. (= officiis) eccl. Cf. 483, 6.

8. For works concerning Gregory see n. 3. A. Jacobs, géographie de Grégoire de Tours, Paris 1858. 155 pp. A. Lecoy de la Marche, de l'autorité de G. de T.: étude critique sur le texte de l'hist. des Francs, Paris 1861. 131 pp. G. Monod, études critiques sur les sources de l'histoire méroving. I p. 21—146 (Biblioth. de l'école des hautes études).

479. To the beginning of the sixth century we may assign a small diaetetic treatise addressed by a Greek physician **Anthimus**, in the Gothic part of Italy, to Theuderich, king of the Franks, which is also one of the earliest documents showing the transition of the Latin language into the Romance. The Latin versions of some writings of Oribasius were likewise intended for Germanic tribes.

1. The title of the work: Incipit epistula Anthimi viri inl. comitis et legatarii ad gloriosissimum Theudericum regem Francorum de observatione ciborum. He is perhaps the physician Anthimus who was, a. 478, accused at Constantinople of a treacherous connexion with the Goth Theoderic Strabon († 481) and banished (Malch. in Hist. gr. min. I p. 400 Ddf.). We may suppose that A. fled to the Goths, went to Italy 489 with Theodoric the Great, and was despatched as his ambassador a. 511 to Chlodwic's son, Theuderich, king of the Franks (a. 511—534). V. Rose p. 44 sqq. The author of this treatise professes to be a Greek and a physician; he alloys the traditions of Greek physicians to which he appeals with various observations derived from his own experience among the Goths and Franks. Cf. c. 14: de lardo, unde non est qualiter exire delicias Francorum, tamen qualiter melius comedatur ad horam expono: . . de crudo vero lardo, quod solent ut audis Franci comedere, miror satis quis illis ostendit talem medicinam. 64: fit etiam de hordeo opus bonum, quod nos graece dicimus alfita, latine vero polentam, Gothi vero barbarice fenea. 15: cervisa bibendo vel medus vel aloxinum quam maxime omnibus congruum est, quia cervisa quae bene facta fuerit beneficium praestat et rationem habet sicut tisanae quam nos facimus. 78: oxygala graece quod latine vocant melca (milk).

2. The treatise treats of 94 articles of food, of some quite briefly, according to their being digestible or indigestible in a raw or prepared state, also of bacon and beer (n. 1) and several kinds of fish (c. 39 sqq. cf. Rose p. 53 sqq.). There are many points of resemblance between this work and the cooking book of Apicius (above 278, 4). It is chiefly interesting for its Latin, which is the language then spoken and which the author himself had learnt by way of conversation. Rose p. 46 sqq.

9P—102. Comp. the phrase devenire sera 'become evening', de for the genitive, ille as article, caballicare, medietas 'half', sodinga, and others (Rose p. 46–48. 62 sqq. 99—105). The number of the mss. attests the great success this treatise obtained among the Franks, and there are also various recensions traceable in it (Rose p. 50—52. 56–62).

3. The text (chiefly from a St. Gall ms. saec. IX) in Val. Rose, Anecdota gr. et graecol. II (Berlin 1870) p. 65—98.

4. Paris. 10233, an uncial ms. of saec. VI or VII, contains a Latin translation of the Synopsis (ad Eustathium) by Oribasius. V. Rose, Anecd. II p. 116.

5. From the second book of Oribasius' *Κυνόριστα* (Synopsis ad Eunapium) a list of plants (ed. Rasar. II 1 p. 50—98) in Latin and in an order adopted to the Latin alphabet (agnus to ysopus), which was used by Macer Floridus saec. X, and of which there is a ms. saec. X at Laon; as Apla (*ἁπλᾶ*) Urivasii de herbarum virtutibus, it is found in cod. Sloan. 670 (saec. XII) in London. As the fourth book of Oribasii med. de simplicibus libri V, it was edited by Jo. Schott, Argentorati 1533 fol. Rose p. 110. 114.

6. After the ed. princeps of Caelius Aurelius tard. (ed. J. Sichard, Basle 1529. fol.) under the title of Euporiston libri III are printed parts of an old Latin translation of the two (very similar) Synopsis of Oribasius to Eustathius and to Eunapius, book I = ad Eunap. I 1—17; b. II (de virtut. simpl. med. ad Eunap.) = ad Eustath. II: b. III (de confectione ciborum) = ad Eunap. II 18—50. B. II (list of names) p. 257: isatis nomen Gothi visdilem (? Rose p. 117 sq.) vocant. Some phrases also (commalaxare) and expressions (plus utilissimum, sordes de statuis etc.), remind us of Anthimus and the translation of Alex. Trall. (below 489, 9). Cf. Rose p. 116—118.

480. The want of a sound collection of the existing principles of law and the laws themselves was felt both in the Western and in the Eastern Empire. In the Western parts there was also the desire to define the position of the German conquerors towards the conquered Romans; and an essential difference arose from the fact that in the East schools of law and historical studies of law were still kept up, while these had nearly disappeared in the West. Hence the endeavours pursued in both parts of the Empire and which aimed at the same ends, bear a very different character: in the West they appear awkward and rude, e. g. the edictum Theoderici regis of a. 500, among the Visigoths the lex romana or breviarium Alarici, in the Burgundian kingdom the so-called Papianus; but in the East Justinian created the Corpus

iuris. This consists of two principal parts, the laws of the Jurists (ius vetus) and the Imperial law (ius principale), the latter of which was first worked out (a. 528 sq.; an improved edition a. 534). A committee was appointed for this purpose, the chief member being Tribonianus († 545). The Constitutions of the Emperors were again sifted on the basis of extant Collections and the Additions to them; they were abridged and united in the twelve books of the codex Justinianeus. The Extracts from the ius vetus were arranged in fifty books called 'Digesta', a. 530—533. To suit the new codification a new manual was likewise elaborated by Tribonian, Theophilus and Dorotheus, the four books of Institutiones, chiefly after Gaius. To these were added subsequent edicts, Novellae, in three private collections, from a. 533 to about the end of the century, mostly in Greek. Though Justinian's motive in causing these Collections to be made was also a desire to immortalise his name, to create a mechanic equality in all legal matters, and to prevent controversies among the lawyers, while arbitrary decisions of the judges were rendered impossible — we should still acknowledge, that it was he that saved the treasures of ancient Jurisprudence already doomed to destruction, and that a historical treatment of Roman Law was facilitated by his Collection, which at the same time formed the basis for a further development of Law.

1. The Edictum Theoderici regis is a public edict of Theodoric made (perhaps by Cassiodorus) during his sojourn at Rome (a. 500). It contains 154 articles arranged at random, drawn ex novellis legibus ac veteris iuris sanctimonia (i. e. the cod. Theod. and later Novellae, also Pauli Sent. and cod. Greg.), and was intended to furnish norms for the decisions of military and civil judges. It is found edited at the end of Pithoeus' Cassiodorus (Paris 1579 fol.). in the collections of Lindenbrog, Goldast, and others; the best edition by G. F. Rhon, comm. ad ed. Th. r. Ostrog., Halle 1816. 4. Rudorff, Hist. of Roman Law I p. 293 sq.

2. The Lex Visigothorum, published by king Euric (a. 466—484) served as law to the Visigoths in Gaul and Spain. His son, Alaric II, appointed a. 506 a committee under the Count Palatine Goiaric in order to codify the extant law. His work is the so-called lex romana Visigothorum (to be distinguished from the national right in the leges Visigoth.), since 1550 arbitrarily called Breviarium Alarici or (from the referendarius Anianus who certified the copies) Aniani: first

published by Sichard (in his ed. of the cod. Theod., Basil. 1528 fol.), then by G. Hänel (ad LXXVI librorum mss. fidem recogn. etc. Lips. 1849. 4). 398 Constitutions are taken from the Cod. Theodos. together with 33 Novellae, from cod. Gregor. 22, Hermog. 2 Constitutions, one passage from Papinian. Gaius is admitted in an abridgment, and Paulus' Sententiae in a similar manner. In most passages a paraphrasis or interpretation has been added. In this shape the Roman law continued during the first part of the middle ages in a great part of the West, and was even again abridged. Rudorff, Hist. of Rom. Law I p. 288—291. 303. G. Hänel's preface (and in the Trans. of the Saxon Soc. of Lit. 1865, p. 1—18). Dernburg, Gaius p. 119 sqq. E. de Rozière, formules Visigothiques inédites, Paris 1854. 4. J. G. O. Biedenweg, comm. ad formulas visigoth. novissime repertas, Berlin 1856.

3. Lex Burgundionum of a. 472 (under king Gundobald), altered a. 517 (under king Sigismund), also called Gundobada. It is an instruction how to use Roman and Burgundian law, Forma et expositio legum conscripta, in 47 titles, arranged according to the titles of the Gundobada and drawn from the Burgundian laws, the codex Gregor., Hermog. and Theodos. with the Novellae pertaining to them, and from an unabridged Gaius and Paulus. The relation of this work to the breviarium Alar. (n. 2), to which it is frequently appended in the mss., is doubtful. In the mss. it has been considered as the text of the last rubric and hence entitled Papiani liber primus responsorum. There are also abridgments of this work extant. Editions by Cuiacius (1566. 1586 fol.), Schulting (iurispr. 1717. 1737. 4. 1744), J. C. Amaduzzi (Rom. 1767 fol.), F. A. Biener (ius civ. antei. p. 1501—1541), F. A. Barkow (lex rom. Burg. 1846), F. Bluhme (in Pertz Monum. Germ., Leges III 1863. p. 497 sqq.). Rudorff, Hist. of Rom. Law I p. 291—293. F. Bluhme, on the Burgundian Papianus, in Rekker and Muther's Annals of common German Law II (1858), and in H. v. Sybel's Historical Journal 1869, p. 234 sqq.

4. Const. Iust. de novo Codice faciendo of 13 Febr. 529: Haec quae necessario corrigenda esse multis retro principibus visa sunt, interea tamen nullus eorum ad effectum ducere ausus est, . . rebus donare publicis . . censuimus et prolixitatem litium amputare, multitudine quidem constitutionum quae tribus codicibus, Greg., Herm. atque Theod. continebantur, illarum etiam quae post eosdem codices a Theodosio . . aliisque post eum retro principibus et a nostra etiam clementia positae sunt, resecanda, uno autem codice sub felici nostri nominis vocabulo componendo, in quem colligi tam memoratorum trium codicum quam novellas post eos positas constitutiones oportet. (1.) ideoque ad hoc . . opus efficiendum elegimus . . Ioannem, . . Leontium, . . Phocam, . . Basilidem, . . Thomam, . . Tribonianum, v. magnif., magisteria dignitate inter agentes decoratum, Constantinum, . . Theophilum, v. cl., comitem sacri nostri consistorii et iuris in hac alma urbe doctorem, Dioscorum et Praesentinum, disertissimos togatos fori ampl. praetoriani. (2.) quibus specialiter permisimus, resecatis tam supervacuis . . praefationibus quam similibus et contrariis, . . illis etiam quae in desuetudinem

abierunt, certas et brevi sermone conscriptas . . leges componere et congruis titulis subdere, adicientes quidem et detrahentes, immo et mutantes verba earum, ubi hoc rei commoditas exigeret, colligentes vero in unam sanctionem quae variis constitutionibus dispersa sunt, . . ita tamen ut ordo temporum earum constitutionum non solum ex adiectis diebus consulibusque sed etiam ex ipsa compositione earum claresceat. On 7 April 529 the finished work was sent to the praef. praet. Menna at Constantinople (accompanied by the Constitution Summa reip. tuitio), with the injunction that after 16 April 529 recitationes constitutionum ex eodem nostro codice fiant.

5. Numerous new decrees having been promulgated until the Digest and the Institutions were completed (especially 50 'Decisions' of controversies), which then extra corpus eiusdem codicis divagabantur, a new edition of the Codex was undertaken (codex repetitae praelectionis), per Tribonianum v. exc., magistrum, ex quaest. et ex cons., legitime operis nostri ministrum, nec non v. magnif., quaest. et Beryti legum doctorem Dorotheum, Mennam insuper et Constantinum et Ioannem, viros eloquantissimos, togatos fori amplissimae sedis. They were invested with extensive powers to introduce corrections. This improved cod. Inst. was promulgated by the Constitution (of 16 Nov. 534) Cordi nobis, and received legal authority from 26 Dec. 534, to the exclusion of all other Constitutions and even of the first cod. Iust. (n. 4), which has, therefore, entirely perished. The new cod. Iust. is divided into twelve books, and these again into 765 titles. The latter contain in chronological order the (about 4652) constitutions and rescripts. The earliest Constitution is by Adrian, the latest of 4 Nov. 534: the greatest number by Diocletian and Maximian (1222), Alexander Severus (447) and Justinian (402). See a chronological list of them in Wieling, iurisprud. restituta II p. 3—143, which is supplemented by G. Hänel's Corpus legum ab imperatoribus romanis ante Iustinianum latarum quae extra Constitutionum codices supersunt, Lips. 1857. 282 pp. 4. with fasc. II, which contains excellent indices to the collections of Theodosius and Justinian (278 pp. 4). The constitutions of the time preceding Constantine are excellently written (cod. Greg. and Hermog.), those after Constantine badly composed, in the Byzantine manner. The ecclesiastical law is at the top, but in general the arrangement of the Digest (and thus of the Edict) is observed.

6. Decree to examine and arrange the ius vetus (de vetere iure enucleando) of 15 Deb. 530 (Deo auctore) in the cod. Iust. I 17 (Triboniano quaestori), where we read § 3: tibi primo et hoc opus commisimus, ingenii tui documentis ex nostri Codicis ordinatione acceptis, et iussimus quos probaveris tam ex facundissimis antecessoribus (professors of law) quam ex viris disertissimis togatis fori ampl. sedis (practical lawyers) ad sociandum laborem eligere. (4.) iubemus igitur vobis antiquorum prudentium quibus auctoritatem conscribendarum interpretandarumque legum sacratissimi principes praebuerunt libros ad ius rom. pertinentes et legere et elimare, ut ex his omnis materia colligatur,

nulla . . neque similitudine neque discordia derelicta. . . (5.) cumque haec materia . . collecta fuerit, oportet . . in libros L et certos titulos totum ius digerere, tam secundum nostri constitutionem Codicis quam edicti perpetui imitationem. . . (10.) si quae leges in veteribus libris positae iam in desuetudinem abierunt nullo modo vobis easdem ponere permittimus. . . (12.) nostram autem consummationem, quae a vobis . . componetur, Digestorum vel Pandectarum nomen habere sancimus, nullis iuris peritis in posterum audentibus commentarios illis applicare etc. The work, when ready, was promulgated in the Const. (of 16 Dec. 533) Tanta circa nos (Cod. Iust. I 17, 2 = Δέδωκεν in the prooem. of the Dig.), where § 1 it is stated on the authority of Tribonianus, duo paene milia librorum esse conscripta et plus quam trecenties decem milia versuum a veteribus effusa, which the Committee abridged to CL paene milia versuum, and divided into seven parts. Legal power attached to this collection since 30 Dec. 533 (ib. 23). A list of the members of the Committee ib. 9: Tribonianus (mag., ex quaest. et ex cons., qui similiter eloquentiae et legitimae scientiae artibus . . emicuit), Constantius (comes sacr. larg. etc.), Theophilus (vir ill., magister iurisque peritus at Cple), Dorotheus (vir ill. et facundissimus quaestorius, lawyer of Berytus), Anatolius (also apud Berytienses iuris interpres, of an old family of lawyers), Cratinus (comes sacr. larg. and antecessor at Cple), together with eleven advocates of the praefectura orientis (Stephanus, Menna etc.).

7. A list of the (38) iuris auctores excerpted with statements of the titles and numbers of their works is found in the cod. Flor. (n. 11), and hence generally called index Florentinus; it is printed in most editions at the end of the Digest, and also in Rudorff's Hist. of Roman Law I p. 305—307. The Excerpts of the Pandects have been arranged according to the authors and works in C. F. Hommel's Palingenesia librorum iuris veterum, 3 vols. Lips. 1767 sq. The Committee used, without much criticism, all ancient sources of law accessible to them, separated the component parts and clever'y united them again in the shape of a new building. This official work was, at all events, much more complete and trustworthy than previous works undertaken by private individuals, e. g. the fragmenta vaticana (above 399). Fr. Blume, on the arrangement of the fragments in the Pandects, Ztschf. f. Rechtsgesch. IV. 1820. p. 257—472. See Rudorff l. l. p. 303 sq. Th. Mommsen's editions of the Digest, Addit. p. 50*—58*, and the index librorum ex quibus Digesta compilata sunt, ib. p. 59*—67*.

8. Const. Tanta (see n. 6) 11: cum prospeximus quod ad portandam tantae sapientiae molem non sunt idonei homines rudes, . . ideo Triboniano, viro exc., qui ad totius operis gubernationem electus est, nec non Theophilo et Dorotheo, viris ill. et facundissimis antecessoribus, accersitis mandavimus quatenus libris . . qui prima legum argumenta continebant et Institutiones vocabantur separatim collectis quidquid ex his utile . . sit . . capere studeant et IV libris reponere et totius eruditionis prima fundamenta atque elementa ponere, quibus iuvenes

suffulti possint graviora . . legum scita sustentare. . . (12.) omni igitur rom. iuris dispositione composita et in tribus voluminibus, i. e. Institutionum et Digestorum s. Pandectarum nec non Constitutionum, perfecta et in tribus annis consummata etc. From the Const. (of 21 Nov. 533) Imperatoriam (before the Inst.) 4: post libros L Digestorum s. Pandectarum . . in hos IV libros easdem Institutiones partiri iussimus, ut sint totius legitimae scientiae prima elementa. (6.) quas ex omnibus antiquorum Institutionibus et praecipue ex commentariis Gai nostri . . aliisque multis commentariis compositas . . cognovimus. On the relation to Gaius (above 357, 5) see C. A. Klenze and E. Böcking, Gai et Iustiniani Institut. iuris rom. cognoverunt, adnotationem adiecerunt coniunctasque ediderunt, Berlin 1829. 4. Other editions of the Inst. by G. Haloander (Norimb. 1529), F. Hotomann (ed. II, Basil. 1569 fol.), J. Cujacius (Paris. 1585 and elsewhere), F. A. Biener (Berol. 1812), E. Schrader (Berol. 1832. 4.), P. Krüger (rec., Berlin 1867), Ph. E. Huschke (cum praef., Lips. Teubner 1868).

9. The extinction of independent jurisprudence, which was intentionally promoted by Justinian, and the inconsistency between Roman law and the actual state of the Byzantine-Greek Empire, caused new Imperial edicts: *νεαραὶ διατάξεις μετὰ τὸν κώδικα*, novellae constitutiones, briefly *Νεαραί*, Novellae. The projected official collection of these subsequent constitutions was not carried out: but there are three private collections of them extant. The earliest (perhaps of a. 556) consists of 125 Novellae and bears the title: Constitutiones novellae Iustiniani de graeco in latinum translatae per Iulianum, virum eloquentissimum, antecessorem civitatis Cpolitanae, hence briefly Epitome Iuliani. The second of 168 Novellae in Greek, perhaps of a. 580, is more complete. A third consists of 134 Novellae (the Latin in the original language, the Greek in a Latin translation) and was in the middle ages styled Authenticum (or liber authenticorum), now versio vulgata (Authenticum, novellarum const. Iust. versio vulg. . . rec. prolegg. etc. instruxit G. E. Heimbach, Lips. 1846—1851). F. A. Biener, History of the Novellae of Justinian, Berlin 1824.

10. Justinian allowed only verbal translation (*ἑρμηνεῖαι κατὰ πόδα*), and paraphrases (*ἑρμηνεῖαι εἰς πλάτος*) of his legal Collection, as well as references to other titles and passages (indices and *παράτιτλα*) while he forbade commentaries (*ὑπομνήματα*). But the studies of the legal schools at Rome, Ravenna and Pavia were of themselves kept within this circle. Hence date the earliest works on Justinian's legal collection: Glosses and Scholia on Julian and the Collatio leg.: the dictatum de consiliariis and the collectio de tutoribus, the legal collection of the Agrimensores, and the Turin Gloss on the Institutions (all of saec. VI) also Summaries of the cod. Theod. (Fitting, Ztschr. f. Rechtsgesch. X p. 317—341). P. Krüger. the Turin Gloss, Ztschr. f. Rechtsgesch VII 1868. p. 44—78. H. Fitting, on the so-called Turin Gloss and the so-called Brachylogus, Halle 1870. 103 pp. Cf. Liter. Centralbl. 1871 p. 153—155. A. Ficker, on the time and place of the origin of the

Brachyl. iuris civ., in the Trans. of the Vienna Acad. 1871 (vol. LXVII) p. 581—644. The earliest medieval school of glossators was that of Bologna (c. 1075). v. Savigny, Hist. of Roman Law in the middle ages, Heidelberg 1815—1831. 6 vols.

11. There is no ms. containing the whole of Justinian's Corpus iuris civilis. The Institutions, which are easily copied on account of their brevity, are found pretty frequently; the earliest mss. are of saec. X. The principal ms. of the Pandect is the codex florentinus (littera florentina) saec. VII, the last time collated, for Mommsen, by Reifferscheid and Kiessling. Its gaps are supplemented by the numerous vulgate mss. (saec. XI sqq.), which generally distribute the Digest into Digestum vetus (I—XXIV 2), Infortiatum (XXIV 3 to XXXVIII) and Digestum novum (XXXIX—L). See C. Fuchs, Critical Studies on the text of the Pandect, Leipzig 1867. Mommsen's Prolegomena. Only two of the mss. of the Codex (at Pistoja and at Monte Cassino) are as old as saec. X. P. Krüger, on the Criticism of Justinian's Codex, Berlin 1867. E. Zachariä, on the Greek versions of the Cod. Just., Ztschr. f. Rechtsgesch. X (1871) p. 48—69.

12. The editions may be divided into glossed and unglossed ones, i. e. some contain the notes (glossae) of the Bolognese School (first collected by F. Accursius, as glossa ordinaria, a. 1220 sqq.), and some do not. The earliest unglossed edition is by Cl. Chevallon (Paris 1525—1527), the latest glossed edition opera Fehii (Lyon 1627, 5 vols. fol.). Unglossed editions without notes by G. Haloander (Norimb. 1529. 4. 3 vols.), D. Gothofredus (the first under the name of Corpus iuris civilis, Genev. 1583. 4.), Freyesleben (Corp. i. c. academicum, 1721—1789); with critical or exegetical notes especially by D. Gothofredus (Lugd. 1590, the last reprint 1624. fol. by J. Gothofredus; repeated Amst. ap. Elzevir 1663 fol.), G. Chr. Gebauer and G. A. Spangenberg (Gotting. 1776. 1797. 4. 2 vols.), J. L. W. Beck (Lips. 1825—1836, 5 vols.), A. and M. Kriegel, E. Herrmann, E. Osenbrüggen (Lips. 1828—1843. 4. and often reprinted).

Of the Digest alone especially the editions ex officina Laurentii Torrentini (ex florentinis pandectis repraesentati, Florent. 1553 fol. 3 vols.) and recogn. Th. Mommsen et P. Krüger (Berlin 1866—1870. 2 vols. 4.) with the ed. stereotypa of it (Berlin 1863 sqq.)

13. E. Spangenberg, Introduction into Justinian's manual of Roman Law, or the Corp. iur. civ., Hanover 1817. The Manuals of the Institutions, e. g. by J. E. Kuntze (Leipzig 1869. 2 vols.), of the Pandect, especially by E. Böcking (I p. 58—69 with the supplements p. *1—*22); the works in the history of Roman Law by Hugo and especially by Rudorff (I p. 196—353). H. E. Dirksen, manuale latinitatis fontium iuris civilis Romanorum: thesauri latinitatis epitome, Berlin 1837. 4. 1029 pp.

481. A position midway between prose and poetry is due to the novel, which is in this century represented by the

fabulous account of king Apollonius of Tyre. It is a free version, in a Christian spirit, of some Greek original which may have been written in Asia Minor in the third century, but the extant version belongs to a Germanic period. It was much read in the Middle Ages.

1. That this novel is a translation appears from the numerous Grecisms found in it (Riese p. XI—XIII). In c. 34 one pound of gold is coined into 50 pieces, which was the custom since the time of Caracalla, while after Constantine it became usual to go by solidi, whence the original would appear to have been composed in the time between Caracalla and Constantine (W. Christ, Trans. of the Munich Acad., phil. hist. Cl. 1872. p. 4). The author of the original work was a native of Asia Minor (W. Teuffel, Rh. Mus. XXVII 104) and a pagan. The translator dressed up the work, though carelessly, in a Christian garb (ibid. p. 103 sq. Riese p. IX sq.).

2. The translation must have been composed after Symposius (above 442), whose enigmas are inserted c. 42 sqq., and before the treatise de dubiis nominibus (in saec. VII, cf. p. 582, 10 K.), in which (Gramm. lat. ed. Keil V p. 579, 2) the novel is quoted: in Apollonio (p. 16, 21 R.) 'gymnasium patet'. In the library of some monastery we find, a. 747, a mention of Historia Apollonii regis Tyri in codice uno. Hence we might infer that the work was translated in the course of the sixth century, which agrees also with the general character of the Latin (n. 3) and especially with the peculiar use of dos (c. 1 and 19) in a sense opposite to the Latin meanning, but peculiar to the German period = pretium puellae, 'Muntschatz'; see W. Teuffel (n. 1) p. 104 sq. (a peculiar mistake by W. Meyer, p. 26—28). By the side of this, Bern. 208 has dos in the Roman sense, c. 23 (numeratur dos amplissima).

3. Through the medium of the Latin version we discern that the original was a novel in the manner of the Greek erotic writers, especially Xenophon of Ephesus. The characters are but faintly delineated, the facts narrated are destitute of local and temporal colouring, and the style is originally affected. The Latin translator gave his subject a Christian colouring in agreement with the taste of his period; at the same time he barbarized, enlarged and, towards the end, abbreviated the original work. The sentences are frequently built up in a plebeian manner and diction, the style is without any literary culture, and there are words and phrases which belong to the sermo plebeius and remind us greatly of the Romance languages (Riese). See above 479, 2. See the collection of the late Latin peculiarities in Riese p. XIII—XV.

4. Just as in the historical romance of Julius Valerius (above 388, 11), the text of the tale of Apollonius was very freely dealt with, and arbitrarily abridged or altered. We possess short recensions in a Laurentian ms. (65, 35) saec. X, and in Vincentius of Beauvais. The

numerous mss. (about 100) exhibit the strangest varieties. Three principal redactions have as yet been traced, the one (A) represented by the mutilated Laurent. 66, 40 saec. IX—X, the second (B) chiefly by $9^1/_2$ leaves of Tegernsee (T) in Munich (W. Meyer p. 6 sq. 22—26), a Vossianus saec. IX—X (b), Vaticanus 1869 (R) and others (Meyer p. 7—10), containing a recension parallel to A; the third (C) best in the Sloanianus (γ) saec. XI and Vindobonensis 510 (Vi) saec. XIII, also Berne, 208 saec. XIII (H. Hagen, phil. Anz. 1871, p. 539). See Meyer p. 11—17 with W. Teuffel p. 106—108. Riese p. III—VII.

5. Editio princeps s. l. et a. about 1471, then by M. Velser (Augsburg 1595; Opera 1682, p. 681—704), Lapaume (Scriptores erotici ed. Didot, Paris 1856, p. 611) and especially A. Riese (rec. et praefatus est, Lips. Teubner 1871).

6. Translations and Versions. German a. 1471. Anglosaxon, ed. B. Thorpe, London 1834 (cf. W. Meyer p. 17—19). Old French in prose and poetical imitation, see K. Hofmann, ou Jourdain de Blaivies, Apollonius of Tyre, Solomon and Marcolf, in the Trans. of the Munich Acad. (phil. Class) 1871, 4. In (Pseudo?-) Shakespeare's Pericles, prince of Tyre (K. Simrock, sources of Shakespeare II p. 163 sqq.). A version in vulgar Greek (from the Latin) in 852 rhymeless politic lines, in W. Wagner's Medieval Greek Texts I (London 1870) p. 63—90 (*Διήγησις πολυπαθοῦς Ἀπολλωνίου τ. Τ.*) cf. p. 57—62. 102—104 and (C. Gidel, étude sur Ap. de T.) p. 91—101. Also A. d'Ancona, la rappresentazione di S. Uliva, Pisa 1863. Grässe, Literaturgesch. IV p. p. 457 sqq.

7. W. Teuffel, on the hist. Ap. regis Tyri, Rh. Mus. XXVII p. 103—113. A. Riese, ibid. XXVI p. 638 sq. W. Hartel, in the Austrian weekly Journal for Art and Science 1872, p. 161—172. W. Meyer, on the Latin text of the history of Apollonius of Tyre, Trans. of the Munich Acad. (phil. Cl.) 1872 p. 3—28. E. Bährens, in Fleckeisen's Jahrb. 103 p. 856—858.

482. At the beginning of this century the Etruscan Maximianus composed poems in the spirit of ancient elegy, full of life and sensuality, in which much is borrowed from the ancient poets; in many instances he appears affected and exaggerating, nor is he always correct. The principal subject of these poems consists in retrospective views of the poet's youth, and complaints as to its loss.

1. Personal relations. M. lets a connoisseur of humanity say of himself (4, 26): cantat, — cantantem Maximianus amat. 5, 5: me etruscae gentis alumnum (cf. 5, 40: tusca simplicitate senem). He spent his youth at Rome (1, 63. 37). dum iuvenile decus . . manebat orator toto clarus in orbe fui. saepe poetarum mendacia dulcia finxi, . . saepe

perorata percepi lite coronam (1, 9—13). Perhaps he taught at school (pueri . . irrident gressus . . et tremulum quondam quod timuere caput 1, 283 sqq.). In later years missus ad eoas legati munere partes (5, 1) to conclude a peace (5, 2 sq.). If the philosopher Boetius whom he mentions as his elder friend (magnarum scrutator maxime rerum, . . . Boeti 3, 47 sq.) was the well-known character (above 470), and the Max. to whom Cassiod. Var. I 21 is addressed (Theodericus rex Maximiano viro illustri etc., cf. ib. IV 22 Max. vir. ill.) be identical with our poet, that diplomatic mission might have been from Theoderic to Anastasius (Wernsdorf, poetae lat. min. IV 1 p. 221. 223—227).

2. The six elegies appear all to be the productions of the last years of the poet. The first (in 146 distichs) compares 'now' and 'then' in his life. The second (in 36 distichs) turns on the formosa Lycoris who despises the grey-haired poet. The third (in 47 distichs) contains a relation of some decent youthful passion, Aquilina; the fourth (in 30 distichs) of a similar passion for the dancer and singer Candida. The fifth (in 67 distichs) contains an erotic adventure with a coquettish Greek girl, in which the grey diplomatist is worsted and gives the girl cause for a pathetic speech on the mentula (non fleo privatum, sed generale chaos 5, 112). The sixth is merely a conclusion in 6 distichs. The author is a heathen (5, 45 sq.: nec memorare pudet tali me vulnere victum; subditus his flammis Iuppiter ipse fuit), well-versed in ancient mythology, and even more so in Virgil, Catullus and the elegiac and lyric poets of the Augustan time. He studiously endeavours to imitate the requisites of ancient elegy, and besides individual character and rhetoric he has also some obscene passages (el. 5). Cf. 471, 6. Very strong passages occur 1, 253 sqq. 2, 11 sqq. 5, 27 sqq. In all main points, the metre and prosody are correct; there are deviations from classical usage in the synaloephe in caesura (1, 77. 283. 5, 99. 153). Mortis is considered as a spondee (1, 208), ergo as a trochee (6, 9), and there are mistakes in Greek names (Socrātes 1, 48. pĕdagogus 2, 17. sīrĕniis 5, 19), according to the manner of the time.

3. The first editor, Pomponius Gauricus (Venet. 1501. 4.) suppressed 4, 26 the name of Maximianus to assist his supposition that Cornelius Gallus (above 227) was the author of these poems. Among later editors we mention especially Th. Pulmann (Antverp. 1569), P. Pithoeus (Epigr. et poem. vett. p. 423), and Wernsdorf, poet. lat. min. VI 1 p. 269—382, cf. p. 207—229 and (on some literary questions) p. 229—247. 260—268, also III p. 125—134.

483. Among the Christians, metrical composition was practised (in Italy, about the middle of this century) by the younger friend of Ennodius, the rhetorician Arator, who wrote a rhetorical versification of the contents of the Acts of the Apostles, in two books With greater facility, but less accu-

racy, Venantius Fortunatus wrote his poems some time afterwards (c. 535—600). He was an Italian, who found a new home in the kingdom of the Franks, was Presbyter at Poitiers for some time, and even rose to the episcopal dignity about the end of his life. Fortunatus evinced his metrical skill both in a rapidly written epic poem in 4 books on Martinus, the patron Saint of Tours, and in many other poems, hymns, and congratulations addressed to royal persons, bishops, and other dignitaries. The latter poems form a miscellaneous collection (Miscellanea) in eleven books of varying contents. He also wrote lives of Saints in prose.

1. Cassiod. var. VIII 12 (Aratori Athalaricus rex): primaevus venisti ad honores. advocationis te campus exercuit. . . intra te fuit quamvis ampla professio litterarum. . . auspicatus es militem. . . iuvat repetere pomposam legationem (de partibus Dalmatiarum to Theoderic, c. 525), quam . . torrenti eloquentiae flumine peregisti. . . genitoris facundia et moribus adiuvaris, cuius te eloquium instruere potuit, etiam si libris non vacasses, erat enim . . egregie litteris eruditus. . , ibi te tulliana lectio disertum reddidit ubi quondam gallica lingua resonavit. . . mittit et Liguria Tullios suos. . . te comitivae domesticorum illustratum honore decoramus. Ennod. carm. II 105 (in natalem infantis Aratoris). 114—116 (de flagello inf. Ar.). dict. 9 (praefatio quando Arator auditorium ingressus est). A ms. from Rheims: oblatus hic codex ab Aratore illustri ex comite domesticorum, ex comite privatarum, viro religioso etc. He had studied at Milan (under Deuterius) and Ravenna (ep. ad Parthen. 35 sqq.); he took orders at Rome c. 540 (cf. ep. ad Parth. 70) and became subdiaconus.

2. The Epos de actibus apostolorum (cf. Venant. vit. Mart. I 22 sq.) is preceded by two dedications in elegiac measure, to the learned Florianus (prisca volumina linquens, cede dies operi quod pia causa iuvat) and to Pope Vigilius (a. 537—555): versibus ergo canam quos Lucas rettulit actus historiamque sequens carmina vera loquar. Subscription: oblatus est huiusmodi codex ab Aratore subdiacono . . papae Vigilio et susceptus ab eo die VIII id. Apr. (of a. 544) in presbyterio. . . quem cum ibidem legi mox pro aliqua parte fecisset Surgentio . . in scrinio dedit recte collocandum. cuius beatitudinem litterati omnes doctissimique continuo rogaverunt ut eum iuberet publice recitari. quod cum fieri praecepisset in ecclesia b. Petri quae vocatur Ad vincula, . . turba convenit atque eodem Aratore subdiac. recitante distinctis diebus ambo libri quattuor vicibus sunt auditi, . . propter repetitiones assiduas quas cum favore multiplici postulabant. The work was sent Parthenio mag. off. atque patricio (in Gaul), his early friend (at Ravenna) and son of the sister of Ennodius, with a dedication in elegiac measure, in which Martial and Claudian are used.

3. The first book contains 1076, the second 1250 hexameters. The subject quite disappears in the rhetorical treatment. The form is elegant, though there are numerous inaccuratenesses, just as in the poets preceding Arator (eccl$\bar{e}$siae, id$\bar{o}$la, Mac$\bar{e}$do, Phar$\bar{a}$o, aff$\bar{a}$tim, sp$\bar{a}$do etc.). Edited in G. Fabricius, corp. poett. christ. p. 569 sqq. in the bibl. patr. max. X and especially (cum observatt.) by H. J. Arntzen (Zutphan. 1769). Hence in Migne's patrol. LXVIII p. 45—252. Ed. A. Hübner, Neisse 1850.

4. Venantius Honorius Clemens Fortunatus was a native of the East of Upper Italy (vit. Mart. IV 665 sqq.: mea Tarvisus. . . per Cenetam gradiens et amicos Duplavenenses, qua natale solum est mihi). He studied rhetoric, grammar and jurisprudence, perhaps at Ravenna, v. Mart. I 26 sqq. He went (s. misc. I prol.) to Gaul, as he says on account of the miraculous power of St. Martin (v. Martin. I 44. IV 684 sqq. VIII 1, 21), about a. 564, under King Sigibert (X 20, 1 sq.). At Tours Gregory (above 478) was then bishop and took some interest in Fortunatus (VIII 21, 11. 26, 2 sqq. 27, 11 sqq.). Many poems of F. are addressed to him (misc. V 3—5. 9—20. VIII 16—27. IX 6 sq. cf. X 5 sq. 12 sq. 19). At Poitiers he was detained (VIII 1, 21: Martinum cupiens voto Radegundis adhaesi; cf. ib. 11 sq.: Fortunatus ego . . Pictavis residens) by the pious Thuringian princess Radagund, the former wife of Lotharius I., (misc. VIII 1, 22), to whom many poems are addressed, some in quite an enthusiastic tone (misc. VIII 14, 6: sine te nimium nocte premente gravor. . . tempora subducis ceu non videaris amanti, cum vos dum cerno hoc mihi credo parum. 15, 3: abstuleras tecum, revocas mea gaudia tecum. XI 2: quamvis sit caelum nebula fugiente serenum, — te celante mihi stat sine sole dies). After her death (587) F. wrote also her life. To her daughter Agnes XI 5 sqq. At Poitiers primum presbyter, deinde episcopus ordinatus est atque in eodem loco digno tumulatus honore quiescit (Paul. Diac. hist. Langob. II 13). In his poems he never calls himself presbyter or bishop, but XI 4, 3 Fortunatus agens (of Radegundis) and there is no mention of his taking orders before XI 29. Gregory of Tours (hist. Franc. V 8) calls him merely presbyter; F. would, therefore, seem to have become bishop after the completion of that work, i. e. 592. His poems often indicate a somewhat parasitic kind of life (e. g. III 16. VII 14 sq. X 12. XI 9 sqq.). Th. Bormann on the Life of the Latin poet Venantius etc. (Fulda 1848. 4.) p. 3—22; cf. p. 15: 'V. appears in his poems as a man who largely offers incense to the temporal and spiritual dignitaries, without being very strict as to truth. He heaps upon such characters as Charibert, Childerich, and Fredegunda praises certainly not merited; in relating the death of Galsuinta he pretends not to know anything of the author of that disgraceful deed' etc.

5. Prose-works of F.: biographies of bishop Hilarius of Poitiers, written at the request of his successor Pascentius (P. II: de miraculis s. Hilarii); of Albinus confessor; Germanus, Bishop of Paris; Severinus, Bishop of Bordeaux (Greg. Tur. de glor. conf. 45; not preserved); Me-

dardus, Bishop of Noyon (in Surius III p. 658—670); Amantius, Radegunda and others. They are edited e. g. in Migne LXXXVIII p. 513—561. There are many prose-compositions in the Miscellanea, espec. letters to bishops, an explanation of the Lord's Prayer (X I) and the Apostolic Symbol (XI 1). The prose-style of F. is throughout affected, heavy and stilty.

6. De vita s. Martini libri IV. Dedication to Gregory: cum iusseritis ut opus illud . . quod de suis virtutibus explicuisti (above 478, 4) versibus debeat digeri, id agite ut ipsum mihi relatum iubeatis transmitti. nam . . quod de vita eius vir disertus, domnus Sulpicius (above 435), sub uno libello prosa descripsit et reliquum quod dialogi more subnectit, primum quidem opus a me duobus libellis et dialogus subsequens aliis duobus libellis complexus est, ita ut brevissime . . in IV libellis totum illud opus versu inter hoc bimestre spatium, inter frivolas occupationes sulcarim. Cf. III 10 sq.: cum duce Sulpicio, bene cuius ab ore venusto Martini sacros dulcis stilus edidit actus. The extensive work (613+491+529+712=2245 hexameters) sufficiently betrays the haste with which it was executed: the design is hasty (cf. I 45 sq. 50 sqq. 56 sqq.), mechanically taking the matter from Sulpicius, the execution is lenghthy and trivial, with many empty puns (e. g. I 19: prudens prudenter Prudentius immolat actus; perhaps an allusion to the words of his patron Gregory, de curs. eccl. p. 24 Hse: Prudentius cum de . . stella prudenter dissereret; I 99: ne timeam timidum, timor est deus, arma timentum); in his form the author combines the incorrectnesses of all his predecessors (hĕresis, ecclĕsiae, problĕma, Apollinăris, Arrius = Ἄρειος, ergŏne, miscam etc.) and adds to them a negligent treatment of his verse (e. g. I 140: dogmate, luce, fide informans virtute sequaces). The work was composed before 576, as at the time of composition (IV 636 sq.) Germanus was still bishop of Paris (cf. Greg. Tur. V 8).

7. A considerable historical and topographic value attaches to the eleven volumes of poetry (miscellanea), of varied contents, most of them occasional pieces. From the affectedly modest preface to Gregory: quia viriliter flagitas ut quaedam ex opusculis imperitiae meae tibi transferenda proferrem, nugarum mearum admiror te amore seduci . . praesertim quod ego imperitus de Ravenna progrediens Padum . . Tiliamentumque tranans, . . Rhenum Germania transiens ac post Mosellam, . . Ligerim et Garomnam . . transmittens, Pyrenaeis occurrens . . paene aut equitando aut dormitando conscripserim. Only I 1. 2. relate to Italy; all the other poems seem to have been written in Gaul. The arrangement is partly chronological, partly according to the rank of the persons addressed. The bishop Leontius, who is addressed as living I 15, receives an epitaph IV 10; in the sixth book Sigibert († 575) and Charibert († 567) are kings; but in the ninth Chilperich (I., † 584) and in the tenth Childebert (II., born 570), Sigibert's son and successor (a. 575—596). VI 2 treats of the marriage of Sigibert and Brunhild (a. 566). VII 9, 7 F. has been away from his home for

nine years, VII 9, 7; in IX 7, 50 he mentions poems written by him twenty years ago. Books I—III treat, above all things, of ecclesiastical matters (buildings etc.) and persons, IV contains epitaphs on a bishop, an abbot, presbyter, dean, then on lay persons, last of all on ladies; V is addressed to bishops, especially St. Martin and Gregory; VI to kings, queens and princesses; VII to high persons at the Court and in the State (Gogo, Bodegisil, Lupus, Mummulenus, Sigismund, and others); VIII contains compositions of a Christian character, and poems addressed to Radegundis and Gregory; IX to Chilperic and Fredegunda and her children, to Gregory and several bishops and other Clergymen; IX again to Mummulenus, to Childebert and Brunhild, Sigoald; XI a poetical correspondence with Radegundis and her abbess Agnes. The collection seems to have originally terminated with the eighth book, IX —XI being subsequent additions.

8. The majority of the poems are in distichs; only V 8, VI 2 (an epithalamium) VIII 9 being in hexameters. IX 7 is in Sapphics, at Gregorius' request. A prosaic preface to a poem occurs V 5 (and IX 6); prose-letters terminate with verse III 4. V 1. An elegy in the shape of a serpent (ophites, serpentinus, echoicus; see above 32, 9) III 37. Several poems treat of personal adventures quite in the manner of elegies (VI 12. VII 14), travels (X 10. XI 27 sq.), health (VI 12. VIII 16); also the elegy de excidio Thuringiae (ex persona Radegundis) may be ascribed to this class, and VI 7 (on the death of Galesuinta), and V 20 (on the death of Medardus). Others again are versified letters (in commendation of himself and of others). There are numerous instances of laudatory poems addressed to living persons, especially bishops (Leontius, Felix, Gregorius). There are inscriptions of churches and vases; and epigrams as short occasional pieces.

9. Ecclesiastical hymns in four strophes each, mostly in rhymes and accentual prosody; the majority in iambic rhythm (dim. iamb. ac. II 7. 10. VIII 3 sq.; cat. II 8), trochaic II 9 (dim. troch. ac. and cat.); the accentual prosody is particularly powerful VIII 5 (áve, máris stélla, déi máter àlma, . . solve vincla réis, mála nostra pelle, íter pára tutum etc.). Hiatus is quite disregarded (II 9: arbor feta alma luce; stans ad aram immo supplex). II 4. 5. are artificial poems in the manner of Porfirius (above 398, 1—3): poems the initials of which form the shape of a cross or the beginning of the name of Christ (V 7 being at the same time an acrostich). The hymn on Leontius (I 16), the strophes of which are arranged according to the alphabet, is generally ascribed to Amoenus (above 467, 2), and the trochaic hymn II 1 (pange lingua etc.) is dinstinctly ascribed to Claudianus Mam. (above 461, 3 and 5) by Gennadius.

10. F.'s knowledge of Greek literature is very poor (VII 12, 25 sqq.: Archyta, Pythagoras, Arătus, Cato, Plāto, Chrysippus. . . quidve poeta potest Maro, Lysa, Menander, Homerus; comp. such quantities as Chalcĕdŏn. While at home, he may have been better versed in Roman literature; but in Gaul his knowledge gradually dwindled down to

Cicero and Virgil with a few reminiscences of Horace (V 6. IX 7). Comp. IX 7, 35 sqq. He is more at home in Christian literature (Mart. I 15 sqq. misc. VIII 1 54 sqq. VIII 6). His Christian zeal is very great, but somewhat obtrusive. Cf. misc. II 12, 3 sqq.: iam pietatis opus, victores (martyrs) texere libris, admonet ingenium, res ratione duplex. una quod est habilis de magnis magna fateri. . . altera causa monet quoniam successus amatur etc. We frequently discern very mundane motives, e. g. in the epithalamium (VI 2), and VIII 6, 205 sqq. womanly love for Christ is described in rather strong colours. Altogether F. possesses more of talent than of character. His distichs have as easy a flow as Ovid's, but they lack Ovid's clearness, elegance, and art. 'In the prosody of proper names F. appears to consult merely his convenience (e. g. Cĕsărĭa, Agrĭppina); short syllables are very frequently lengthened by arsis, and long ones are not rarely shortened. There are harsh synaloephes (e. g. si Hilarium quaeris, quae ut foveas, pro undis); hiatus is admitted, especially between the two parts of the pentameter), and the caesura is often neglected. There are plebeian forms like movĕret (VII 1, 1), regionis utraeque (VII 5), concivis (VII 14) etc. F. is inded sermone levis (Mart. I 27) and wrote but too fast; see n. 6 and misc. III 27 (garrulitate levi). V 5 praef. X 12 (ex tempore); frequently he wrote at order. He is fond of puns (funis, finis; febris fibris; saluto salutem etc.).

11. Editions of the works of F. by Ch. Brower (Mayence 1603. 4.), M. A. Luchi (Rome 1786, 2 vols.), the latter reprinted in Migne's patrol. LXXXVIII. The poems on the Moselle in the editions of Ausonius' Mosella by Tross and by Böcking (p. 105—123); see above p. 388.

12. Ven. Fort. misc. III 23 to the bishop Bertechramnus of Bordeaux; ardua suscepi missis epigrammata (of B.) chartis. . . nitido pomposa poemata cultu. He finds, however, plagiarisms in them (carmine de veteri furta novella) and metrical mistakes (superaddita syllaba, pede laesa).

13. There are 28 elegiac lines by some Honorius scholasticus to Jordanes, bishop of Ravenna in the middle of the sixth century, in reply to his exhortation to retire from the world, in Mabillon, Analecta I p. 364 (387).

484. With the correctness of a grammarian and the servility and bombast of a Byzantine, the African Flavius Cresconius Corippus wrote epic poems on historical subjects with a panegyric tendency, seven books Johannidos s. de bellis libycis, and four books de laudibus Justini Aug. But rarely the thick clouds of incense are lighted up by a spark of historical truth; but his form is fluent and imitated from such masters as Virgil and Claudian. But the epic poem of an

anonymous author, entitled Orestis tragoedia, attests the barbarous state of the diction and prosody prevailing in the West, though the hexameters are faultless.

1. In the headings we have the statement Corippus africanus grammaticus. His Johannis consists of (581+488+460+1171+773+542+656=) 4671 hexameters (b. VIII having a gap at the end), with a preface in 40 elegiac lines; it treats of the war carried on by John the Patrician against the Mauritanians in Africa, c. 550 (cf. Procop. Vand. II 28). From the preface (ad proceres Carthaginienses): descripsit . . Aeneam doctus carmine Vergilius, meque Iohannis opus docuit describere pugnas etc. Aeneam superat melior virtute Iohannes, sed non Vergilio carmina digna cano. . . nutat in angustum discors fortuna poetae. . . quid [quod ego] ignarus quondam per rura locutus urbis per populos carmina mitto palam. forsitan ex fracto ponetur syllaba versu: confiteor; Musa est rustica namque mea. . . quos doctrina negat confert victoria versus (an allusion to Juv. I 79). Ed. princeps: ex cod. mediolanensi op. et stud. Petri Mazzuchelli, Mailand 1820.

2. The panegyric on the Emperor Justinus minor (a. 565—578; see W. Teuffel in Pauly's Enc. IV 1845. p. 681—685) was written after the Johannis (praef. 35 sq.: quid libycas gentes, quid syrtica proelia dicam, iam libris completa meis?), and has a preface (mutilated at the beginning) in 48 hexameters, candidly stating the purpose of the poem (v. 39 sqq.): cui vincere fas est indomitas gentes, . . vince meae saevam fortunae, deprecor, iram. . . nudatus propriis et vulnera plurima passus ad medicum veni. . . huic ego sananti . . grates semper ago et pro munere carmina porto. (Cf. IV 182 sqq.) There follows a dedication to an influential officer at Justinus' Court, the quaestor Anastasius, in 51 hexameters. The first book of this poem consists of 367 hexameters, the second of 430, the third of 407, the fourth of 377, but it is mutilated at the conclusion. The design is so lengthy that these four books embrace only the first week of Justinus' reign. The unique ms. from which M. Ruiz published the poem (Antv. 1581) has now disappeared. Later editions by Th. Dempster (Paris 1610), A. Rivinus (Lips. 1653), N. Rittershaus (Altorf 1664. 4.) and in W. Jäger's Panegyrici, No. XII.

3. A complete edition of Corippus with the notes and introductions of the preceding editors in the Bonn Corpus scriptor. hist. byz., with Merobaudes (recogn. Imm. Bekker), Bonn 1836.

4. In two mss., an Ambrosian (Mai, Spicileg. I. p. XXIV) and a Berne ms. saec. IX we possess Orestis tragoedia, in 971 hexameters. The monstrous idea of putting this subject into an epic, and styling it a tragoedia, points to a period entirely foreign to classical traditions. This agrees also with the numerous vulgarisms (cf. Mähly p. XI—XXVII) and the prosodiacal licences which are quite in the style of Fortunatus (Mähly, p. XXVIII—XXXIX), while the caesurae and synaloephae are

even elegant, and we meet with numerous reminiscences especially of Virgil, Statius and Lucan (Schenkl ed. p. 20 sq. Rothmaler in Fleckeisen 95, p. 863). Such quantities as Pylădes, ĕgistus (Aegisthus) render it impossible that the author should have been a Greek.

5. Editions of Orest. trag. by C. W. Müller (Rudolstadt 1858 sq. 4.), J. Mähly (Lips. Teubner 1866. 16.), C. Schenkl (Prague 1867. 83 pp.).

6. Critical contributions by F. Haase (miscell. philol. III 6. Bresl. 1861. 4.), A. Rothmaler (Nordhausen 1865. 4. Fleckeisen's Jahrbb. 95, p. 861—870), L. Müller (Rhein. Mus. XXI. p. 455—467), C. Schenkl (Zeitschr. f. östreich. Gymn. XVIII. 1867. p. 81—95), L. Schwabe (Dorpat Progr. of 1867, II. 13 pp. 4.), H. Hagen (Philologus XXVII. p. 157—168).

485. At the head of the theological writers of this century is Pope Gregory I (c. 540—604), whose estrangement from classical lore and enthusiasm for monastic institutions combined with credulity characterize him as a genuine son of his period, though personal advantages, adroitness and firmness procured him a prominent position in it. His letters are of much historical importance among his numerous works. He had great merits with regard to the improvement of ecclesiastical singing, and even wrote hymns. The high authority he and his works continued to enjoy soon caused forgeries and interpolations in his name. By his side we may mention his friend Leander, bishop of Seville, and Eugippius and Martinus, archbishop of Braga.

1. Gregorius the descendant of a rich and noble Roman family, born between 540 and 550, praet. urb. c. 571—574, Pope since 590, died 12. March 604. E. W. Marggraf, de Gregorii M. vita, Berlin 1844. G. J. Th. Lau, Gregory I the Great, described according to his life and doctrine, Leipzig 1845. 556 pp.

2. Greg. Tur. hist. Franc. X 1: litteris grammaticis dialecticisque ac rhetoricis ita erat institutus ut nulli in urbe ipsa putaretur esse secundus. Very hyperbolically Isid. ill. 27: tantum . . scientiae lumine praeditus ut non modo illi praesentium temporum quisquam doctorum nec in praeteritis quidem illi par fuerit umquam. But Gregory himself, in the pref. to his expos. in Iob (Moral.): ipsam loquendi artem quam magisteria disciplinae exterioris insinuant servare despexi. nam . . non mutacismi collisionem fugio, non barbarismi confusionem devito, hiatus motusque etiam et praepositionum casus servare contemno, quia indignum vehementer existimo ut verba caelestis oraculi restringam sub regulis Donati. Cf. epist. VII 32: quamvis graecae linguae nescius, in contentione tamen vestra iudex resedi. This agrees with the statement

of Joann. Saresber. nug. cur. VIII 19 that Gregory caused the books of the Palatine Library to be burnt, lest they should injure the Scriptures. Lau p. 11 sq.

3. His genuine prose-works: Expositio in b. Iob, also Moralia, a practical allegorical explanation of the book of Job, composed between a. 580 and 590, divided into six codices and 35 books, dedicated to bishop Leander. XXII homilies on Ezechiel, in two books (about 595). XL homilies on the Gospels in two books (c. 592). Regula pastoralis, excellent hints as to the administration of clerical duties, dedicated to John, archbishop of Ravenna, c. 590. Four books of Dialogues (with the deacon Petrus) on the lives and miracles of the Italian Saints, abounding in strange credulity (593 or 594). Fourteen registers of letters, arranged according to the years of his pontificate, with interpolations (e. g. the privilege of the Monastery of St. Medardus). Lau p. 311—319.

4. The authenticity of the following works is doubtful: A Commentary in six books on the first book of Kings; A Commentary on the Canticum Canticorum; the Commentary on the seven penitential Psalms; Concordia quorundam testimoniorum sacrae scripturae. Lau p. 319—323.

5. There are nine hymns by Gregory in the Benedictine edition III p. 877 sq. (Migne LXXVIII p. 849—851). Most of them are in the usual form of the dim. iamb. in strophes of four lines each, two are in Sapphics. The rhyme is sometimes strongly expressed (intimum — praemium — noxium — pessimum) sometimes indistinctly (optime — proferens — novae — originem). The diction is simple. Hiatus and accentual prosody as usual (Honor, virtús, impérium sit trinitati unicae, patrí, nató, paráclẽto etc.), even in the Sapphic poems (spiritus, cuius reboát in omni, lucis aurorá rutilans coruscat). Gregory's liturgic works (Sacramentarium, Antiphonies) were frequently altered by collectors and revisors in the Middle Ages. He founded schools of singers and introduced choral chanting. Lau p. 244—298.

6. Lau p. 326 sq.: Gregory was not destitute of imagination, nay in his allegorical explanations it often decamps with his intellect. Though he is garrulous and lengthy, he is also sententious, and his works are a store-room of practical observations and ingenious thoughts. In his explanation of texts he mostly follows St. Augustine, for whom he expresses great admiration, Ambrosius and Jerome, though he is also sometimes original. We miss in him systematic treatment, even accurate arrangement. . . The basis of his explanations is the Latin version of Scripture, sometimes the Itala, sometimes Jerome.

7. Complete editions of his works. Lyons 1516. 1539 sq. fol. Paris 1518. 1523 fol. Basil. ap. Froben. cura Huldr. Coccii 1551. 1564. fol. Ed. Jo. Gillotius, Paris. 1571. 1586. Cur. Petro Tussianensi, Rome 1588—1593, 6 vols. fol. and elsewhere. Studio Petri Gussanvillaei, Paris 1675. 3 vols. fol. The principal edition is by the Benedictines

e congreg. s. Mauri (cur. Dionys. Sammarthanus et Gu. Bessin), Paris. 1705, 4 vols. fol. A reprint Venet. 1768—1776 by J. B. Gallicioli in 17 vols. 4. Migne patrol. LXXV—LXXIX (1849). Lau p. 327 sq.

8. Isid. ill. 28: Leander, genitus patre Severiano, Carthaginiensis provinciae Hispaniae, . . ex monacho Hispalensis ecclesiae provinciae Baeticae constitutus episcopus (a. 576—596), wrote against Arianism. praeterea edidit unum ad Florentinam sororem de institutione virginum et contemptu mundi libellum etc. scripsit et epistolas multas ad papam Gregorium et . . ad ceteros quoque episcopos. floruit sub Recaredo, viro religioso ac principe glorioso, under whom his death took place. His works in Migne LXXII.

9. Martinus from Pannonia, abbas Dumiensis, archbishop of Braga (Braccarensis), † 580, nulli in litteris secundus suis temporibus habitus, . . versiculos qui super ostium sunt in basilica s. Martini ipse composuit (Greg. Tur. hist. Franc. V 38). floruit regnante Teudummiro rege Suevorum, temporibus illis quibus Iustinianus in rep. et Anatagildus Hispanus imperium tenuere (Isid. ill. 22). Besides political writings (above 284, 10 sqq. Fabricius, bibl. lat. med. aet. V p. 38 sq.) we also possess verses by him. See Migne's patrol. LXXII. A. Weidner, Martini Dum. Formula rec., Magdeburg 1871. 4.

10. Isid. ill. 13: Eugippius abbas ad quendam Paschasium diaconum libellum de vita s. monachi Severini († 482) transmissum brevi stilo composuit. . . claruit post consulatum Importuni iunioris (a. 509), Anastasio imp. regnante. His extant works are found in Migne's patr. LXII. The vita Severini Noricorum apostoli edited by M. Velser (Augsburg 1595. 4.), the last time by A. Kerschbaumer (Schaffhausen 1862). It is written in common speech and interesting for the plebeian Latin of the time. H. Sauppe, Gött. gel. Anz. 1862, p. 1545—1552. See n. 12.

11. Isid. ill. 17: Apingius, ecclesiae Pacensis Hispaniarum episcopus, disertus lingua et scientia eruditus, interpretatus est Apocalypsim etc. scripsit et nonnulla alia. . . claruit temporibus Theodi principis Gothorum.

12. Fulgentius Ferrandus, ecclesiae Carthaginiensis diaconus c. a. 540, the author of an extant systematic breviary of the canons, (breviatio canonum), see F. Maassen, A History of the Sources of Canonic Law, I (Gratz 1870) p. 799—802. On his vita of Fulgentius see above 472, 1. Edited by P. Fr. Chifflet (Divion. 1649. 4.) and in Migne's Patrol. LXVII. Besides the letter of F. published by A. Mai from a cod. Casinas of the Letters of St. Augustine, five more in rhetorical style (e. g. sancto patri Eugippio presbytero Ferrandus exiguus) are found in A. Reifferscheid, Anecdota Casinensia (Bresl. 1871. 4.) p. 6 sq. (nr. 4—8).

13. Iunilius, the author of a work de partibus divinae legis, ad Primasium episcopum in provincia Byzacena, and other works (edit

Paris. 1556, and in Migne's Patrol. LXVIII). A letter to him by Ferrandus (n. 12) in Reifferscheid l. l. p. 7.

14. Isid. ill. 20: Iustinianus, ecclesiae Valentinae episcopus, . . scripsit librum Responsionum ad quendam Rusticum, de interrogatis quaestionibus (dogmatic). . . floruit in Hispaniis temporibus Theudi principis Gothorum.

15. Isid. ill. 21: Iustus, Orgellitanae ecclesiae episcopus et frater praedicti Iustiniani, wrote an allegorical explanation of the Canticum Canticorum (in Migne LXVII). huius quoque fratres (likewise bishops) Nebridius et Elpidius quaedam scripsisse feruntur.

16. Isid. ill. 29: Licinianus, Carthaginis Spartariae episcopus (c. 584), in scripturis doctus, the author of numerous letters on dogmatic subjects (in Migne LXXII). claruit temporibus Mauritii Aug (a. 582—602). occubuit Constantinopoli.

17. Isid. ill. 30: Severus, Malacitanae sedis antistes (c. 580), collega et socius Liciniani episcopi, edidit libellum unum adversus Vincentium Caesaraugustanae urbis episcopum (Arians). . . est et alius eiusdem de virginitate ad sororem libellus, qui dicitur Anulus. . . claruit temporibus praedicti imp. (Mauricius), under whom he also died.

18. Isid. ill. 32: Eutropius, ecclesiae Valentinae (in Spain) episcopus, . . scripsit ad episcopum Lucianum . . epistolam etc. scripsit et ad Petrum episc. Ircabicensem de districtione monachorum epistolam. In Migne LXXX.

486. In the seventh century we find no traces of any cultivation of poetry in Italy or France, but we meet with such in Ireland and Spain. The Spanish kingdom of the Visigoths maintained much intellectual life. We find there the bishops Eugenius and Julian of Toledo, perhaps also Eucheria; and the bishops Maximus and Braulio of Saragossa.

1. By Sisebutus (see 487, 1. 3) we possess in some mss. of Isidore 61 correct hexameters on eclipses of the Sun and the Moon, Anth. lat. 483 (II p. 9—13) R. See L. Müller, Rhein. Mus. XXII p. 86 sq. 88 sq. They commence: tu forte in luco contendis carmine cygnis (L. Müller), . . at nos congeries obnubit turbida rerum ferrataeque premunt milleno milite curae, legicrepi tundunt, latrant fora, classica turbant, et trans oceanum ferimur porro, usque nivosus cum teneat Vasco nec parcat Cantaber horrens.

2. By Eucheria poetria we have sixteen distichs Anth. lat. 390 R. As v. 31 is quoted by Julian of Toledo (n. 6), some connexion between the two may be supposed.

3. Eugenius Toletanus († 657, see above 467, 5) is perhaps the author of the poem de philomela. Anth. lat. 658 R. Cf. Riese, ib. II

p. 115 not. and p. XXXVI sq. His works are collected in Migne's Patrol. LXXXVII.

4. Isid. ill. 33: Maximus Caesaraugustanae civitatis episcopus multa versu prosaque componere dicitur. scripsit et brevi stilo historiolam de his quae temporibus Gothorum in Hispaniis acta sunt (a. 431—644, a continuation of Dexter), historico et composito sermone. sed et multa alia scribere dicitur, quae necdum legi. His extant works e. g. in Migne's Patrol. LXXX p. 618—632. In the years 644—668 Eutrandus continued Max., ib. p. 633—635.

5. Ildefons. ill. 22: Braulio frater Ioannis in Caesaraugusta decedentis adeptus est locum. . . clarus est iste habitus . . quibusdam opusculis. scripsit vitam Aemiliani cuiusdam monachi. . . habuit sacerdotium ferme XX annis. . . duravit in regimine temporibus Sisenandi, Chintilae, Tulganis et Chindasuinthi regum. Comp. 487, 1. 5. His extant writings (44 letters, vita Aemiliani, Acta de martyribus Caesaraugustanis) e. g. in Migne's Patrol. LXXX p. 649—720.

6. Iulianus, bishop of Toledo a. 680—690, the author of a Prognosticon futuri saeculi ad Idalium (bishop of Barcelona) sive de praescientia futuri saeculi libri III, a Demonstratio sextae aetatis s. de Christi adventu adversus Iudaeos libri III, addressed a. 686 to King Erving (a. 680—687), a Historia de Wambae (or Wambanis) regis Gothorum Toletani expeditione (a. 674), a Vita Ildefonsi Toletani and others (Fabric. bibl. lat. med. et inf. aet. IV p. 198—200), printed together in Migne's Patrol. XCVI. Iuliani ep. Tol. Ars grammatica, poetica et et rhetorica . . nunc primum edita, Rome 1797 fol. Extracts from it in Keil's gramm. lat. V p. 317—326, with H. Hagen, Anecd. Helv. p. CCIV—CCXXXIX. The Ars is partly in the form of questions and answers, and generally follows verbatim the works of Donatus, Maximus Victorinus, Mallius Theodorus, and Pompeius. Audax and Isidorus are also quoted. Keil l. l. p. 313—316.

7. A short time after Isidore (who is quoted p. 582, 19 K.) the brief treatise de dubiis nominibus seems to have been composed, probably chiefly after the treatise of Flavius Caper, which bears the same title (above 338, 3). It was first edited by M. Haupt (in his edition of Ovid's Hal. etc. 1838, p. 74—105), then by V. Leclerc, F. W. Otto (Giessen 1850. 4.), lastly by Keil, gramm. lat. V p. 571—594, cf. p. 567—570.

8. In the seventh century the famous codex Salmasianus = Divionensis = Paris. 10318 in uncial writing (cf. 469, 12) was written: it contains chiefly a collection of Latin poems; see Riese, Anth. lat. I p. XII sqq. XVIII—XX. On the codex Darmstadiensis saec. VII see above 375, 7. 403, 6. On other mss. see above 416, 7.

487. The most prominent figure of this century is the last philologer of the Roman Empire, the industrious bishop

of Seville, Isidorus (c. 570—640), who did his best to maintain and promote the cause of ancient literature, though himself possessed but little knowledge and judgment. Among his numerous works on historical, grammatical and theological subjects the most important is his lengthy work Originum libri XX, which he left unfinished, interesting for the variety of the contents and the use he made in it of sources subsequently lost, especially Suetonius. His work de natura rerum has also been of much importance in the Middle Ages.

1. Praenotatio librorum d. Isidori a Braulione Caesaraugustano episcopo (see 486, 5) edita: Isidorus . . Hispalensis ecclesiae episcopus, Leandri (above 485, 8) episcopi successor et germanus, floruit a tempore Mauritii imp. (a. 582—602) et Reccaredi regis. . . vir in omni locutionis genere formatus. . . edidit libros differentiarum II (on synonyms 253 articles, and de diff. spiritalibus 35 articles). . . prooemiorum librum unum (short arguments of the Writings of the N. T.). . . de ortu et obitu patrum librum unum. . . ad germanum suum Fulgentium episcopum astigitanum officiorum libros II (liturgical). . . synonymorum libros II (s. soliloquia, cf. n. 2). . . de natura rerum ad Sisebutum regem librum unum, in quo tam de ecclesiasticorum doctorum quam etiam de philosophorum indagine obscura quaedam de elementis absolvit (see n. 4). de numeris librum I (cf. M. Cantor, mathemat. Beiträge zum Culturleben, 1863, p. 277 sq.). . . de nominibus legis et evangeliorum librum I. . . de haeresibus librum I. . . sententiarum libros III, quos floribus ex libris papae Gregorii moralibus decoravit, chronicorum a principio mundi usque ad tempus suum librum I (see n. 3). . . contra Iudaeos postulante Florentina germana sua . . libros II. . . de viris illustribus librum unum, cui nos ista subiunximus (see n. 3). monasticae regulae libr. I. . . de origine Gothorum et regno Suevorum et Wandalorum historia librum I (ed. 1601, p. 398—404). quaestionum libros II. . . etymologiarum codicem nimia magnitudine, distinctum ab eo titulis, non libris. quem quia rogatu meo fecit, quamvis imperfectum ipse reliquerit, ego in XX libros divisi. . . ibi redundans diversarum artium elegantia, ibi quaecunque fere sciri debentur restricta collegit (see n. 5). sunt et alia huius viri multa opuscula et in ecclesia dei multo cum ornamento inscripta. quem deus post tot defectus Hispaniae novissimis temporibus suscitans, credo ad restauranda antiquorum monumenta, ne usquequaque rusticitate veterasceremus, quasi quandam apposuit destinam. . . quo vero flumine eloquentiae . . Acephalitarum haeresim confoderit synodalia gesta coram eo Hispali acta declarant. . . obiit temporibus Heraclii imperatoris (a. 610—641) et christianissimi Chintilani regis. Ildefons. vir. ill. 9 (Isid. opp., Paris. 1601, p. 737): floruit temporibus Reccaredi, Liwanis, Witterici, Gundemari, Sisebuthi, Suinthilani et Sisenandi regum, annis fere XL tenens pontificatus honorem.

2. Braulio's list of Is.'s works seems to be chronological, in the main points; at all events the incomplete Etymologiae (or Origines) are placed at the end, and we cannot discern an arrangement according to subjects. The complete edition, Paris 1601 fol. contains, moreover, the following works not enumerated above: de contemptu mundi, Norma vivendi, Exhortatio poenitendi, with a Lamentum poenitentiae (cf. Ildefons. ill. 9: librum lamentationis, quem ipse Synonymorum vocavit) in strophes of 6 lines each in iambic rhythm. It begins: Audi, Christe, tristem fletum amarumque canticum, and terminates: Gloriam iam vigil canam alphabetum finiens, tibi patri filioque, inclito paraclito, cui laus erit et potestas per aeterna saecula. Besides these works, there are commentaries on the Old Testament, (ed. 1601 p. 413—515), and an allegorical explanation of it (ib. p. 515—525).

3. The chronicle (ed. 1601 p. 374—397), as is stated in the preface, joins Julius Africanus, Eusebius, St. Jerome and Victor Tunn. (above 476, 3 sq.). . . horum nos temporum summam ab exordio mundi usque ad Aug. Heraclii et Sisebuti Gothorum regis principatum quanta potuimus brevitate notavimus, adicientes e latere descendentem lineam temporum, cuius indicio summa praeteriti saeculi cognoscatur. The division according to the six ages of the world, in agreement with the six days of creation, is an invention of Is. The continuation of Gennadius' viri ill. in 33 chapters is also printed in the collections of de ill. eccl. scriptoribus (above 462, 13). W. Wattenbach, Sources of German History[2] p. 62—64.

4. The treatise de natura rerum (see n. 1) professes to expedire . . rationem dierum ac mensium, anni quoque metas, . . solis denique ac lunae cursus, . . tempestatum signa atque . . terrae positionem alternosque maris aestus. This seems to indicate a manual of the most memorable things of natural science. quae omnia secundum id quod a veteribus viris (chiefly Suetonius in his Prata, also Solinus and perhaps Hyginus) ac maxime sicut in litteris catholicorum virorum (Ambrosius and Augustine) scripta sunt proferentes etc. Cf. G. Becker's Prolegg. p. VI—XXIII. It was much read and copied, and also much employed, in the Middle Ages. Cf. G. Becker p. XXIII—XXXIX. It is printed in all the editions, e. g. ed. Paris. 1601 p. 354—373. Recensuit G. Becker, Berol. 1857.

5. There is a correspondence of Is. with his friend Braulio (see 486, 5) on the subject of the Origines. Ep. 5: codicem etymologiarum cum aliis codicibus de *itinere* transmisi et licet inemendatum prae valitudine tibi tamen modo ad emendandum studueram offerre. Ep. 6: en tibi, sicut pollicitus sum, misi opus de origine quarundam rerum ex veteris lectionis recordatione collectum atque ita in quibusdam annotatum sicut extat conscriptum stilo maiorum (i. e. verbally copied). There follows a list of contents. The four first books contain the artes liberales, the fifth juridical, VI antiquarian matters in relation to the Old Testament; VII Christian subjects, VIII on the history of

religion. Observations on language begin with the ninth book and extend to the twentieth, being arranged according to the subjects just as in Nonius Marcellus, with the exception of the tenth book, which is alphabetical. This encyclopaedia is chiefly derived from Suetonius' Prata, without any criticism, the authors mentioned by Suetonius being sometimes copied along with him, (especially Varro, see above 157, 1), and sometimes their names being replaced by indefinite expressions (e. g. gentiles, veteres, philosophi). Reifferscheid, Sueton. reliqq. p. 420—433. 476 sq., cf. p. 429 (neglegentissimus breviator). 431 (diversissimas res diversissimosque auctores confundere solet). 444 sq. 447. 449. 454. The work has been printed Augsburg 1472 fol.; cum scholiis B. Vulcanii (Basil. 1577), the latest edition being by F. W. Otto in Lindemann's corpus gramm. latt. III (Lips. 1833. 4.), but the one in Arevali's edition (n. 6) T. III. IV. is much better. The sections relating to rhetoric (from b. II) are best printed in Halm's rhetores latt. min. p. 505—522, cf. p. XIII. On the sources of Roman Law used by Isidore see H. E. Dirksen, Posthumous Writings I p. 185—199.

6. Complete editions: Paris. 1580 (studio Marg. de la Bigne). fol. Cum notis J. B. Perez et J. Grial, Madriti 1599 fol. and 1778, 2 vols. fol. Emendata per fratr. Jacobum du Breul, Paris 1601 fol. Colon. 1617 fol. The principal edition by Faust. Arevalus, Rom. 1797—1803. 7 vols. 4., reprinted in Migne's Patrol. LXXXI—LXXXIV.

488. The writer who composed, under the names of Aethicus Ister and Hieronymus, a Christian cosmography in six books in the Latin of Fredegarius, seems to have written about the year 630 and probably under the Merovingians. The so-called Geographus (Anonymus) Ravennas is no less barbarous: his basis being some Greek Cosmographer of the end of the seventh century.

1. According to the heading, the work professes to be Edicta Aethici philosophi cosmographi, which Aethicus (i. e. Ethicus) according to c. 2 Historiae regione sophista claruit primusque codices suos Cosmographiam nuncupavit. It was, as is stated, originally composed in Greek, but St. Jerome made a Latin abridgment of it, a statement analogous to that of Dares (above 464, 2). It is refuted by the quotation (c. 11 sq.) of the bishop Alcimus Avitus, † 523 (above 467, 9) and other historical references. In this work, Trogus Pompeius was used in an abridgment by Cassiodorus (F. Rühl, on the Circulation of Justinus p. 6–10). On the other hand, the work was known to and used by Isidor. Origg. XIII and XIV (see Pertz p. 5, note 13) and Fredegarius (in Wuttke p. LV sq.), who has it in his mind when quoting Jerome as an authority for the descent of the Franks from the Trojans.

2. Editions by d'Avezac in the Mémoires de l'acad. des inscr. XIX p. 230—531, Paris 1852, and by H. Wuttke, Leipzig 1853, (136 pp.), with an introduction (CXXXIII pp.), to which 1854 the treatise on the authenticity of the abridgment of the Cosmography of the Istrian Aethicus.

3. Treatises by Wuttke (n. 2) and C. L. Roth on him in the Heidelberg Jahrb. 1854, p. 269—277. 1855, p. 100—106. Kunstmann in the Munich gel. Anz. 1854, nr. 31—34, and III p. 46—60. C. A. F. Pertz, de cosmogr. Ethici libri III, Berlin 1853. E. Wölfflin, in Pauly's Real-Enc. I 1 p. 478. See above 439, 10.

4. On the Geographus Ravennas see above 58, 2. To this Mommsen, Trans. of the Saxon Soc. of Lit. 1851 (III) p. 80—117. G. B. de Rossi, sopra il cosmografo Ravennate e gli geografi citati da lui, Rome 1852.

5. Mommsen l. l. p. 116 sq.: "The Cosmography was originally written in Greek at Ravenna about the end of the seventh century. It was not long afterwards published in Greek, but in an enlarged form. The first draft of it was translated into Latin about the ninth century, and some time afterwards the second version was likewise translated; this was excerpted by Guido of Piso a. 1118. On the whole, this work is one of the few literary productions of the West in the seventh century, the barbarity of which it breathes — but only a small number of the geographical statements contained in it belongs to this time. Besides the Carlovingian interpolations, the book contains a number of statements derived from some Roman map of the third century.

6. We possess the text especially in two mss., the Paris. reg. 4794 saec. XIII or XIV (A in Pinder and Parthey), and the Urbinas of the Vatican Library (961 or 678) saec. XIII (B), to which the Bâle ms. (C) saec. XIV sq. The title is cosmographya in the Urbinas, cf. I 18 (lectionem nostrae cosmographiae exactionem facientes). IV 31 (Ravenna nobilissima, in qua licet idiota ego huius cosmographiae expositor Christo adiuvante genitus sum). There is an address mi frater carissime (p. 1, 11 P.), Odo care (p. 32, 1).

7. The sources may be divided into two classes. The one embraces a number of Roman, Greek, Macedonian, and Gothic so-called philosophi, to whom belong also the Amazons Penthesilea and Marpesia (from Jordan. Goth. 7 sq.), see p. 174 sq.: de qua patria subtilius agunt supra scriptus Pantesilius at Marpesius atque Ptolomaeus rex . . philosophi; these, however, serve merely to cover the poverty of the author who seems to draw all his information from one sole source, a circular map. The other class is serious and trustworthy. The author mentions among Greek theologians Athanasius of Alexandria, Basilius of Caesarea, Epiphanius of Cyprus, and the nefandissimus Porphyrius; among Roman authors Orosius (p. 50, 26. 420, 11 P.), Jordanis (chro-

nographus p. 205, 2. 221, 3. 422, 6. cosmographus p. 168, 12. 14. 179, 18. 185, 8; Iordanus cosm. p. 29, 13), S. Gregorius (p. 159, 8) and Sanctus Ysidorus Ispalensis (p. 13, 8). Mommsen p. 115. The original work was, therefore, written after Isidore's death († 636), and on account of p. 185, 3 sqq. after 678, also because p. 248, 7 the province of Brundisium is still called Calabria (Mommsen p. 116). The expressions iuxta, desuper etc. do not denote the real situation of the places, but the position they occupied on the map used by the author (ibid. p. 97).

8. Extracts from the Geogr. Rav. in a historical and geographical abridgment compiled by Guido of Pisa a. 1118. The mss. of this are enumerated in Pinder and Parthey's edition of the Rav., p. X—XIII; the text ib. p. 449—556. On the recension of the Geogr. Rav. employed by Guido see Mommsen l. l. p. 109—113.

489. On the boundary line between antiquity and the Middle Ages, i. e. between the sixth and eighth centuries, arose a number of Latin translations of Greek works, most of them on natural science and medicine. We may mention translations of works of Euclid, Philo and Hero, Hippocrates, Dioscorides and Galenus, among later writers of Soranus, Oribasius and Alexander of Tralles. These translations, part of which were expressly made for Germanic tribes, contributed to keep up a certain connexion between antiquity and modern times, Romanism and Germanism.

1. A list of the Latin versions extant in the time of Cassiodorus is given by him inst. div. 31; see above 456, 1. These translations were used by the Italian and Franconian physicians, and by the school of Salerno, long before the Arabic translations.

2. For a translation of Euclid see above 375, 7.

3. A piece from Philo's *πνευματικά* (liber Philonis de ingeniis spiritualibus), treating of the motion of water in pipes, in a Latin translation (from the Arabic), edited from London, Paris and Munich mss. by V. Rose, Anecd. graecolat. II (1870) p. 299—313 (with two tables). See ibid. p. 283—290. This is the only hydraulic treatise of antiquity.

4. Of Heron's Catoptrics we have a Latin translation (probably greatly abridged) with the heading liber Ptolomei de speculis, edited from an Erfurt ms. (end of saec. XIV) by V. Rose, Anecd. graecolat. II p. 317—330. See ibid. p. 290—296.

5. Translations of some of the most famous works of Hippocrates, especially his *Ἀφορισμοί, Προγνωστικά, περὶ διαίτης ὀξέων, περὶ ἀέρων ὑδ. τόπ.* Thus b. I of *περὶ διαίτης* is translated (saec. VI) in Paris. 7027 (together with *περὶ ἑβδομάδων*), and b. II in Sangall. 762 (p. 187:

lib. IIII ippocrati de cibis vel de potum). In ancient mss. we frequently find an old medical collection in five, books, edited under the erroneous title Oribasii de simplicibus libri V by John Schott (Strassburg 1533. fol.), and by A. Mai, class. auct. VII p. 399—458, with an erroneous application of the first title to the whole as Dynamidia (Dynameus, *δυνάμεως*, de virtutibus herbarum). Similar collections are found in the Sangallensis 762 (saec. IX). The first book is an abridgment of Ps. Apuleius de herbis (the Latin names of plants being prefixed); the second book (in the St. Gall ms. 762, b. I: de virtutes herbarum (Dynamidia Hipp.); b. III (St. Gall b. II, see p. 72: de erbas galieni et apollei etc.) again de herbis, from Galenus and Apuleius (the Greek names being prefixed). B. IV is an enlarged translation of the second book of the *Εὐπόριστα* (*ἁπλᾶ*) of Oribasius, a work itself derived from Galenus. The preface to this was erroneously prefixed to the whole by J. Schott. See above 479, 5 and 6. Book V is again an (incomplete) treatise on the Simplicia in alphabetic arrangement, employed in the Latin Dioscorides. This fifth book is completely printed as Galenus de simpl. medicamentis ad Paternianum in the editions of the Spuria ad Galenum. See V. Rose, Anecd. gr. II p. 110—114, cf. p. 120—125, and above 376, 4.

6. The translation of Dioscorides is extant in the original shape, an abridgment and an alphabetic arrangement. The latter was first printed at Colle (Tuscany) 1478 fol. The Latin translator made also additions from the supposed Oribasius (b. V, see n. 5), Ps.-Pliny, Apuleius de herbis. V. Rose, Anecd. II p. 113. 119, n. 2.

7. Galenus' Therap. ad Glauc. (*τὰ πρὸς Γλαύκωνα θεραπευτικά* in two books, called also Gal. de febribus or de curatione febrium) was long used in a Latin translation; it was one of the chief sources of Garipotus (saec. XI, school of Salerno). See n. 5 fin.

8. On the translation of Soranus by Aurelianus see above 456, 3 sqq.; of Pelagonius above 416, 13.

9. Of the work of Alexander of Tralles under Justinian, a Practician at Rome, *βιβλία ἰατρικὰ ιβ'*, in wich the various diseases from the crown of the head to the feet (excluding female illnesses) were discussed, a Latin translation appeared as early as the end of saec. VI; it was printed as Practica alexandri yatros, Papie 1520. 8. It was copied by Garipotus (n. 7), Passionar. IV 4—18, and verbally excerpted by Pseudo-Pliny; see above 424.

490. In conclusion, we may mention, at the end of the seventh and the first half of the eighth century some English clergymen who acquired in their way, some merit in classical literature. These are Aldhelmus, a writer on metres, and the learned monk and polyhistor Beda (Venerabilis), also

the two archbishops Tatuinus and Bonifacius, by whom we possess, among other works, also some grammatical treatises.

1. Aldhelmus, abbot of Malmesbury since 675, † 709 as bishop of Sherburn (Salisbury). We possess by him a number of riddles in hexameters (printed in the Bibl. patr. IV, to which additions might be given from Berne and Vienna mss.). The author prefixes to them the rules of heroic measure in the form of a dialogue (generally in verbal agreement with the so-called Maximus Victorinus), together with a list of all metrical feet and exemples of the different classes of words. This part was first edited by A. Mai (Class. auct. e vatt. codd. editi, T. V. 1833. p. 501—599) under the title S. Aldhelmi de septenario (i. e. the number seven) et de re grammatica ac metrica ad Acircium regem, and with the riddles, emended from a cod. Paris. in Aldhelmi opera ed. A. Giles (Oxon. 1844) p. 216—329, under the title: Epistola ad Acircium sive liber de septenario et de metris, aenigmatibus ac pedum regulis. Aldhelmus mentions also (p. 540 Mai) the sixth book of his work de nomine. Besides this de laudibus virginitatis (virginum) both in prose and in hexameters (the latter version with an acrostichic praefatio ad Maximam abbatissam), and (in epic metre) De VIII principalibus vitiis. His verses show that he studied Sedulius, and his subject shows that he employed Suetonius' Prata and Solinus. Reifferscheid, Suet. reliqq. p. 449 sq. Mommsen, Solin. p. XXXV. J. Caesar in Pauly's Real-Enc. I 1. p. 689. H. Keil, de gramm. inf. aet. p. 6 (not. 2). A reprint of Giles' edition in Migne's Patrol. LXXXIX p. 64—314.

2. Beda born c. 672 in Northumberland, Presbyter 702, † 735. Numerous writings (ed. Colon. 1688, 8 partes fol.; ed. J. A. Giles, London 1843 sq. 12 vols., in Migne's patrolog. 1850 sq. T. XC—XCV). In metre he composed Lives of Saints and Martyrs in iambics and hexameters, some being of doubtful authenticity. Among the historical works we notice especially his historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum in five books, and his Chronicon s. de VI huius saeculi aetatibus (from the creation of the world to a. 726), both also in the Monumenta historica britannica by Petrie and Sharpe (London 1848. fol.) p. 83—289. On his chronological statements cf. G. Oppert in Fleckeisen's Jahrb. 91 p. 822 sqq. Among the historical works we notice especially De orthographia (Usener, Rhein. Mus. XXIV p. 110 sqq.), De VIII partibus orationis, Cunabula grammaticae artis Donati restituta, De schematibus et tropis (in Halm's rhett. latt. min. p. 607—618 cf. p. XV), De metrica ratione and other works from earlier sources. On his mathematical works (De arithmeticis numeris, De divisionibus temporum and others) see M. Cantor, mathemat. Beiträge zum Culturleben (1863) p. 279 sqq. There are numerous theological works, of exegetic and dogmatic contents, and also sermons. H. Gehle, de Bedae Venerabilis presb. anglosaxonis vita et scriptis disp. historico-theologica, Lugd. Bat. 1838. 113 pp.

3. Tatuinus, an Anglosaxon Benedictine in the Monastery of Bruidune in Mercia, last of all (a. 731) archbishop of Canterbury (cf. Beda hist. eccl. Angl. V 23), † 734, the author of a grammar (de VIII partibus orationis) after Donatus and his Commentators; see A. Wilmanns, Rh. Mus. XXIII p. 398—401. We possess by him also riddles L. Müller in Fleckeisen's Jahrbb. 93, p. 566.

4. Bonifacius (originally Winfrid), born 683 at Kirton in Devonshire, a Benedictine, the well-known Apostle of the Germans, last of all archbishop of Mayence a. 745—755. Besides doubtful works (vita s. Laevini) we possess by him letters s. B. et ad eum scriptae epistolae CLVI), edited cum notis (a. N. Serario), Mogunt. 1605. 1629. 4. in the bibl. patr. max. XIII; in Migne patrol. LXXXIX. Ordine chronol. dispositae, notis etc. illustr. a St. Al. Würdtwein (Mayence 1789). There is also the school-treatise de VIII partibus orationis, edited from cod. palat. 1746 by A. Mai (class. auct. VII p. 475 sqq.). Cf. H. Keil, de gramm. inf. aet. (1868) p. 6: simpliciter et sine ulla reconditioris doctrinae specie, sicut usus discentium requirebat, scriptus, in quo non solum Donati Ars et commentarii in Donatum tum vulgo usurpati sed aliorum etiam grammaticorum libri adhibiti, e Charisii vero libris complura descripta sunt. Some metrical treatises have been published from the same ms. by A. Wilmanns, Rhein. Mus. XXIII p. 403—405. Opera quae extant omnia ed. J. A. Giles, 2 vols. London 1844; Migne patrol. LXXXIX p. 598—891.

Addenda.

§ 2, 3. A significant result of the conservative and practical tendency of that part of the literature which may be called typically Roman, should be found in the great number and importance of the works intended to form introductions to the various departments of public life. We should here especially mention the works of Cato the Elder and many of Varro's works. But also Q. Cicero's treatise de petitione consulatus and Frontinus' de aquis belong to this class. L. Mercklin, on the Isagogic writings of the Romans, Philol. IV p. 413—437. O. Jahn, on Roman encyclopaedias, Trans. of the Sax. Soc. of Lit. 1850, p. 263 sqq.

6, 4. See O. Jahn, Hermes II p. 227.

10, 3. W. Grimm, on the history of rhyme, Trans. of the Berlin Academy, 1851.

10, 4. L. Müller, de re metr. poet. latt. p. 445—449 (de poesi rhythmica).

13, 1. The new edition of Ribbeck's Tragici has come out.

13, 5 (p. 19). See O. Jahn, Hermes II p. 227—229.

14, 2. The 'praetextae' were perhaps performed on the ludi triumphales (G. Röper).

15, 2 (p. 20, 3 from below). *Ἀριστομένης ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, . . ὑποκριτὴς τῆς ἀρχαίας κωμῳδίας, ἀπελεύθερος τοῦ βασιλέως Ἁδριανοῦ* (Athenaeus III p. 115 B) no doubt acted in Greek.

15, 3. On the criticism of the fragments of the poets of the 'palliata' see Th. Bergk in Fleckeisen's Jahrb. 1870, p. 823—846.

16, 1. See also Manil. astr. V 472 sqq. Apul. Flor. III 16 (p. 20, 17 sqq. Kr.).

16, 3. Fr. Schmidt, on the number of actors employed by Plautus and Terence and the distribution of the different parts between them. Erlangen 1870. 58 pp.

16, 4. E. v. Bruner, quaestiones terentianae (1868) p. 1—79 (de canticis et tibiis fabularum Ter.).

[After 16, 5 a special § is added.] The division into scenes occurs in all the mss. of Plautus and Terence, the statement of the names of the speakers being, in fact, indispensable. They are commonly denoted by letters (A, B etc.), the tibicen by ω, as the last. Ritschl, Rhein. Mus. IV p. 356 sq. 607—610 = Opusc. phil. II p. 294 sq. 365—368.

19, 2. That the dactylic hexameter was frequently at variance with the phonetic structure of Latin and that its requirements often laid the Roman poets under a certain constraint, has been elaborately shown by Köne, On the Diction of the Roman epic poets, Münster 1840.

19, 3. From the epic poem of a certain Gannius (G. Annius?) in at least three books three hexameters are quoted by Priscian VI 9, 49 (p. 237 H.). From an (orator) Gannius words in prose are quoted by Paulus v. veteratores (p. 369 M.). [19, 2 becomes 19, 4.]

20, 3. On Virgil's influence see below. L. Cholevius, epitheta ornantia quibus utitur Vergilius cum iis comparata quibus posteriores epici latini, maxime quidem Silius, carmina sua distinxerunt, Königsberg 1865. A. Joly, les métamorphoses de l'épopée latine au moyen âge, Revue contemporaine LXXIV (1870) p. 613—640. LXXV p. 21—43.

[§ 29. p. 29, 16 sqq. appears in the sec. ed. as] § 21 [with the following addition.]. By the side of these compositions we meet with hymns on God, Christ, Martyrs and Saints, and also bishops and popes. On Christ we possess one by Mamertus Claudianus; on Martyrs by Damasus, Prudentius (Peristeph.), Paulinus of Nola (Felix); and St. Martin of Tours was made the subject of panegyric epics by Paulinus of Perigueux, Amoenus and Venantius Fortunatus, the latter of whom wrote also numerous poems on bishops. Under the influence of rheto-

rical schools panegyrics continued to be written in epic metre on subjects of polytheism, both in a jocular and serious vein.

21, 1. Christian epic poems are enumerated by Venantius Fort. vita Mart. I 14—25. Collections: G. Fabricius, poetarum veterum ecclesiasticorum opera christiana et operum reliquiae ac fragmenta, Basle 1564. fol. M. Maittaire, opera et fragmenta veterum poetarum latinorum, London 1713. 2 vols fol. P. Leyser, historia poetarum et poematum medii aevi decem post ann. a Chr. n. 400 saeculorum, Halle 1721. Henry, histoire de la poésie chrétienne, Paris 1856.

2. Verses on Sodom and Gomorrha and on the Prophet Jonah have often been printed together with the works of Tertullian (whom see).

3. There are several thousand hexameters extant of a Version of Jewish history to which the mss. prefix sometimes the name of Tertullian, sometimes that of Cyprian, and again that of Juvencus (whom see). The work seems to have arisen in the fifth century of the Christian era, and diction and metre are not bad, considering the period. There are numerous reminiscences from Virgil in this work, likewise from Ovid and Horace, Juvenal being also employed, and the Old Testament in the Itala. Cf. L. Müller, Rhein. Mus. XXI p. 123—132 and ibid. p. 266 sqq.

4. Laudes Herculis in 137 elegant hexameters by an anonymous author, Anth. lat. 881 R. Hymnus Claudii on Luna (= Isis, Cybele, etc.) ib. 723; on Mars ib. 749; on Liber ib. 751 (a prayer for a happy return home). In laudem Solis ib. 389, by a scholastic poet, perhaps a countryman and contemporary of Martianus Capella (Rh. Mus. XXV p. 454 sq.). A parodic hymn in derision of Pan, ib. 682 R.

§ 22. The Epithalamium gradually became a panegyric poem caused by a wedding, but in consequence of this it always retained a certain sensual boldness, and vigour. From an earlier time we possess Catullus' Epithalamium Pelei et Thetidos, and we know that Calvus and Ticidas wrote compositions of this kind; in the Imperial Epoch we have epithalamia by Statius, Ausonius, Claudianus, Paulinus, Apollinaris Sidonius, Ennodius, Luxorius, Venantius Fortunatus, (on Sigibert), and the Epithalamium Laurentii.

1. An epithalamium, in praise of some youthful pair, their parents and ancestors, is generally in epic metre. There is also one mentioned by Gallienus.

2. The epithalamium Laurentii in 87 hexameters (Anth. lat. 742 R.) by an anonymous author, has a certain dash of sentimentality. From the technical treatment of the verse and the religious character of the nuptial customs we should conclude that it belongs to the fourth century. The bridegroom (Laurentius) is praised for his exertions as a pleader, the bride (Florida) for her education and lanificium. Totum is used for omnia. Wernsdorf, poetae lat. min. IV 2 p. 462—503. L.

Müller, Rh. Mus. XXII p. 83 sq. 89—100. XXIV p. 126—130. M. Haupt, Hermes II p. 13—15.

§ 21 = § 23 sec. ed.

23, 1. E. J. W. Brunér, de carmine didascalico Romanorum, Helsingfors 1840. 4.

2. Scholastic poems like the poetical tournament of the twelve wise men Palladius, Asclepiadius, Eusthenius, Pompilianus, Maximinus, Vitalis, Basilius, Asmenius, Vomanius, Euphorbius, Julianus, Hilasius, in the Anth. lat. 495—638 R. At first each has to recite a hexameter de ratione tabulae, then a distich as an epitaph on Virgil, then two hexameters de unda et speculo, fourthly a distich on ice, fifthly three hexameters on the rainbow, 6) two distichs on Virgil; 7) four hexameters on the four Seasons of the year (upon an Ovidian theme); 8) two distichs on Dawn and the Sun (most of them with mythological colouring); 9) five hexameters on the subject of the Aeneid; 10) an epitaph on Cicero in three distichs; 11) the twelve signs of Heaven in six hexameters; and 12) on some individual theme in a metre left to free choice (iambic senarii 635; hendecasyllabics 636; Horatian metres 628 sq.), the number of lines being likewise free. Besides a great veneration for Virgil and Cicero, subjects of inanimate nature are frequently represented (635). We discern some good classical tradition especially 608. 611. 614. Only 559 bears a slight Christian colouring (his meruit perpetuam requiem). This consideration as well as the technical elegance (only 628, 7 we perceive a makeshift) do not allow us to place this collection later than saec. 4—5. There are no local allusions, but the fourth theme and the description of winter in the seventh seem to point to some country more northerly than Italy, probably Gaul.

3. 'Versus memoriales' on the names of the Muses (Anth. lat. 664 R.), the stars (ibid. 679). A list of the names of the winds in Greek and Latin in 27 hexameters is extant in some mss. of Cassiodorus and Isidore, among which the Ovetensis saec. VII—VIII, Anth. lat. 484 R. From their contents they would appear to have been derived from Isidore de rer. nat., and they were probably composed about his time.

4. Hexameters on the Stars, division of time, and similar subjects Anth. lat. 676—680, part of them from mss. of Bede. A didactic poem on astronomy in a dry and awkward tone, in 76 hexameters, from a cod. saec. XI, ib. 761.

5. An enumeration of words denoting the voices of different animals from a cod. saec. X, Anth. lat. 730. 733, and ib. 762 under the title de philomela in 70 elegiac lines of somewhat doubtful condition (e. g. v. 53 is a heptameter) from a cod. saec. XI (also in Reifferscheid, Suet. p. 308—311). There is a Christian turn at the end of the poem. It may have originated in Germanic circles (cf. v. 11: dulce per ora sonat quam dicunt nomine drostam). Goldast, Catal. Ovid. p. 71 says

that in a St. Gall ms. he found the author's name stated as Albius Ovidius Juventius — but this is no doubt merely a fiction.

§ 24. Poems consisting of sentences may be considered as small didactic poems. Sentences of this kind were, in the Imperial Epoch, partly selected from other poems, partly purposely composed, chiefly with pedagogic tendencies. A collection of the latter kind in four books is the one which bears the name of Cato, each sentence in two hexameters, a work which plays an important part in the Middle Ages. We possess also other versions of this collection, both in prose and verse.

1. A sententious poem holds the same relation to a didactic poem as the epigram to elegy. On the sentences in iambic senarii connected with the name of Publilius Syrus see below, v. Publilius Syrus.

2. The collection in Paris. 2659 saec. IX is entitled: liber (quartus) Catonis philosophi, Paris. 8320 saec. X in: Catonis Cordub. (probably owing to a confusion with Seneca). Scaliger mentions a vetustissimus codex Simeonis Bosii with the title: Dionysii Catonis disticha de moribus ad filium; but nothing further is known about this ms. (Hauthal p. XXII sq.), and the name of Dionysius may have been caused by a translation of the Periegesis of Dionysius in the same ms. (Haupt, de carm. buc. p. 15). The name of Cato is probably intended to denote those sentences as very wise, see H. Jordan, Rh. Mus. XIV p. 277—280. The first book contains 40, the second 31, the third 24, the fourth 49 sentences. The second, third, and fourth books have, moreover, special prologues in praise of the collection, so that the one to the first book might seem to have been lost. In the prologue to the second book mention is made of the pharmaceutic poem of Macer. IV 49 is a kind of epilogue. The tendency of these sentences is monotheistic and humane, though not specifically Christian, some (e. g. I 26. II 26. III 3. IV 26) bear even quite a pagan character, and even the dissuasion from 'sortes' (II 12) and bloody sacrifices (IV 14. 38) is free from Christian motives. The sentences concerning the treatment of women and slaves are likewise of a pagan character, cf. IV 44: cum servos . . famulos dicas, homines tamen esse memento, and III 12: uxorem . . nec retinere velis (for the sake of her dowry) si coeperit esse molesta. The want of rhetorical pomp (nudis scribere verbis) is excused IV 49. The diction (mage; officiperdus IV 42) and prosody are tolerable. The worst incorrectnesses are petere as an anapaest in the arsis of a πενθημιμερής (I 31), the hiatus in the thesis iudex tu esse memento (I 14), and denarium used as a trisyllabic word (IV 4). All these facts tend to show that the collection was made in a relatively good period, perhaps saec. III—IV after Christ. Vindicianus (end of the fourth century) is acquainted with it.

3. This collection is preceded by a prosaic work containing 56 short sentences with a special preface (Cum animadverterem quam

plurimos graviter in via morum errare succurrendum opinioni eorum . fore existimavi, maxime ut gloriose viverent. . . nunc te, fili carissime, docebo etc.) by a different author and probably belonging to a later period, perhaps even of different periods. Nr. 1—40 are quite in conformity with the views of antiquity (e. g. v. 5: foro pare; 23: pugna prò patria); but the Christian origin appears strongly in the later ones which are also more verbose (53: minime iudica; 54: alienum noti concupiscere). In the first part (which generally consist of two words) we discern a pedagogic tendency very clearly (nr. 11, 26, 27, 38); cf. 36 sqq.: trocho lude. aleam fuge. litteras disce. These sentences differ greatly in the mss.

4. A list of the mss. (beginning with saec. IX) in Hauthal p. IV —XIV, of the editions from saec. XV downwards ib. p. XV—XXI. The principal modern edition is by O. Arntzen (Utrecht 1735 and 1754), which contains also Boxhorn's and Cannegieter's treatises de Catone. Catonis philosophi liber . . ad fidem vetustissimorum librorum mss. atque impressorum rec. F. Hauthal, Berlin 1869, XXXVIII and 81 pp. F. Zarncke, the German Cato; a history of the German translations of the distichs circulated in the Middle Ages under the name of Cato. Leipzig 1852. J. Teifalik, on the early Bohemian Cato, Trans. of the Academy at Vienna 1861, hist. and phil. Class XXXVI p. 211 sqq.

5. Single sentences, consisting of one hexameter each, entitled Sententiae generales in singulis versibus, or monosticha de moribus incerti, also proverbia Catonis philosophi, mostly good both as to contents and diction, from mss. saec. IX—XI in Riese's anth. lat. 716 (II p. 163—166). Besides the 68 sentences of one line each we find three in two lines each which are also in a different tone.

§ 22 = 25 sec. ed.

25, 2. Tibullus II 1 (cf. W. Teuffel's Studies p. 372) and (Lygd.) III 5 are letters. A letter written by a wife to her husband who is with a military expedition far away in the East, is found in Propert. V 3. Both name and situation may be fictitious. Dido Aeneae Anth. lat. 83 (p. 94—99) R. with a burden; cf. Wernsdorf, poetae lat. min. IV p. 55 sq. 439—461. Real letters e. g. Stat. Silv. IV 4 (to Victorius Marcellus) and IV 8 (a letter of congratulation), also by Licentius to St. Augustine.

§ 26. Several trifling compositions, which belong to the table and the school, are for the greater part likewise in epic metre. The riddles had a certain connexion with Greek literature; this kind which belongs to the last centuries of Roman history was persistently cultivated until the Middle Ages. Scholastic circles produced especially the numerous variations on Virgilian themes and the so-called centones, in which lines or parts of lines from earlier poets are arbitrarily strung together so as to produce a new sense. Other trifling

compositions of a later time are acrostichs and other poems aiming at some outward configuration.

1. The Greeks had γρῖφοι for amusement at the dinner-table; cf. Athen. b. X. Hence Symphosius, the earliest Roman poet in this department, invents a similar origin for his collection. The earliest 'aenigma' in Latin literature (perantiquum, perquam lepidum, tribus versibus senariis compositum with the solution in M. Varronis de sermone lat. ad Marcellum libro II) in Gell. XII 6. Solution of riddles is considered a test of wisdom in Hist. Apollonii 42 sq. cf. 4 sq. At a later time, Latin riddles became a favourite pastime in the Monasteries, and hence we possess, besides the riddles of Aldhelmus and Tatuinus, numerous compositions of this kind by anonymous authors, many of which remain unprinted; cf. n. 2. A number of riddles of a barbarous form, from a cod. Bern. saec. VIII, in Riese's anth. lat. 481 (I p. 296—304), and completed from a Vienna ms. ib. II p. LXVI—LXXVI. Other compositions ib. 656 sq. (from a Voss. saec. IX). 685. 770 sqq. cf. II p. XLII. L. Müller in Fleckeisen's Jahrb. 93 p. 266—272. 566. 95 p. 497. Rh. Mus. XII p. 151 sq. J. Klein, ib. XXIII p. 662—665.

2. H. Hagen, on ancient and mediaeval riddles, after sources not yet explored in the libraries of Berne and Einsiedeln (Biel 1869. 51 pp.), especially p. 23 sqq.

3. Isidor. orig. I 38, 25: centones apud grammaticos vocari solent qui de carminibus Homeri vel Vergilii ad propria opera more centonario ex multis inde compositis in unum sarciuntur corpus, ad facultatem cuiusque materiae. denique Proba, uxor Adelphi, centonem ex Vergilio De fabrica mundi et Evangeliis plenissime expressit, materia composita secundum versus et versibus secundum materiam concinnatis. sic quoque quidam Pomponius ex eodem poeta inter cetera stili sui otia Tityrum in Christi honorem composuit; similiter (as from Virgil's Bucolica) et de Aeneidos (versibus). Other centonarii are Hosidius Geta (Medea), Ausonius (cento nuptialis = Idyll. XIII), Sedulius (de incarnatione verbi), Mavortius (iudicium Paridis and de ecclesia; see W. H. D. Suringar, Anonymi cento Virgilianus de ecclesia, Utrecht 1867. Anth. lat. 10 and 16, p. 44—49 R.), Luxorius (epithalamium Fridi, Anth. lat. 18, p. 66—68 R.). A short attempt appears in Petron. sat. 132, p. 185 Bü.

4. Disconnected lines from Virgil were frequently put together like mosaic so as to form a new sense, e. g. by Ausonius, or to make up a didactic poem (de alea, Narcissus, Hippodamia, Europa, Alcesta, Medea etc.). In many instances there was an attempt to render the pagan words subservient to a Christian subject (Maronem mutatum in melius, Anth. lat. 735, 4 R.). The Aeneid was transformed into a Christian poem as late as by A. Rosaeus: Virgilii evangelisantis Christiados libri XIII, Tigur. 1664. A later time was not over-strict in joining two disconnected parts of lines; e. g. Medea (Anth. lat. 17) 93: nunc scio quid sit amor. hospitio prohibemur harenae, and ib. 64 sq. 87. 172.

196. 211 sq. 226. 250. 269. 315. 320. 357. 377. 387. 391 sq. 430. 435. 446 (a collection taken from 461 lines). Luxorius (ib. 18) 33: nomen inest virtutis et nota maior imago. Anth. lat. 719, 20. 25. 78 etc.

5. Centones vergiliani in the cod. Salmas. p. 1—46 = nr. 7—18, p. 23—68 R. 36. 719 (II p. 169—172). A Collection of the centones homerici and vergiliani by H. Stephanus (1578), J. H. Kromayer (Hal. 1719), L. H. Teucher (Leipzig 1793).

6. B. Borger, de centonibus homer. et vergil., Copenh. 1828. 4. F. Hasenbalg, de centon. vergil., Putbus 1846. 4. L. Müller, metr. lat. p. 465 sq.

7. Acrostichs, chiefly for the purpose of covertly stating some name, e. g. of an author or founder (Anth. lat. 120 R.) were derived from Greek literature, and appear even in the earliest time of Roman literature. Ennius wrote one (Cic. de divis. II 54, 111) and Aurelius Opilius others (Suet. gramm. Cf. Ritschl's parerg. p. XVI sq.). In a later time we have some from inscriptions; see Renier, Inscr. de l'Alg. 2074 (by Fortunatus) and 2928 (Lovella); for Christian acrostichs see de Rossi, Inscr. christ. nr. 425 (A. D. 395), 753. 831. See Rhein. Mus. XX p. 138. 457. 634 sq. Philologus XIII p. 183 sq. Commodianus wrote a whole series of poems (Instructiones) in this manner. Acrostichs and telestichs are joined Anth. lat. 669 R. (Nicholao Euantius), by Sedulius (ib. 492 sq.), and (from a cod. saec. VI—VII) ib. II p. LVI (Laurentius vivat senio). Rh. Mus. XXIII p. 94 sq. Felix under Thrasamund joined acrostichs, mesostichs and telestichs.

8. Other pedagogic and monkish trifling compositions are the poems forming a cross etc., e. g. by Porfirius Optatianus and Venantius Fortunatus, with a fixed number of lines (e. g. by Felix and others) or without a certain letter etc. On the versus serpentini and recurrentes see below 32, 9.

§ 23 = 27 sec. ed.

3. Quintil. I 9, 2. Phaedr. I prol. Cf. ib. II prol. III prol. 33 sqq. IV 2, 1 sqq. Append. epil.

4. H. Oesterley, Romulus, the Paraphrases of Phaedrus and the Aesopean fables in the Middle Ages, Berlin 1870. 124 pp. G. Diestel, on the history of the German fable (Program of the Vitzthum Gymnasium at Dresden, 1871) p. 25—32.

§ 24 = 28 sec. ed.

6. E. Szalinski, de nominibus personarum . . apud poetas satiricos Rom., Königsberg 1862. 4. J. Schultz, de prosodia satiricorum rom. capita duo (de muta cum liq. et de synaloephe), Königsberg 1864.

§ 25 = 29 sec. ed.

2. On Sueius see also L. Müller, Rhein. Mus. XXIV p. 553—557.

3. H. Hagen, Philol. XXVIII p. 338—341 = Anth. lat. 725 and 726 R. — See also Anth. lat. 687 R. iudicium coci et pistoris iudice Volcano (by Vespa) ib. 199.

§ 26 = 30 and 31 sec. ed.; § 31 containing the remarks on epigrams. [§ 32: see below on § 29.]

§ 27 = § 33 sec. ed.

2. Cf. Riese's Anth. lat. II p. 372.

§ 28 = § 34 sec. ed.

4. As the Romans considered singing contrary to decorum, melic poems may, in the classical time, be supposed not to have been intended for actual singing. It may have been so with the poems of Horace. It is true, he says Od. IV 9, 4: verba loquor socianda choris, and he frequently speaks of his lyra, cithara, testudo, barbitos, of plectrum and fides, canere, cantare, dicere. The passages have been collected by O. Jahn, Hermes II p. 418—433, who arrives at the conclusion that the lyric poems of Horace were actually intended to be sung. But we should first deduct the mere imitations of Greek phraseology and a certain limitation to Grecizing circles, like that of Horace, and such as were connected with the musical demi-monde of that time. Both the designation of lyric and epic poets as such qui se lectori credere malunt (quam spectatoris fastidia ferre superbi like the dramatic poets), and the fact of the caesura form grave objections to the generality of the custom, and these should not be overlooked. But in the Imperial Epoch the notions and customs became less strict in this respect. Cantus inter convivia dulcis occurs as early as Manil. astr. V 333. Musical accompaniment became usual for songs. Plin. Ep. VII 17, 3 is merely historical: lyrica quae non lectorem, sed chorum et lyram poscunt. But it is different when he praises his wife: versus meos cantat etiam formatque cithara . . docente amore. So late a writer as Apoll. Sidon. ep. VIII 4: iambos, elegos, hendecasyllbos et cetera carmina . . Narbonensibus cantitanda.

§ 29 = 32 sec. ed.

[3, 4, and 5 are omitted here.]

4. For the custom of the Roman Erotic poets to disguise the names of their flames see Apul. apol. 10. L. Schwabe, Quaest. Catull. p. 231—235. Lists of such girls in Martial VIII 73, 5 sqq. and Apoll. Sidon. epist. II 10.

5. On antithetic composition see E. Rautenberg, de arte compositionis in Ovidii Amoribus, Breslau 1868.

6. De rosis nascentibus Anth. lat. 646 R.

7. As taste became more and more conspicuous for its absence, forms more and more artificial were excogitated. Such are the versus

echoici or serpentini, in which the first words of the hexameter (to the penthemimeres) recur as the second half of the pentameter. Pentadius was one of the principal writers of this kind. Others in Apoll. Sidon. (ep. VIII 11), Sedulius, Venantius Fortunatus (VIII 37) and Anth. lat. 38—80 R. See above 26, 7 sq. Sidonius ep. IX 14: versus recurrentes, . . qui metro stante . . ut ab exordio ad terminum sic a fine releguntur ad summum. sic est illud antiquum: Roma tibi subito motibus ibit amor. nec non habentur pro recurrentibus qui pedum lege servata . . per singula verba repetuntur, qualia equidem legi multa multorum, e. g. praecipiti modo quod decurrit tramite flumen. tempore consumptum; an cito deficiat. Such verses were also called anacyclici, and we possess specimens chiefly by Porfirius, anth. lat. 81 (I p. 92 sq.) R.

§ 30 = 35 sec. ed.

1. Isidor. orig. I 37, 2.

§ 31 = 36 sec. ed.

1. M. Hertz, de hist. rom. reliquiis quaestionum capita quinque, Breslau 1871. 4.

5. In consequence of their prevalent rhetorical bent, the Roman historians readily adopted the habit of the Greek writers to insert speeches in their works. Even Cato did so more than was necessary, and after him Antipater. The historians of the classical period employed speeches as a means of variation and for the purpose of characterizing both persons and situations. The descriptions of battles which we find in such rhetorical historians as Sallust, Livy, and Tacitus, are mere productions of their imagination and resemble one another very much, while they greatly differ from the accounts of technical writers like Xenophon, Polybius and Caesar. See the Trans. of the Phil. Congress of Würzburg (Leipzig 1869) p. 190. 191. 200.

[N. 5 = 6.].

§ 32 = 37 sec. ed.

1. Direct untruths were avoided by the earlier writers of Annals, but they silently passed by many unpleasent facts, e. g. the subjection of Rome by Porsena, the fine paid to the Gauls, the Caudine forks and the subsequent violation of the treaty. Nor were they very scrupulous with regard to transpositions. Nissen, Rhein. Mus. XXV p. 64. They wrote in Greek, just as the earliest chroniclers of Germany wrote in Latin, and many German writers of the 17th and 18th centuries in French.

3. See H. Nissen, Rh. Mus. XXV p. 1. — Critical Investigations p. 87 note. F. Thiersch, Munich Gel. Anz. 1848, nr. 131 sqq. H. Peter, hist. I p. XLVIII—L. LXIII.

§ 33a = 38 sec. ed. down to p. 45, l. 4 from below.

1. Livy, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and the Capitoline Fasti, contain so to say the sum of the preceding works. Nissen, Rhein. Mus. XXV p. 65.

§ 33b (p. 45, 4 from below) = § 39 sec. ed.

1. Add Joseph. Antiq. XX 8, 3.

4. On the habit of copying the works of predecessors, see Mommsen, on Cassiod. p. 565 sq. Ausonius' epigram at the end of his Fasti. Procop. aedif. VI 7.

5. The historia miscella exists in two recensions. The first bears in the mss. the name of Paulus Diaconus and is based on Eutropius, whose work is enlarged and carried down to Justinian. The second text is ascribed to Landolfus Sagax: it repeats the first and carries it down to Leo the Armenian. Edited by P. Pithoeus (1569), J. Gruter (1611), Muratori (script. rer. ital. I), H. Canisius (ed. noviss. Cherii 1855. XIII and 556 pp.), and quite recently by Fr. Eyssenhardt (Berol. 1869. 721 pp.).

§ 40 sec. ed. = § 33, note 4.

§ 34 = § 41 sec. ed.

3. A supplement has been given in H. Hagen's Anecdota helvetica quae ad grammaticam latinam spectant, CCLXI and 399 pp. (Leipzig, Teubner 1870). — Scriptores latini rei metricae; mss. codd. ope subinde refinxit Th. Gaisford, Oxon. 1837. XIV and 616 pp.

4. For the glossographer Placidus see Ritschl, Rh. Mus. XXV p. 459 sqq. A. Mai's classici auctores III, VI p. 554—574. R. Klotz in Jahn's Archiv II. 1833, p. 439 sqq. 489 sqq.

5. On the abbot Salomo of Constance, whose name frequently recurs in the collections of glosses, see Rh. Mus. XXIV p. 388 sqq.

6. On the glossae Pithoeanae see Rh. Mus. XXIII, p. 491. On the Latin-Greek glossaries (ed. Labbaeus, Paris 1679. fol.) see ibid. XVII p. 159 sq. XVIII p. 253 sqq. XXIV p. 362—382. 382—391. XXV p. 456—463.

§ 35 = 42 sec. ed.

§ 36 = 43 sec. ed.

6. Add Fronto ep. II 1 (p. 123 N.).
(The number of notes is enlarged to twelve).

§ 37 = 44 sec. ed.

§ 45. Letters, both official and personal, appear at an early time in Roman literature, both by themselves and as parts of historical works; the correspondence of eminent men was soon collected separately. Thus we hear of letters addressed by Cato the Elder to his

son, by Cornelia to her son C. Gracchus, subsequently letters of Caesar and M. Brutus are mentioned, and the correspondence of Cicero is, even in its present condition, one of the most important sources of the history of the writer's time. But only in rare instances letters may be looked upon as such purely confidential outpourings of intimacy as the majority of Cicero's letters; they are generally calculated for some political or personal motive and seem to have been originally written with a view to publication. Rhetoric soon seized on this form of composition and furnished 'suasoriae' in the shape of letters, like those of Seneca; or some subject, even of a learned nature, was treated in this form which admitted of much liberty. The letters of Pliny are intended to exhibit a great variety of questions and facts, and chiefly to show the writer in as favourable a light as possible. Since the second century of the Christian era Epistolography became a separate species of composition, frequently with little pretension to contents. Of this kind are the letters of Fronto, Symmachus, Apollinaris Sidonius; in the fifth century those of Salvianus, Ruricius and Ennodius. The letters of Cyprian, Lactantius, Ambrosius, St. Jerome, Augustine, Paulinus of Nola, and others, formed part of their pastoral duties and are generally very unctuous and verbose, those of St. Jerome containing most matter. The letters of Cassiodorus are about business affairs, and in part were official edicts concerning secular matters, just as Papal letters treat of ecclesiastic affairs. Among the latter the correspondence of Leo and Gregory the Great is of importance for literature. The rotundity of style aimed at in these compositions led in those times, when Byzantine taste became prevalent, to endless verbosity.

1. Actual private letters, addressed to intimate friends and without any thought of publicity, are free and easy in regard to form and style. Cic. Phil. II 4, 7. and Fam. IX 21, 1. XV 21, 4. See n. 8.

2. A pedagogic tendency and a certain personal interest were conspicuous in the letters addressed to their sons by Cato the Elder and by Livy. The letters of Cornelia had a political tendency. But in the letter which Africanus the Elder addressed to king Philip on his own performances, and in the one written by Scipio Nasica concerning the expedition against Perseus (Plut. Aem. Paul. 15), perhaps also in C. Gracchus' letter to M. Pomponius, the form of an epistle was not of prominent importance.

3. Letters were inserted in the historical works of Antipater, Quadrigarius, Macer and especially of Sallust. Fronto ep. ad Ver. II 1 (p. 126, 1 sqq. N.). The ignorance of later times considered fictitious letters in historical and rhetorical works as historical documents; e. g. most compositions of this kind found in the scriptores hist. aug. seem to be the productions of rhetoricians; see C. Czwalina, de epistularum actorumque quae a script. h. a. proferuntur fide atque auct. P. I. Bonn 1870. See n. 6.

4. Epistolary form was frequently employed in the works of Jurists, e. g. Antistius Labeo, Ateius Capito, Proculus, Neratius, Iuventius, Iavolenus, Africanus. It seems to have taken its origin from actual 'responsa' to matters of law (46, 5). From legal matters this habit was applied to other departments of literature, e. g. history and grammar. Gellius XIII 18, 2. See n. 5.

5. Learned disquisitions in epistolary form were contained in Varro's Epistolicae quaestiones, in Valgius Rufus, Valerius Messala, Sinnius Capito, Verrius Flaccus, M. Valerius Probus, Sulpicius Apollinaris, and Lactantius.

6. In the rhetorical schools epistolary composition was in the Imperial epoch a favourite occupation, and it was preferred to connect these compositions with famous names. Numerous fictitious letters arose in this manner, e. g. Horace's epistola prosa oratione quasi commendantis se Maecenati, the spuriousness of which was seen even by Suetonius, the epistle ad Caesarem senem in the style of Sallust, and subsequently the fictitious correspondence between Seneca and St. Paul.

7. Apoll. Sid. epist. I 1.

8. Quintil. IX 4, 19. Plin. Ep. VI 16, 22. VII 9, 8. Symmach. ep. VII 9. Apollin. Sid. ep. VII 18. VIII 16. IX 3.

9. Symmach. ep. II 35. The more these compositions lost in matter and contents, the more pompous was the form. The formal character peculiar to the Romans from the earliest time of their history and which had become quite absurd under the influence of despotism, appears very strongly in the letters of Symmachus. With him it becomes the rule to open his letters with a general sentence. It goes out of fashion to address a person by 'Tu' and instead of this many ceremonious phrases creep in. The Emperor is addressed by Symmachus as tua (vestra) aeternitas, perennitas, clementia, mansuetudo, serenitas, tranquillitas, maiestas or tuum numen, others being styled, according to their rank, tua sanctitas, religio, reverentia, praestantia, celsitudo, sublimitas, excellentia, magnificentia, laudabilitas, eximietas, and the sons of Nicomachus, his friends. are styled by Symmachus tua (vestra) unanimitas. In the same way the epithet of sanctus becomes very common (e. g. Symm. ep. V 16. 21. 31. 41). This style is rendered even more affected by the habit of calling friends and colleagues, according to their respective ages, either parens or frater or filius, generally in connexion with dominus (e. g. dominus et filius meus). In his official decrees Honorius addresses Symmachus as parens carissime (atque amantissime). In letters written by Christian authors we find, moreover, frater in Christo dilectissime etc. In the latter both the beginning and the end generally treat of business, while the middle

contains outpourings of Christian piety decked out with many biblical passages.

10. Earlier collections of the Papal letters are by A. Carafa (1591), Holstenius (1662), and in those of the decrees of Councils, Canons, Bullaria (the latest publication at Turin, with an appendix, 1867), and others. The best collection is by the Benedictines: Epistolae romanorum pontificum et quae ad eos scriptae sunt a s. Clemente usque ad Innocentium III quotquot reperiri potuerunt; T. I ab a. Chr. 67 ad a. 440; Paris 1721. This has been continued (but not published) by Mopinot and Durand. Their papers were used by A. Thiel who adhibitis praestántissimis codd. Italiae et Germaniae, rec. et ed. (the letters a S. Hilario ad Pelagium II); T. I, Braunsberg 1868. LX and 1018 pp.

11. The novel forms part of amusing literature, being a fictitious narrative chiefly of erotic complications. Among the Romans it may be dated back to a very respectable antiquity, and from the beginning they enjoyed somewhat strong seasoning. So in Sisenna's translation of Aristides' *Μιλησιακά*; and hence (fabula) milesia became the general name. Petronius added a dash of satire to the obscenity of the kind. Apuleius in his Metamorphoses translated a magic novel to which he added other tales and which he seasoned with pagan mysticism. Capitol. Clod. Albin. 11, 8 speaks of the same time. See also Hieron. c. Rufin. I 17 (II p. 473 Vall.). Comm. in Iesai. XII in. IV p. 491 Vall. Martian. Cap. II 100 (p. 28, 7 Eyss.). The novel on Apollonius of Tyre was likewise written in imitation of some Greek original in the sixth century of the Christian era, and the work of the pretended Darius Phrygius belongs to the same time.

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From here down to § 191, the numbers of the paragraphs of the second edition are always higher by ten than the corresponding sections of the first edition. From § 201 sec. ed. = 191 first ed., the new edition has been followed in the translation.

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